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CONTENTS.

	Page.
Gisborne's Essays	217
Glen's Journal of a Tour to Karass	180
Goodisson's Historical and Topographical Essay upon the Islands of Corfu, Leucadia, &c.	457
Halliday's History of the House of Guelpu	375
Innes's Sermon on the Doctrines of Grace	567
James's Account of an Expedition to the Rocky Mountains	481
Johnson's Further Reasons for Dissent	91
Joyce on Love to God	97
Las Cases's Journal of the Private Life of Napoleon	112, 313
List of Works recently Published	95, 191, 285, 383, 479, 572
Magee's, Archbishop, Primary Charge	244
Memoirs of the History of France during the Reign of Napoleon	112
Millhouse's Blossoms	258
----- Vicissitude, a Poem	258
Montgomery's Songs of Zion	160
Moore's Loves of the Angels	210
Napoleon Memoirs	112
Negro Slavery	570
O'Driscoll's Views of Ireland	193
Penn's Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies	37
Porter's Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. Vol. II.	289
Roscoe's Illustrations of the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici	1
Remarks on the Indians of North America	90
Russell's, lord John, Don Carlos	136
Scholefield's Second Letter to the Earl of Liverpool	75
Seaton's Church in Canaan	474
Select Literary Information	94, 190, 285, 381, 478, 571
Sismondi's Histoire des Republiques Italiennes	1
Sketches of Sermons, Vol. IV.	278
Smith's, Dr. J. P., Sermon on the Means of obtaining Satisfaction with Regard to Religious Sentiments	175
Somatopchyonologia	447
Thiers's Pyrenees and South of France	399
Thomson's Sermons on Infidelity	551
Village Lecturer, The,	163
Wellwood's, Sir H. M., Sermons, Vol. II.	261
Wilberforce's Appeal in Behalf of the Negro Slaves	570
Wilson's, Rae, Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land	68
Word of God concerning all who are in Trouble	569

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JANUARY, 1823.

Art. I. 1. *Histoire des Republiques Italiennes du Moyen Age.* The History of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages. By J. C. L. Simonde de' Sismondi. 16 vols. 8vo. pp. 7740. Paris. 1809, 1815, 1818.

2. *Illustrations, Historical and Critical, of the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent*; with an Appendix of Original and other Documents. By William Roscoe. 8vo. pp. 400. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1822.

THERE are some striking coincidences, both in facts and in romantic interest, between the earlier and the later periods of Italian History. We find, in the most ancient as well as in more modern times, the same division into small states, generally constituted on principles more or less popular; the same tendency to mutual dissension; and the same consequent liability to invasion and subjugation, by powers less refined and, though not more martial in their habits, more successful in their enterprises, from the single, concentrated, and persevering direction of their plans and movements. The Etruscan Lucumonies, like the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages, were eminent in arts and arms. The massive materials and gigantic proportions of their mural structures, may be deemed slender evidence of their architectural skill; but the beautiful relics of their pottery, and the various indications to be collected from history, from inscriptions, and from other monumental remains, furnish unquestionable proof of the industry, refinement, and high spirit of this remote but brilliant people. The federation in which they were united, although it was, no doubt, effectual and beneficial to a certain extent, seems, on many important occasions, to have given way before the suggestions of selfish policy, or the terror of an approaching enemy; and it ultimately dissolved under the systematic encroachment and steady aggrand-

izement of Rome. But it may be inferred, even from the partial narratives of their native historians, that the Romans gained their object slowly and doubtfully; and that they were indebted for success, as much to the disunion of the League of Etruria, as to their own courage or to the skill of their officers. The valour and conduct of Lar Porsenna brought Rome to the verge of ruin: his noble courtesy and liberality entitled him to the lasting honours due to its second founder. Nor were the Romans always victorious even over single states. The Veientes made a noble, and sometimes a triumphant stand for their independence; and we suspect that, if the evidence were sifted, the generals of the Consular armies might be found not to have at all times acted on the elevated principles which signalled the warfare of Camillus and Fabricius. At length, when the Etruscan Federation sank under the pressure of Roman discipline and power, it bequeathed to its illustrious rival, its *Jura Fecialia*, its sacerdotal rites, and its eminence in the Arts.

We should find it an interesting occupation, were this the proper place for so lengthened a discussion, to enter somewhat largely into an investigation of the incidental circumstances connected with the history of this remote and, in many respects, mysterious people. Their cities and villages, flourishing with commerce and agriculture, covered with their dense population the rich tracts of the Maremma, now nearly deserted, and steaming with exhalations fatal to human life. The colossal walls of Volterra, with other remains of similar proportion, are by no means unequivocal evidences of their dexterity in architecture; since massiveness is a common character of the erections of ruder ages, while science and skill usually exhibit themselves in the diminution of labour, the economical use of materials, and the felicitous adjustment of parts to the harmonious effect and useful purpose of the whole. But the few remains of their ornamental productions which have reached us, and especially their fictile vases, shew them to have made great advances in the higher qualities of Art; and if, as is affirmed, they were in possession of the ability to direct and avert the effects of lightning, this fact would seem to prove that they were expert in some of the branches of practical philosophy; unless we are to consider it as one of those chance discoveries which are sometimes so unaccountably made by semi-barbarous nations.

The history of the Sabines, the Samnites, the Latins, and other republics of Italy, most of which appear to have adopted somewhat of the federal system, is yet more obscure than that of the Etruscan League; and perhaps there are few subjects more worthy of regret, in a literary view, than the almost entire

absence of all distinct records relating to the remote annals of the Italian states. M. Micali, a Florentine *savant*, is said to have taken up the inquiry; but we have not yet heard of the actual publication of his work, and we cannot say that we feel any urgent anxiety for its appearance. The facts of the investigation are few and insulated; and we have had so much of speculation and hypothesis in these departments of historical labour, that we rather prefer the ignorance which is simple and easy, to that which is complicated and fatiguing.

The institutions of Rome were nearly all of a military character; and the exclusive direction of her tremendous energies was in the track of conquest. Much of this arose from the policy of the Patrician order, always anxious, by providing an external object for the excitement of the passions of the people, to divert their attention from the defects and oppressions of their domestic government. A nation whose political system has so much of the warlike cast, will seldom be in durable possession of civil liberty. When its own safety is endangered by the superiority of its enemies, it will feel the necessity of entrusting its fortunes to some supreme command; and when its victorious arms have pushed its frontiers beyond the reach of constant inspection and ready management, the result is, invariably, the contention of rival chiefs, and the assumption of uncontrolled dominion by the successful competitor. It would not be difficult to shew, that the vicissitudes of the Roman history had been gradually preparing that combination of circumstances which brought on the civil wars, the triumvirate, and ultimately the complete prostration of the freedom of Rome under the sceptre of Octavius. The vaunted honours of the Augustan reign, were but the ripe and plentiful gleanings of centuries of republican glory and genius; and a long interval of subsequent suffering and degradation terminated in the entire extinction of intellectual light. Ages of barbarism passed away before the withering effects of despotism could be effaced, and the mind of Italy be restored to its native elasticity and energy. *Lux demum adfulsit*—Freedom, Science, Art, again visited those majestic regions; again to be crushed by the iron mace of violence and lawless power. Not that we are quite so enthusiastic as M. de Sismondi seems to be, in our admiration of the scheme of policy and administration which regulated the republics of Italy. There appears to us to have been more of treachery, ferocity, and intolerance, both in their interior regulation, and in their conduct towards each other, than he is willing to acknowledge. Still, they were noble exceptions to the general system of European government; they brought into intense activity 'mind's unwearied spring;' they

were nurseries of intellectual and moral vigour; and their history forms a bright spot in the dark annals of the middle ages.

Of such a subject for historic narrative, it must be obvious, that the difficulties are in full proportion to its attractions: its variety, its complication, and, not unfrequently, its deep obscurity, render it inaccessible to ordinary powers of analysis and combination. In the history of the Grecian States, there usually occurs some strong and leading feature to which all the minor points may be made to refer. The ascendancy of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, or Sicyon, gave them a station which enables the narrator of their story to make them convenient and commanding centres of observation. But the annals of the Italian States seldom afford such assistance. They often present an entangled and incoherent mass of events, frequently of transcendent interest, but without any pervading principle to give combination and unity to historical investigation. The difficulties, however, of whatever kind they may be, whether arising from defective, contradictory, or redundant materials, or from the extent and perplexities of the subject, have been vigorously met by M. de Sismondi; and the following passage will shew the enlightened and persevering exertions which he has made, to enable himself to triumph over them.

‘The greater the complication of an historical subject, the greater is the labour necessary for obtaining the materials which are connected with it. Each State has its peculiar history and documents; each demands a separate investigation. At the foot of my pages, I have cited the books and original papers to which I have had recourse, and the authorities on which I rely. I found it difficult to collect them; to accomplish it, I took up my residence for five years in Tuscany, the country of my ancestors. Three times since, I travelled through nearly the whole of Italy, and examined every spot which had been the scene of any signal achievement. I have explored almost all the great libraries; I have searched the archives of many towns and many monasteries. The history of Italy is intimately connected with that of Germany. I have also traversed this latter country in quest of historical monuments; and I have procured, at any cost, all the works which tend to illustrate the times and the people which I have undertaken to describe. I am induced to give this statement of my exertions, by my anxiety to prove my claim to the confidence of my readers.’

And yet, of the highly gifted individual who, in the execution of this formidable task, has obtained the admiration of Europe, Mr. Roscoe has permitted himself to speak in contemptuous language. M. de Sismondi having made an assertion, respecting a particular period of Florentine history, at variance

with the opinions of Mr. R., the latter inflicts on him the following chastisement.

‘ M. de Sismondi has only given a proof of the confidence with which writers of general history too often assume their own presumptions as matters of fact, and the negligence and contempt with which they treat any investigations and inquiries which lead them out of the common track. Their business is to give a general idea of the course of events, and to leave the outline to be filled up by those who may find disposition and leisure for such employment; but at all events they should be careful that this outline be correct, and that their representations should not be inconsistent with the real state of the case.’

Does Mr. Roscoe imagine that his own claims to critical and historical pre-eminence are such as entitle him thus to characterise M. de Sismondi as a common-place writer of history? He is assuredly mistaken. He has, indeed, himself been ‘ compelled’ elsewhere to stultify his own censures, by the praise bestowed on the work to which the above extract refers. But of this, more hereafter.

The subject which M. de Sismondi has so ably treated, comprises the history of the Italian Republics, from the events which led to their constitution, down to their entire extinction. A wider or a nobler field of enterprise he could not easily have found; and he has accomplished his undertaking in a way which leaves little to desire. The skill with which he has sifted different authorities and statements, without the formal apparatus of critical and dissertatory notes, appears to us one of the most striking excellences of his production. Since it was impossible to append the enormous mass of *pièces justificatives* which would have been necessary to support and verify all his details and inferences, it remained that he should give proof of his labour and ability by clearness of narrative, by dexterity and compression in the use of his materials, and by specific and continued reference to general principles. In all these respects he has been perfectly successful; he writes with vigour and distinctness, sometimes with eloquence; and, while his admirable system of selection and connexion gives to his work the interest of romance, there is a manly and decided character in his habits of reasoning and expression, which commands our confidence. Sismondi is a firm republican, and we admire the consistency with which he maintains and illustrates his convictions. If this be a prejudice, it is a most pardonable one; and, though it may have some influence on the colouring of his descriptions, on the substantial accuracy of his facts we are satisfied that it has never encroached. The volume which

has been published by Mr. Roscoe, chiefly for the purpose of invalidating the authority of M. Sismondi, has produced on our minds an opposite effect.

From the destruction of the Empire of the West towards the close of the fifth century, Italy became the miserable theatre of invasion and oppression. Successively subjugated by the Ostrogoths, the Lombards, and the Franks, it experienced the sufferings consequent on such conflicts and vicissitudes. The cessation of tumult and violence during the reign of Charlemagne, was little more than a breathing-time amid the visitations which it followed and preceded. When the Lombards became masters of Italy, they divided their new possessions into thirty principal fiefs, which, from various causes, had become much diminished in number, when the temporary absence of foreign invaders set the native princes at liberty to quarrel among themselves for a troubled and precarious supremacy, which was eventually obtained by Berenger, marquis of Friuli. During his dubious reign, in addition to the scourge of civil war, Italy was visited by the ravages of barbarian irruption. The Hungarians, after defeating Berenger in a battle which he hazarded without necessity, ravaged the northern and central provinces, while the Saracens extended their excursions over Naples and Piedmont. These marauders consisted altogether of light cavalry: their incursions were sudden, and their retreat rapid. Their movements were of so desultory and irregular a kind, as to render ineffectual the efforts of a heavy *gendarmerie*, and of the burgher infantry, to bring them to close action. But, though the immediate effects of this partizan warfare were distressing, its remote consequences were beneficial. Before these harassing and destructive expeditions had excited continual alarm, the towns of Italy had been open and defenceless. But these events enforced the necessity of precautionary measures: walls were built, the militia-system was adopted, magistrates were chosen, and the inferior orders of the people, called into action, acquired the rights and patriotic feelings of citizens. Berenger, a man of excellent qualities, being foully assassinated by men on whom he had conferred the greatest benefits, was succeeded by Hugh, Count de Provence; whose atrocious tyranny excited revolt, and ultimately transferred the crown of Italy to Otho the Great, Emperor of Germany. This revolution occurred about the middle of the tenth century; and never did any change produce a more favourable effect on the character of a people. To the liberal policy of that prince and his immediate successors, the cities were indebted for their municipal privileges, and for the origination of their republican spirit. The distance

of the court gave them the habits of independence; and after the extinction of the race of Otho, the wars between the different aspirants to the succession, introduced military discipline and character, and procured for the towns the right of marching under their own banners. Were not the minute detail of events so multiplied absolutely inhibited to our contracted limits, we should have much pleasure in tracing the noble struggles of the Romans in behalf of their liberties, until the machinations of the Popes, and the intervention of foreign potentates, established the sacerdotal power on the ruins of popular freedom. The excesses of the ambitious Hildebrand, and the fierce contests between the Emperors of Germany and the Popes, have but an incidental connexion with this part of history, but they are related with great spirit in the work before us.

‘ Among the republics which have flourished in Italy, Venice is the most illustrious: it is almost the only one of which the history is known out of that country; and it had a longer existence than any of the rest. Its origin precedes, by seven centuries, the emancipation of the Lombard cities: its fall, of which we have been witnesses, is posterior, by nearly three hundred years, to the subjection of Florence, the most interesting of the republics of the middle ages. The republic of Venice was, a few years since, the most ancient state in Europe. The same nation, always independent, always free, had observed, like the scenes of a drama, the revolutions of the universe; had witnessed the long agony, and the termination of the Roman empire; in the West, the birth of the French power, when Clovis conquered Gaul, the rise and fall of the Ostrogoths in Italy, of the Visigoths in Spain, of the Lombards who succeeded the first, of the Saracens who dispossessed the second. Venice saw the empire of the califs rise, threaten to invade the world, divide, and decay. Long the ally of the Byzantine emperors, she, by turns, succoured and oppressed them; she carried off trophies from their capital, she shared their provinces, and joined to her other titles that of the mistress of a *fourth and a half* of the Roman empire. She saw that empire fall, and the ferocious Mussulmans rise on its ruins; she saw the French monarchy give way; and, alone immovable, this proud republic contemplated the kingdoms and the nations which passed before her. But, after all the rest, she sank in her turn; and the State which linked the present to the past, and joined the two epochs of the civilization of the universe, has ceased to exist.

‘ The very nature of the country which the Venetians inhabited, was the cause of their long independence. The Adriatic Gulf receives, in its higher part, all the waters which flow from the southern descent of the Alps, from the Po, which has its rise on the declination of the mountains of Provence, to the Lisonzo, which springs from those of Carniola. The estuary of the most southern of these rivers, is about thirty leagues distant from that which lies farthest

to the north; and, in this space, the sea receives, besides, the Adige, the Brenta, the Piave, the Livenza, the Tagliamento, and a countless number of less considerable streams. Each of them carries with it, in the rainy season, enormous quantities of mud and sand, so that the part of the gulf which receives them, filled up by degrees with their deposit, is neither sea nor land: it is called lagoon (*lagune*); under this name is comprised a space of twenty or thirty miles from the shore. The lagoon, an immense tract of shoals and mud, covered with from one to two feet of water, to be traversed only by the lightest craft, is intersected by channels, originally, no doubt, made by the rivers in their progress to the sea, but afterwards kept up by human skill and labour for the advantage of commerce. These channels open passages to the largest vessels, and give them safe anchorage; the sea which breaks with fury against the *Muracci* and the long and narrow islands which skirt the lagoon, is calm within their limits; the wind cannot stir it into tempest where there are no depths hidden beneath its waves. But the tortuous and intersecting channels of the lagoon, form a labyrinth impenetrable to any pilots but those whom long study and experience have made masters of their windings.'

Among these shoals and mud banks, there are certain firmer and more elevated sites, which have been inhabited from remote antiquity; and, when the devastations of foreign invaders had rendered the continental settlements insecure, the influx of the fugitives laid the foundations of a flourishing state, to which circumstances gave the inestimable advantage of a free constitution. In 697, when, in consequence of new disturbances in Italy, a considerable number of fresh refugees had sought an asylum on these islands, the necessity was felt of adopting a system of government better suited to the exigency of the times, than the vague and indefinite system which had been till then acted upon. Anxious to retain and secure their freedom, the people reserved the complete sovereignty to their general assemblies; but, with a view to consolidate and extend their power, they elected a duke or doge with almost unlimited patronage and authority,—a measure by which they prepared a long series of domestic troubles, and the ultimate destruction of their liberties. An interesting anecdote connected with their history, is related by M. de Sismondi in his first volume, which we shall translate in this place. During the tenth century, the pirates of Istria, who had infested the Adriatic Sea, by the following daring enterprise, drew down upon themselves the vengeance of the Venetian Republic.

'In compliance with an ancient usage, the marriages of the nobles and the principal citizens were celebrated at Venice, on the same day and in the same church. The eve of the *Candellara*, at which season the Republic gave a dowry to twelve young girls, was the

day consecrated to this public festival. From an early hour, elegantly ornamented gondolas were in motion from every quarter of the city, towards the isle of Olivolo or of Castello, which is situated at its extremity, and where the head of the clergy, then the bishop, and at a later period the patriarch, had his official residence. The betrothed bridegrooms landed with their brides, to the sound of musical instruments, on the public place of Castello; all their relatives, all their friends, in gala dresses, attended them; the presents given to the brides, their ornaments, their jewels, were carried in full display; and the people followed, without arms or suspicion, the gay procession. The Istrian pirates, long since apprized of this national custom, had the audacity to plan an ambuscade in the city itself. The quarter which lies behind the arsenal, and next to Olivolo, was uninhabited at this period; the arsenal itself was not yet in existence. The Istriotes landed by night on this desert island, and concealed themselves and their barks. In the morning, when the lovers had just entered the church, and, attended by a crowd of men, women, and children, were engaged in divine service, the vessels of the corsairs darted with the rapidity of lightning across the canal of Olivolo; armed men sprang upon the beach, rushed, sabre in hand, through all the gates of the church, and seizing at the foot of the altars the wretched brides, bore them away to the ships prepared for carrying them off, along with the jewels which were in the hands of the attendants. They then disappeared with equal promptitude, and rowing with all their force, they strove to regain the ports of Istria.

The doge, Peter Candiano III. was present at the ceremony; and shared the rage and indignation of the husbands at witnessing this daring robbery. They all rushed out of the church, and hastening to the nearest quarters, loudly called the people to arms and vengeance: The inhabitants of *Sa Maria Formosa* collected a few vessels; the doge sprang into them, with the exasperated bridegrooms, and with a favourable wind swelling their sails, they had the happiness of overtaking the Istriotes in the lagoons of *Caprio*. The massacre was dreadful; not one of the ravishers escaped the vengeance of the irritated lovers and husbands; and on the same day, the lovely Venetians were reconducted in triumph to the same church from which they had been carried off. A procession of young females, and a visit annually made by the doge, on the eve of the *Candelara*, to the parish of *Sa Maria Formosa*, celebrated, down to the war of *Chiozza*, the memory of this event.

The depredations committed on commerce by the Adriatic corsairs, induced the maritime cities of Istria and Dalmatia to commit the fatal error of surrendering their independence into the hands of Venice, whose doge added to his former titular distinction the seignory of Dalmatia. Steadily pursuing their plans of aggrandizement, the Venetians joined the crusaders on terms of advantage, signalised their valour and skill under 'blind old Dandolo,' and ultimately obtained large territories in Greece, as well as the island of Candia; in their sagacious

hands an important acquisition. The blow thus struck at the Byzantine empire was, however, in its ultimate effects, disastrous to Venice. The Grecian power was a frontier bulwark to Christendom; and when the troops of Asia, stimulated by religious enthusiasm, assailed Europe, the weakening of her advanced fortress was severely felt. The Turks were brought into contact with the Venetian dominion; and in the long and exhausting wars sustained by the lords of the Adriatic against the Ottoman, they had leisure to recollect that they might have warred more effectually, less dubiously, and more profitably, as allies of the Greeks, than as principals in an unequal, though gallantly supported conflict.

The year 1194 witnessed the birth of one of those extraordinary characters who seem born to shew how far depravity is capable of extending its empire over the habits and dispositions of men. Eccelino III. lord of Romano, was born amid scenes of tumult and blood; and he so completely 'bettered his instruction' as to acquire the fearful distinction of 'the ferocious.' He employed a long life, consummate abilities, and distinguished courage, in the establishment of a tyranny such as Italy had never before witnessed, and which excited universal horror. His father, after a successful life, left his domains to his two sons, who devoted themselves to the service of the Emperor of Germany, in his efforts to reduce the States of Italy under his power. Eccelino, whose castles lay between Verona and Padua, was, under the influence of the Ghibeline party, chosen Podestat of the former city. In 1236, the Emperor Frederick II. entered Italy at the invitation of Eccelino; and after having sacked Vicenza, left his troops under the command of his partizan, who obtained, by his intrigues, possession of Padua; and such was his transport at this easy but important acquisition, that he kissed the gates of the city as he passed through them. He acted, in the management of his new conquest, with a vigour and policy which, under the control of humanity, and in a righteous cause, would have entitled him to admiration. He carried off hostages, enrolled the citizens among his troops, and punished with signal severity, all attempts at emigration. It was not until his authority was more firmly established, that he gave free range to his characteristic thirst for blood, by consigning to the scaffold or the flames, the objects of his suspicion. Lord of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, he unceasingly employed his increased and increasing power in the extension of his dominions, marking his way by remorseless executions. In the year 1228, he had, in some of his expeditions, made prisoner his own nephew, William of Campo San Pietro, still an infant, and caused him to

be suitably educated. In 1240, however, he put him under arrest; but, four of the lords of Vado, relatives of the youth, having offered themselves as his securities, he was set at liberty. Too young to reflect on the consequences of his conduct, he fled, and shut himself up in a strong fortress. Eccelino immediately seized on the four lords of Vado, imprisoned them in the castle of Cornuta, and after a few years confinement, ordered the door of their prison to be walled up.

‘During many days the prisoners were heard imploring bread; with lamentable cries; and when, after their death, the prison was re-opened, their bones were found covered with a black and withered skin. William of Campo San Pietro, however, after having preserved his independence for six years, was terrified at the progress of Eccelino, and sought a reconciliation. He delivered up his castles, and gave himself into his uncle's hands, declaring that he wished to be his friend, as he was already his nephew. But in the first night after he had thus placed himself in the power of the tyrant, he was visited, in dreams, by the shades of his uncles, the lords of Vado, who, renewing their cries of famine, recalled to his memory their fatal death, of which he had been so little mindful, and caused him to meditate with deep dismay, on the character of the master to whom he had given himself up. It was not long before he knew it by cruel experience. In 1249, Eccelino ordered him to divorce his wife, because she belonged to a proscribed family; and when William refused, he was thrown into a dungeon, and after a year's confinement, condemned to death: all his property was confiscated, and all his relatives and friends were loaded with chains, without distinction of age or sex. Among the victims of Eccelino, there were two who signalised their last moments by acts of courage. Rainier de Bonello, brought before the tribunal of the tyrant, in the presence of all the people, was accused by him of having plotted to deliver up the city of Padua into the hands of the marquis d'Este. Rainier replied only by denouncing to the people the accusation of Eccelino as an infamous calumny, and by declaring that the true motive of his condemnation, was the regret which he had expressed that the Paduans had confided to Eccelino the sovereign authority, and that they had been so cruelly punished for their error. The despot caused him to be conveyed to the public place, where his head was struck off. John de Scanarola was brought before the tribunal of Henry de Ygna, a creature of Eccelino, and worthy of his bloody master. Though the prisoner was loaded with chains, and surrounded by guards, he suddenly darted upon his judge, and, pulling him from his seat, he gave him three wounds on the head with a knife which he had concealed under his dress. The judge was mortally wounded before the guards had time to despatch Scanarola with their halberds. An Italian proverb, appalling to tyrants, was then repeated from mouth to mouth,—*He who is determined on death, is master of the King's life.*’

In general; those who had received sentence of death, were

conducted to the place of public resort, and there beheaded. Confiscation, rasure of their dwellings, and the imprisonment of all connected with them, followed. Torture was applied to extort confession; and when the fortitude of the victim was unshaken, the infliction was continued and increased until the extinction of life. New prisons were built, and one of those base wretches who are always ready to accommodate themselves to the humours of the vilest masters, solicited and obtained the *boon* of inspecting their construction. 'But,' exclaims Rolandini, 'let them rejoice, the souls of those who perished in the Castle; for he who had so often entered voluntarily into those dungeons, to make sure that no feeble ray of light could penetrate; he who had studied to enhance the pestilential and Tartarean horrors of this gloomy place, himself was confined in it by the command of Eccelino: a prey to hunger, thirst, foul reptiles, panting for the air which was denied him, he perished miserably in the hell which he himself had dug.' Verona was cursed with the residence of the Tyrant in person; Padua was governed by one of his nephews, Ansedisio de' Guidotti,—a monster as blood-thirsty as his uncle; and his other towns and castles were consigned to the rule of men of the same stamp.

The death of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1250, gave new energy to the ferocity of Eccelino. He now considered himself as an independent potentate, and signalled his absolute power by the murder of the most distinguished individuals in his dominions.

'It seemed as if he was eager to indemnify himself for having kept any measures with public opinion, and he summoned all his subjects, as though he would insult their forbearance, to be witnesses of his atrocities. After his prisoners had perished in the tainted air of his dungeons, or after they had sunk under the horrors of his tortures, he had their corpses conveyed to their native towns, and beheaded in the public place. The nobles were led in flocks to the same spot, and abandoned to the sabres of his satellites; he then ordered the dead bodies to be hacked in pieces and consumed. By day and by night were incessantly heard the terrible voices of those who were perishing under the torture; they found an echo in the heart of every citizen. Nor was it the nobility alone that were obnoxious to Eccelino: every species of distinction was equally odious to him, and, as he veiled his fury with no pretext, every species of distinction was visited with the same punishment. Skillful merchants, enlightened advocates, prelates, monastics, canons remarkable for piety, and even young persons who were distinguished for beauty, perished on the scaffold, and their property was confiscated. Eccelino often compelled proprietors to sell him their houses, especially when they were situated in strong positions or near the gates, and in a few days after he re-

sumed, with the life of the vendor, the money which he had paid down. All would have fled, had flight been possible; but the tyrant had posted guards on the frontiers, who prevented ingress or egress, and if any one was detected in secret flight, without sentence or interrogatory, a leg was instantly cut off, or an eye plucked out. The courage of two noblemen had, however, nearly delivered the earth from this monster. The two brothers Monte and Araldo de Monselice, were conducted by guards to Verona, where Eccelino then resided, for examination. They arrived before the public palace, while the tyrant was at dinner; they drew his attention by their cries, and so exasperated him, that he left the table and advanced towards them, without arms, exclaiming, *In evil hour they come, the traitors!* Monte, as soon as he saw him, tore himself from the grasp of his guards, sprang upon him, and threw him down, falling with him. While he was searching for the poniard which he supposed that Eccelino wore beneath his clothes, and at the same time tore the face of his persecutor with his teeth, a guard cut off the right leg of Monte with his sabre, and the rest hewed in pieces Araldo, who strove to aid his brother. Monte, apparently insensible to this first wound, and to the blows which were incessantly showered upon him, did not abandon his prey, and made ineffectual efforts to stifle him. He perished at last, but on the body of the tyrant whom he had rent with his teeth and nails, and who was long before he entirely recovered from the effects of his wounds and his terror.'

Such, at length, was the abhorrence excited by the horrible excesses of da Romano, and such the dread of his talents and ambition, that under the auspices of Pope Alexander IV. a crusade was declared against him. The first ecclesiastic who employed his eloquence to stir up this holy warfare, was Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, who visited Venice for that purpose. He there found a great number of fugitives who had fled from the tyranny of Eccelino. At their head was Tiso Novello of Campo San Pietro, the son, scarcely adolescent, of that William, the story of whose death we have related, and the last heir of a family nearly exterminated by the tyrant. Of the army which enrolled itself at the exhortations of the prelate, Marco Badoero, a Venetian, was appointed the commander, and the standard was confided to the charge of young Tiso Novello. The Marquis Azzo d'Este, the cities of Ferrara, Mantua, and Trent, with the powerful republic of Bologna, declared against him; while he, in addition to his own forces, relied on the aid of his brother Alberic, and of the chiefs of Cremona. He commenced the war by menacing Brescia and Mantua, while he despatched Ansedisio de' Guidotti to arrest the progress of the crusaders by fortifying the line of the Brenta. That egregious general took a much more effectual method: he diverted the stream to prevent the ships of Venice

from navigating it, and by that notable expedient left the channel dry enough for infantry to pass. The crusading army was of a very motley composition, and the Archbishop of Ravenna was alike destitute of talents and character. They pushed on, however, without any effectual opposition from the incapable and dastardly Ansedisio, and carried Padua by assault, rather through a happy accident, than by skilful or fearless conduct. Seven days pillage was the appropriate occupation of these disinterested liberators. They released, however, the prisoners of Eccelino, among whom were troops of children, eyeless, or yet more cruelly mutilated; and the Paduans, amid all their losses, exulted in the recovery of their liberty, and the security of their lives. Eccelino received the intelligence of this disaster, while he was encamped on the banks of the Minio. He had in his army eleven thousand inhabitants of Padua or its territory, composing one third of his whole force; and, fearing their defection, he contrived, by a series of perfidious measures, to secure that large body in different prisons, where, by famine, fire, the sword, or the scaffold, the whole perished. Of that army, composed of the flower and strength of Padua, scarcely two hundred persons escaped. An attempt made by the crafty Alberic da Romano, the brother of Eccelino, to recover Padua, by imposing on the credulity of the papal legate, was defeated through the forecast of the Venetian Marco Querini; and when the Tyrant himself advanced with his army for the same purpose, he found the crusaders in his way, behind a strong entrenchment, which he vainly endeavoured to force.

The following year, 1257, was consumed in intrigues; but, in 1258, the Archbishop of Ravenna preached himself into Brescia, and persuaded the inhabitants to join the league. While he was thus employed, intelligence arrived that the Marquis Pelavicino, with the Cremonese militia, in alliance with Eccelino, had attacked their frontiers. The Legate, without delay, left the city at the head of the troops of Brescia and Mantua, with such of the crusaders as were then under his immediate command, and advanced to encounter the Marquis. Of this hazardous movement, which both ungarnished and uncovered Brescia, Eccelino took prompt advantage. He defiled rapidly by Peschiera, with a superior force, and moving on the rear of the sacred army, filled it with such terror, that, almost without striking a blow, it was completely routed. Biazquino of Cumino and his troop gallantly forced their passage through the enemy, and escaped; all the rest fell, fled, or were made prisoners. Happily, the blundering Archbishop was among the last. Brescia was taken possession of by Eccelino and his allies, Buoso de Doara and the Marquis Pelavicino,

the joint leaders of the troops of Cremona. Elated by his victory, the Tyrant resolved to secure the sole possession of his new conquest, and endeavoured by artful insinuations, to set Buoso and the Marquis at variance. He gained his main object, the mastery of the town, but lost his friends, who detected his intrigues, and indignantly joined the coalition against him.

In 1259, Eccelino entered on the campaign with the most numerous and effective army that he had ever yet commanded. His plan was bold, but practicable with his means. It was no less than to make himself master of Milan, by a sudden movement, in the expectation that the Milanese nobles, who were at variance with the people, would open the gates when he appeared before them. To mask this intention, he laid siege to the castle of Orzi. His demonstration immediately put in motion the allies, who, delivered from the ignorant and presumptuous Legate, were directed by able and experienced commanders; the Marquis Pelavicino with the Cremonese, the Marquis Azzo d'Este with the troops of Ferrara and Mantua, and Martino della Torre with the Milanese militia. While these divisions were bearing down on the position of Eccelino, the latter, ordering his infantry to fall back slowly on Brescia, in the expectation that it would be followed across the Oglio by the troops of Milan and Cremona, put himself at the head of his powerful and well appointed cavalry, and, traversing the Oglio and the Adda, pushed directly for Milan. Martino della Torre, however, instantly countermarched, so that when, after crossing the Adda, Eccelino prepared to advance, he found an army interposed between him and his object. Fully aware of the danger of his situation, he exerted himself with energy and ability. Failing in an assault on a fortress which commanded the passage of the Adda, he seized on the bridge of Cassano, which he found unguarded.

Da Romano, like many other impious men, was extremely superstitious, and his astrologers had cautioned him against Cassano, Bassano, and generally against all towns and places with a similar termination as boding misfortune. 'By so much the more the slave of superstition,' justly remarks M. de Sismondi, on account of his entire destitution of religious feeling: since his soul was not impressed with the sentiment of a Divine Being, it satisfied the necessity of believing by implicitly trusting in the influence of the stars.' When the name of the bridge was mentioned to him, he shuddered; and, instead of pausing there, returned to Vimercato for a moment's repose. In the mean time, the Marquis d'Este, traversing the Ghiara d'Adda, attacked and carried the *tête de pont* of Cassano; every other point was guarded, and the enemy of the human

race was encompassed by a superior force, without apparent means of escape. When Eccelino was informed that the redoubt was stormed, he sprang upon his horse, and advanced impetuously to retake it; but a wound which he received, occasioned a delay and discouragement which defeated his intention. He then crossed the river by a ford; but his rear-guard was scarcely disengaged from the stream, when it was attacked by the Marquis d'Este; while the cavalry of Brescia, when ordered to charge, commenced its retreat. All was now confusion, and at length, the Tyrant, beaten from his horse, and wounded severely in the head by a man whose brother had been mutilated by his orders, was made prisoner. 'Eccelino, a captive,' says Rolandini, 'shut himself up in a menacing silence; he fixed on the ground his ferocious countenance, and gave no loose to his deep exasperation. The soldiers and the people flocked from all quarters; they were eager to behold this man, formerly so powerful, this famous prince, terrible and cruel above all the princes of the earth; and the universal joy burst forth on every side.' The chiefs, however, protected him from outrage. Surgical aid was offered, but he rejected all alleviation, he tore open his wounds, and on the eleventh day of his captivity, died at Soncino.

The interesting matter which abounds in these volumes, seems to accumulate as we proceed. The life and character of Matteo Visconti, the brilliant career of Castruccio Castracani, the eventful tragedy of Rienzo, the romantic adventures of Braccio, the Sforzas, the Piccinini, Carrara, Carmagnola, and a host of other able and enterprising men; the rivalry of the maritime states, the fortunes of Florence and Milan, the persevering attempts of the Emperors on the liberties of the Italian States, the intrigues of the Popes, the struggles between France and Germany on the debateable ground of Lombardy, the story of the Medici,—all these might severally occupy as large a portion of our pages as that which has been already devoted to the present article. As, however, meagre analysis would be perfectly bewildering and uninteresting, and copious abstract interminable, we must satisfy ourselves with the specimens we have already given of this admirable work.

It remains that we advert, though it must be briefly, to Mr. Roscoe's volume, of which the least interesting portions are those which contain his animadversions on M. de Sismondi, and his reply to the objections urged by the latter against certain statements contained in his life of Lorenzo de' Medici. We confess that the first appears to us very injudicious, and the last extremely ineffective. If our recollection serve us rightly, M. de Sismondi has somewhere used the sarcastic expression,

étrivains phrasiérs, in direct or indirect application to Dr. Robertson and Mr. Roscoe. We are afraid that this, or some similar phrase, has infused somewhat of acerbity into the mind of our accomplished countryman, and prompted him to an attack which will assuredly do no injury to his antagonist. We have no inclination to enter on the investigations necessary to enable us to pronounce on all the points at issue between them; but, judging from the materials before us, we can have no hesitation in assigning the superiority in learning, acuteness, and philosophical impartiality, to the foreign historian. Mr. Roscoe is not always a fair critic; he has not, for instance, done courteously or wisely in representing the unbiassed concessions of M. de Sismondi as reluctantly made. When the latter, having affirmed that the title of *the Magnificent*, now universally attributed to Lorenzo, was given to him by his contemporaries, only in common with other men of elevated rank, finishes his explanation by emphatically stating, that he 'merited the surname of which an error has put him in possession;' Mr. R. permits himself to assert, that 'he is compelled' to the admission. And when M. de S. applies to a proposal made by Lorenzo the term 'generous,' it is qualified as a 'compelled' deference to right feeling. This is a childish species of warfare, and Mr. Roscoe should not have descended to it.

'On the authority of Joh. Mic. Brutus, a writer of the sixteenth century, M. de Sismondi has informed us that the two brothers (Lorenzo and Giuliano) did not perfectly agree in their system of administration: Giuliano being of a mild and conciliatory disposition, and having felt himself disquieted by the impatience, the pride, and the violence of his brother. To the evidence of this Venetian writer of a later period, who is remarkable only for his inaccuracy and his animosity to the Medici, M. de Sismondi has added that of Alfieri, in his *Congiura de' Pazzi*, where the author has availed himself of this supposed disagreement in order to heighten the dramatic effect.'

Without dwelling on the obvious circumstance, that 'his animosity to the Medici' has not prevented Brutus from speaking favourably of Giuliano, we are 'compelled' to accuse Mr. Roscoe of decided misrepresentation in the latter part of this extract. Sismondi has no where cited Alfieri as an evidence; he has simply observed, not in the regular page, but in a brief foot-note, that the poet had '*tiré parti*—' made 'use' or 'taken advantage' of this opposition of character in his tragedy. But we are quite indisposed to proceed with this *petite guerre*, and shall only add, that, after a careful comparison of the passages referred to, with the objections made by Mr. R., we cannot find that he has made any substantial impression on the statements of his rival. We have much

greater pleasure in expressing the interest which we have felt in the illustrative documents collected by Mr. Roscoe, and in citing the following beautiful translation of a poem written by Lorenzo.

' The other morn I took my round
Amidst my garden's sweet retreat,
What time the sunbeam touch'd the ground,
With its first soft reviving heat :
There on my favourite flowery bed
I cast my scarcely waken'd eye,
Where mingling roses, white and red,
In all the bloom of beauty vie.
Some leaf by leaf their filmy fold
I saw expanding to the sun ;
First close compress'd, then half unroll'd,
Till all the tender task was done.
Some younger still, could scarcely burst
There cruder buds ; and some there were
That veiled their softer charms, nor durst
Intrust them to the early air.
And some had drank the morning sky,
And fell to earth a vernal shower :
And thus I saw them rise and die
In the brief limits of an hour.
And when, their faded glory past,
All strewn abroad they met my eyes,
A tender thought my mind o'ercast,
How youth departs, and beauty flies.' p. 63.

It is impossible to contemplate the past glories of this interesting country, without feeling a severe pang in the comparison of its actual condition with its latent energies ; without sympathizing with the noble race whose intellectual powers and civil rights are alike oppressed by the iron hand of military despotism.

Art. II. *Remarks upon the Objections made to certain Passages in the Enquiry concerning Necessity and Predestination.* By Edward Copleston, D.D. Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and Prebendary of Rochester. 8vo. pp. 62. Price 2s. London. 1822.

THE objections against his statements and arguments, which Dr. Copleston here steps forward to meet, are those which have been urged by an able anonymous Writer in a Letter subscribed, *Philaethes Cantabrigiensis*, and by the Rev. Mr. Grinfield in the first part of his "*Vindiciæ Analogicæ*." Notice is taken also of an elaborate article on Stewart's Dissertation,

which appeared in No. lxxi of the *Edinburgh Review*. Neither of these Writers, however, appears as a respondent to the Provost of Oriel on the main argument. Mr. Grinfield says: 'I have, Sir, as strong a dislike to Calvinism as you or any man can feel.' And Philalethes confines himself to pointing out certain inaccuracies in Dr. Copleston's reasoning. Some of the most important objections which lie against the doctrines maintained in the *Enquiry*, these Writers have not brought forward; and we are thus deprived of the advantage of the learned Author's remarks on those points to which, in our review of his work, we directed the especial attention of our readers. But the concessions he makes in this pamphlet, are very material. Without appearing to give up an inch of ground, he, with ineffable dignity, to a certain extent backs out; and though very, very angry with Mr. Grinfield, he pays that involuntary homage to the weight and acuteness of his objections, which his opponent would not, on any personal grounds, have stood the least chance of obtaining.

In the first place, Dr. Copleston retracts his commendation of Archbishop King, whose very dangerous and exceptionable work has lately been reprinted, under his sanction, for the benefit of the Oxford students. No circumstance, we must confess, tended to awaken our doubts as to the depth and extent of Dr. C.'s theological attainments, so much as his venturing his reputation on the revival of the Archbishop's refuted, and, we had hoped, exploded theory. The real design of the present pamphlet is, we suspect, no other than to qualify his eulogy on that Writer. Mr. Grinfield rather unceremoniously charges 'Mr. Provost' with eating up his own words.

'You commenced the note to your third discourse,' he says, 'by recommending "that valuable Sermon on Predestination and Foreknowledge, to all students who have been conscious to themselves of any confusion or perplexity, upon these subjects," and the name of "Copleston," has, accordingly, appeared in the public newspapers, subscribed to this unlimited sanction. Encouraged by your "general approbation of the design of reprinting Dr. King's discourse," Mr. Whately has lately re-introduced it to the public, as "calculated to afford useful hints, even to the most learned Divine, to furnish the younger student with principles on which to build his whole system of theology, and to supply even the unlearned with the most valuable instruction." Preface, page 2. The discourse (according to his opinion) "might justly have borne the title, of a rule for interpreting rightly the Scripture accounts of God, and of his dealings with mankind;" and Dr. King's notions might be esteemed "the proper basis of all sound theology." pp. 9, 10. Allow me, Sir, whilst calling these things to your recollection, to partake of your sympathy, whilst I am

suffering under the load of those "egregious mistatements" which you have laid at my door. You have since discovered that "his language is not sufficiently precise and guarded, to be secure from controversial cavils." And you add, "of its occasional laxity and vagueness I had myself complained." p. 41. I beg your pardon, Sir, I can find no complaint of this kind in your *former note*, with reference to any *theological* error of the Archbishop. You said, indeed, p. 122, that "he has not sufficiently distinguished between the words *analogy* and *resemblance*;" (a *faulx* which, of course, I am very willing to overlook, and which he labours under in common with Bishop Butler, and every writer on the subject;) but there is not a single hint given, either by Mr. Whately or yourself, to caution us against any of his *theological* blunders. Now you can discover the error which I pointed out, (*Vindiciæ*, p. 47, *note*,) "that wisdom in us may be as different from what we call wisdom in God, as light is, in our conception, different from the motion of the air that causes it." And though you add, "this is the *only* material error in which he seems to have fallen, and which must be regarded rather as a slip than a deliberate opinion," yet you immediately supply us with *another*, because "he has also unwarily and unnecessarily to his own argument, used the phrase *different nature*, when speaking of the Divine Attributes." *Remarks*, p. 40. I sincerely congratulate you, Sir, even on these partial discoveries; but if you would allow an acute Deist to point out a few others of a similar kind, you may find them stated by Mr. Anthony Collins, in my Appendix;" and I heartily wish that his whole pamphlet could have been reprinted. For though it is an affecting sight to behold a Deistical writer triumphing over a Christian prelate, yet it presents an admirable caution to men of rank and authority amongst us, not to bestow their praises at random, but consider themselves amenable to God and their country for the distribution of their eulogies.

'Let me put it to you, then, Sir, as a scholar and a Christian, whether *you* are exemplifying "the candour and moderation" which we both acknowledge may be found in the Archbishop's *Discourse*, when you insinuate that no "man of candid mind" (p. 41,) could have made the objections which I have urged against it? Are you prepared to shew, that Bishop Berkeley, "who had every virtue under heaven," was not a man of a "candid mind?" Are you prepared to make good this charge against Bishop Brown, against Dr. Fiddes, and the other learned and respectable writers whose authorities are to be found in my appendix? Even if I could have produced no such authorities, it would have been very harsh, and severe, and *inconsistent* in you to have charged me with neglecting "the rule of candour and common sense," (p. 43) because, whilst I allowed the excellence of your own and the Archbishop's *motives*, I had argued against the *consequences* of such opinions. However, as the case now stands between us, you may be assured, that I am not likely to be put down either by your sarcasms, or your apologies. At the end of this pamphlet, you will find authorities sufficient to bear me out in all my charges against the Archbishop's dis-

course, and to these authorities I appeal as quite sufficient to shield me from your insinuations.*

A second concession—if it does not amount to a direct retraction of what he had advanced—respects the moral influence of Predestinarian notions. Dr. Copleston had, on this subject, expressly appealed to ‘*historic testimony*’ as to ‘the natural tendency of Calvinistic opinions to breed a carelessness with regard to moral conduct.’ When hard pushed with the reply, that experience decides the other way; when historic testimony is turned against him, by the remark, that, in the Church of Rome, the Jansenists were austere moralists, while the Jesuits were notorious for loose morals and compromising casuistry; and that, ‘wherever Calvinism has been the prevailing faith, as in Protestant Switzerland, in Holland, in Scotland, religious communities have been remarkable for rigid discipline and virtuous lives’; ‘to this,’ says Dr. Copleston, ‘*I can only reply,*

‘that these communities have in general been remarkable also for diligent and zealous study of the holy Scriptures, whose spirit they have imbibed, and have carried it into the regulation of their lives. And, as was observed in the case of human ethics, that a belief in Necessity would probably never prevail long over moral principle, nor prevail at all where that principle is deeply seated and well exercised; so, in considering the influence of the Gospel, if the mind be carefully trained in religious instruction, if the precepts, the promises, the exhortations, the examples of Scripture be early and habitually impressed upon it, and above all, if the lesson of divine love and mercy exhibited in the scheme of redemption be duly considered and received into the heart, the doctrine of absolute decrees will have little or no injurious effect; but a hatred of sin will be superadded to the ordinary moral principles of our nature, and will act as a powerful preservative against the evil effects which might otherwise arise from such a persuasion when operating singly, or when possessing a strong ascendancy over other motives.’ pp. 27, 8.

Admitting the justness of this observation, what becomes of Dr. Copleston’s appeal to historic testimony? He shall himself furnish the answer. Speaking of ‘the natural connexion’ which he had pointed out between the opinions he assails, and the consequences charged upon them, he says:

‘And although this connexion might not be extensively supported by facts, (*which it is readily admitted not to be,*) a reason was assigned for the failure, viz. that the belief of Fatalism is rather nominal than real; and that where it is real, and yet unattended with its

* *Vindiciæ Analogicæ*. Part II. pp. 6—11.

natural consequences, some powerful counteracting causes have interfered to prevent them.' p. 29.

But Dr. Copleston *did* appeal to facts, to facts on the large scale of historical testimony; and his 'ready admission,' that facts do not yield support to his assertion, comes too late to entitle it to the merit of candour. The reason, however, he assigns 'for the failure' of the alleged connexion, is altogether unsatisfactory. It might serve to explain individual cases; such as might be instanced in infidel philosophers avowing the most pernicious and licentious opinions, yet, whose lives have not been stained by any gross immorality. But, when whole communities are referred to, and the tendency of the religious opinions in question has been seen operating for a series of ages, under so great a variety of circumstances, it is nothing better than an evasion to allege, that that tendency has uniformly been prevented from coming into effect by powerful counteracting causes. It is, however, a most important admission, that the communities holding the doctrine of Predestination, 'have, in general, been remarkable also for diligent and zealous study of the holy Scriptures,' have imbibed its spirit, and have 'carried it into the regulation of their lives.' Dr. Copleston has to explain, how a belief in that doctrine has been so generally associated with a diligent study of the Scriptures and with practical piety, if it has no foundation in the Scriptures, no connexion with real religion. He has to shew, how a diligent study of the Scriptures has led to the extensive prevalence of notions which receive from them, as he alleges, no support or countenance; and how this bold and dangerous dogma of Predestination has come to be interwoven with a system of truth. The creed of the Calvinist does not then, it should seem, altogether consist of Fatalism, or Predestination: Calvinism includes certain other doctrines. But this, Dr. Copleston had studiously kept out of sight. He had detached this one tenet of the Calvinistic theology from the system, as if it were the only one which distinguished it from other systems; and had tried to identify it as a whole with Fatalism. This is what we complained of in our review of his work. Judging from Dr. Copleston's statements, we remarked, one would imagine that Election and Reprobation were Calvin's constant theme, the fundamental article of his faith, and the distinguishing tenet of those who are called after his name. But now, according to our Author's own shewing, this tenet is, in fact, the only inoperative part of the Calvinistic system, and consequently, the feature by which it has the least right to be characterised; seeing that it is a tenet the belief of which, he tells

us, is, on the part of Calvinists themselves, nominal rather than real, and when real, harmless ; being, somehow or other, found in combination with a knowledge of the Scriptures and a hatred of sin. This error, then, if it be an error, which manifests so invincible a tendency to combine with Scriptural truth, must, one would think, have some affinity to truth ; must have at least an apparent relation to other truths. Calvinism only includes it among other doctrines in a system essentially true. But if so, the assailant of the tenet had need to look to it, that, in attempting to tear away what is thus interwoven with the whole tissue of Scripture doctrine, he does not injure the integrity of the fabric.

A third concession is extorted from the learned Provost, by Philalethes, who cites a passage from Dr. Hey's Lectures, directly in the teeth of Dr. Copleston's statement, that while ' Predestinarians openly deny Free-will, the advocates of Free-will never deny the Prescience of God.' He is forced to admit that the passage cited, ' does indeed give an instance of ' a nearer approach to this denial than' he ' had supposed was ' ever made by our English divines.' We suspect that his supposition was as hastily formed as it was uncandidly applied. Archbishop King might have taught him better. He speaks expressly of some who, ' to establish Contingency and Free-will, have denied God's Prescience.' ' 'Tis observable,' he says, ' that by the same way of reasoning, and by the same ' sort of arguments, *by which some endeavour to destroy the Divine Prescience*, and render his Decrees odious, Cotta long ago in Cicero attacked the other attributes, and undertook to ' prove that God can neither have reason nor understanding, ' wisdom nor prudence, nor any other virtue.*

Having made these important concessions in the first two sections, Dr. C. devotes the remainder of the pamphlet to the vindication of his remarks upon Analogy from the objections of the Author of *Vindiciæ Analogicæ*. This is a war of words in which we are not disposed to mingle. Dr. Copleston is very calmly haughty, and very mildly contemptuous, while his assailant is very irritable, and not over-courteous. The sum and substance of the wordy strife between them is, that Mr. Grinfield supposed the Provost to allude to ' mathematical ' analogies,' by the elementary formula he proposed, expressing it by the general signs A, B, C, D. Dr. C. says, he made no allusion to mathematics. Mr. G. admits that, if so, he mistook the design of the illustration ; but he shews, we think, pretty

* *Sermon on Predestination.* § xxxvii.

clearly, that the Provost has adopted Archbishop King's error, in confounding figurative language with analogy. Two instances of this occur in the Provost's Reply to the *Vindiciæ Analogicæ*. 'For example,' he says, 'the Law is said to be our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. Here the comparison is strictly analogical.' Again: 'I presume it would serve to give some idea of the Koran to a person ignorant of the word, to say that it is the Bible of the Mahometans. The Koran is to Mahometans what the Bible is to Christians.' Our readers will perceive that, according to this statement of the learned Provost's, things bearing not the least analogy to each other in their nature, become analogical by a mere figure of speech; that things of the most opposite kind, if they are susceptible of comparison in any of their relations, are analogous. Because the Koran is regarded in the same light by Mahometans, that the Bible is by Christians, therefore there is an analogy between them. We confess that we see no propriety in this use of words. We should have regarded the phrase, 'the Koran is the Bible of Mahometans,' as a simple metaphorical illustration, and as allowable in no other sense. If it was understood to imply an analogy between them, it would be objectionable as tending to mislead. With regard to the expression cited from Scripture, 'the Law is our schoolmaster,' Mr. Grintfield remarks:

"Here," you say, "the comparison is, strictly speaking, *Analogical*," p. 35. It may be so according to your meaning of the word, but, according to mine, it is *strictly metaphorical*. A metaphor may explain, as well as ornament a subject, because it generally compares what is invisible and abstract, with what is an object of sense and daily observation; but a metaphor can *prove* nothing, because the truth which it would illustrate must always previously be taken for granted. On the mind of an unconverted Jew, the Apostle's assertion would have no force, though to us who are believers, the allusion seems full of beauty and propriety. If the treatise of Bishop Butler had been made up of *such* analogies, what could it have *proved* to the satisfaction either of the Deist or the Atheist? pp. 21, 22.

Dr. Copleston's distinction between metaphor and simile is, in our view, far from correct. He affirms, indeed, that 'it is impossible to fix any accurate boundary between the two departments.'

'If those points,' he says, 'in which the relations are alike be either fanciful or of very slight importance, the transfer of name is usually called a *metaphor*, and is practised more for the sake of enlivening and adorning the style, than of explaining the nature of the subject. Metaphor is addressed to the imagination, Analogy to the

understanding: the object of the one is pleasure or excitement, of the other instruction.' p. 37.

Let us try the validity of this distinction. "God is light." Is this a metaphor, or is it analogy? As addressed to the understanding, not to the imagination, it ought, according to Dr. C.'s proposition, to be the latter; whereas no analogy is implied, light, which is put for holiness, being strictly the language of metaphor. "Even there shall thy hand lead me."—"In thy book all my members were written." Surely these are metaphorical expressions, yet, addressed to the understanding, not to the imagination, designed to instruct, not to please, and implying no analogy. "Wisdom is a tree of life." Here again is a simple metaphor. "Whom he did foreknow, he also did pre-destinate"—is this metaphorical language? Let us hear Archbishop King. 'To suppose that they (Foreknowledge and Predestination) are the same in God and in us, is just as reasonable as to infer, because wisdom is compared in Scripture to a tree of life, that therefore it grows in the earth, has its spring and fall, and is warmed by the sun and fed by the rain.' He means to affirm, that there is in both cases only an analogy, the things being alike different, for any thing we know, in *kind*. Dr. Copleston does not go this length; but his ideas of figurative language and analogy, as having scarcely any definable boundary, favour the Archbishop's representation. Mr. Grinfield has cited, in his Appendix, a passage from Bishop Brown, which, we think, very accurately lays down the distinction.

'To sum up the difference then between divine metaphor and divine analogy in full. Metaphor expresses only an *imaginary* resemblance or correspondency: analogy conveys the conception of a *correspondent reality or resemblance*. Metaphor is rather an *allusion* than a real *substitution* of ideas: analogy is a proper substitution of notions and conceptions. Metaphor at best is but the using a very remote and foreign idea to express something *already* supposed to be more exactly known: analogy conveys something correspondent and answerable, which could be now *no otherwise* usefully and really known without it. Metaphor is mostly in words, and is a figure of *speech*; analogy, a *similis ratio*, or proportion of *things*, and an excellent and necessary method or means of *reason* and *knowledge*. Metaphor uses ideas of sensation to express immaterial and heavenly objects, to which they can bear no *real* resemblance or proportion: analogy substitutes the operations of our *soul*, and notions mostly formed out of them, to represent divine things, to which they bear a *real* though *unknown* correspondency and proportion. In short, metaphor has *no* real foundation in the *nature* of the things compared; analogy is founded in the *very nature* of the things on both sides of the comparison; and the correspondency or resemblance is certainly *real*,

though we don't know the exact *nature*, or *manner*, or *degree* of it; at least we may safely presume this from the truth and veracity of God, who has thus made His revelations to mankind under the analogical conceptions and language of this world.*

Appendix. pp. 13, 14.

In a few words, the resemblance implied in metaphor, is known to be imaginary: the relation which is the foundation of analogy, is real.

But what has this philological discussion (for it is nothing more) to do with the subject of Calvinistic Predestination? Our readers will consider it as, metaphorically speaking, or analogically speaking, an episode. We now return to the main argument. Dr. Copleston re-asserts in the present pamphlet, that he had first 'pointed out the *natural* connexion' between Calvinism and a carelessness with regard to morals, which his unlucky appeal to facts was designed to confirm. In the Enquiry, he used stronger language, and talked of such a tendency being 'demonstrable by fair reasoning.' Deprived of the argument from historic testimony, he still considers himself as securely entrenched in his philosophical reasonings. We shall therefore briefly recapitulate the objections to those reasonings which he has *not* met, and leave the public to determine whether, or not, they are of sufficient force to deserve the notice of the learned and candid Inquirer.

1. We objected, in the first place,* to Dr. Copleston's account of the manner in which we arrive at the idea of the Divine Prescience, as unphilosophical and incorrect. We remarked, that he had confounded two things essentially distinct, expectation and knowledge; representing the Divine Prescience as no otherwise conceivable by us than as infinitely wise expectation: whereas rational expectation is mainly built on a belief in the Divine appointment, and therefore presupposes it. We observed, that the principle which leads us instantly to refer prediction to a supernatural agency, and to believe that contingent events come within the sphere of the Divine knowledge, is a universal principle, deeply rooted in our nature. Between the *mode* of the Divine knowledge and of human knowledge, it is felt that no analogy subsists. Had Archbishop King confined himself to this position, instead of maintaining, as he does, that we can arrive at the knowledge of the Divine perfections only by analogy, and that the *moral* perfections of the Deity, as well as his physical attributes, belong to Him only in an analogical sense; differing from the correspondent qua-

* Eclectic Review for May 1822. Vol. xvii. N.S. p. 398, *et seq.*

lities in the creature, not merely in mode or degree of perfection, but in *kind*;—had he, we say, contented himself with pointing out the difference of mode between the Divine knowledge and ours, his reasoning would have been less novel, but more correct. The truth is, that we arrive at the idea of God, and at that of his essential natural perfections, exactly in the same way; not by analogical comparison, but by testimony, concurring with the almost innate suggestions of reason and consciousness.

2. A second objection related to the inference which Dr. Copleston wished to establish on this false analogy. Because there is no connexion between human expectation and foresight, and the course of events, he would argue, that there is none between what comes to pass, and the Divine foreknowledge. This is a manifest absurdity. Man has absolutely no knowledge of the future, except what is derived from revelation. A calculation of probabilities is not knowledge. He is in uncertainty as to the possible event of the next moment. But the Almighty has a perfect, certain, universal knowledge of future events: and it is, therefore, a conclusion which the Author will never be able to invalidate, that between future events and Divine foreknowledge, there must be some connexion; events which are contingent to us, being certain to Him.

3. We objected, thirdly, to what appeared to us nothing better than a play upon words, where the Author is pleased to deny, that what is certainly future, and declared to be so, must necessarily come to pass. We observe, however, that he still adheres to this strange position. It is, he says, the 'only resource' against the Predestinarian hypothesis, 'not to admit the position as a necessary truth, "that what is foreseen, is fixed, and cannot be otherwise:" and it is one principal object of my argument, to prove that we are not bound to admit it, because there is no contradiction involved in the denial of it.' Surely, the cause must be desperate when this bold expedient is the only resource left to its advocate. That what is foreseen may be in its own nature contingent; that is to say, that the thing's not happening, or happening differently, would imply no natural contradiction; is admitted. It was foreseen, that Judas would betray his Master; but his not doing so would have involved no contradiction, had it not been foretold; and the contradiction, had events happened otherwise, would have related to the prophecy, not to the nature of the event, which was contingent, and admitted of the alternative. But contingent as an event may be in its own nature, its contrary implying no natural contradiction, and the cause why it so happens rather than otherwise being wholly unknown to

us ; yet, when foretold, it becomes certainly known to be future ; and if known to be certainly future, it must be fixed. Its being not fixed or uncertain, and yet certainly known, involves a palpable contradiction. The assertion, that a thing can be in the same respect at once certain and uncertain, is an absurdity. But an event's being predicted, though it makes the future event known to us, does not *cause* it to come to pass, does not in any way necessitate it. It was equally fixed or certain, therefore, before it was declared to be so by the prediction, before its futurity was revealed. What the circumstance of an event's being foretold, proves with regard to that particular event, it proves, as we remarked before, with regard to all other events,—that they are foreseen by God ; and if foreseen, known to be future ; and if known by the Divine Mind to be future, certainly future,—fixed ; equally certain with what to us is present or past. And the explanation of this fact is, that the cause which determines that a contingent event falls out in the manner that it does, rather than otherwise, is known to Him who knoweth all things, by virtue of his incommunicable attribute of Omniscience. We know of no other way in which Dr. Copleston can evade this conclusion, than by maintaining, either that events are effects which take place without a cause, or that the causes which determine these effects, are unknown to God himself. If every effect has a cause, a contingent event must be determined by some cause ; and that determining cause being foreknown, the effect must be foreseen ; being foreseen, it must be fixed or certain ; and if so, it cannot be otherwise. Not that its being otherwise would involve a physical contradiction, such as it would be to affirm that a part is equal to the whole, or that a ball gravitated towards the zenith. But, inasmuch as it is foreseen to be future, there are reasons, unknown to us, and wholly inscrutable, which make it certain that it will not be otherwise ; for, in the Divine mind, it is as it will be. We challenge all Oriel College to disprove these positions. Were they our own, this might savour of arrogance ; but they have been, for substance, long before the world, as urged by some of the acutest reasoners of any age. They have never yet been, and we are confident, never will be invalidated.

4. A fourth objection brought forward in our review of the learned Provost's Inquiry, was directed against his statement relative to the paralyzing effect of the creed of the Fatalist. We took the liberty of charging upon the Author a palpable blunder, in confounding a belief that things are fixed, with a knowledge of things as fixed—a belief in the absolute predestination of events in general, with a foreknowledge of particu-

lar events as inevitable. For he has attributed to the former, which is the creed of the Fatalist, an effect on the mind which could result only from the latter; that is to say, from that certain anticipation which amounts to foreknowledge with respect to the particular event. And he has erred still further, in representing the annihilation of all motive as the natural tendency of a belief in the unalterableness of events, even in a future state; arguing from the operation of certain notions on a depraved nature, to what must be the effect of the same principles in a holy nature. For the proof adduced in support of this charge, we must refer our readers to that article. We would now only remark, by way of further illustration, that instances are not wanting, which would completely overthrow the Author's representation. But then, his saving clause, that some powerful counteracting cause had interfered, would enable him to parry off the conclusion. There was at least one inhabitant of our fallen world, who had a firm belief in the unalterableness of the whole series of events in which he was to take the most prominent part; who *knew* the unalterable conditions under which he was placed; yet, in whom that belief and knowledge had no tendency to extinguish motive, or to paralyse exertion. A measure of that foreknowledge, including the certainty of their eventually participating in his glory, he was pleased to communicate to the most distinguished of his followers; and in them, this tendency never developed itself. In the writings of those illustrious individuals, we find the Divine predetermination of events, and their personal, unalterable predestination, frequently adverted to; yet, strange to say, instead of being employed as a reason for supineness, these references are seemingly introduced to heighten the force of motive, and the vigour of exertion. But then, the Apostles had not studied at Oxford; they were not metaphysicians; their belief in these doctrines was 'nominal rather than real;' and its being unattended with its natural consequences, doubtless only proves, that some powerful counteracting cause interfered to prevent it!

It is mortifying to find a vulgar fallacy, urged by some half-witted reprobate in apology for his vice, more in bravado than in sober earnest, dignified by learned writers with the name of an argument, and treated as a serious difficulty. Thus we find Archbishop King gravely pleading on behalf of his hypothesis, that it will supply an answer to 'that argument that has puzzled mankind, and done so much mischief in the world:' viz. 'If God foresee or predestinate that I shall be saved, I shall infallibly be so; and if he foresee or have predestinated that I shall be damned, it is unavoidable; and therefore it is no

'matter what I do, or how I behave myself.' The Archbishop admits, what Dr. Copleston and his authority Heylin seem not to have been aware of, that '*many answers have been given to this argument.*' In fact, such is its palpable folly, that it scarcely deserves a serious answer. Any man of plain sense would perceive, that between the proposition and the inference, there is no more rational connexion, than there would be between the sentences, If I am well, I shall get up to-morrow; therefore, I will not go to bed to-night. Or take a mode of reasoning more closely parallel: If God foresees that I shall be rich, I shall be rich: therefore, I need not work. The Tread-mill at Brixton would be the best school for such a reasoner. Yet, change a little the terms, so as to include the *inclination* with the action foreseen or preordained, and Dr. Copleston seems to think that it would be difficult for Philalethes, if not for the Provost of Oriel himself, to find an answer. We may state it thus: says A., 'If I am predestined to *choose* to do evil, I shall infallibly choose to do evil; or, if to choose the contrary, I shall choose the contrary.' 'And what then?' a plain man might ask in his simplicity. A. 'Therefore, it is no matter which I choose to do.' B. 'Why is it no matter?' A. 'Because it cannot be otherwise.' B. 'Otherwise than what?' A. 'Why, otherwise than it is.' B. 'Softly, my good friend; you mean, or ought to mean, that it will not be otherwise than it will be, or cannot be otherwise than God sees it will be; which is true, indeed, but nothing to the present purpose, because you do not and cannot know how it will be, except as you are resolved how it shall be. You have therefore given no reason at all. The present and the future are alike with God; so that, did his knowing what you will do, or will choose to do, form any ground for your present plea, his knowing what you *are*, ought to make you equally indifferent to any existing evils. Try the efficacy of this logic. God sees whether I am happy or miserable; therefore, it is no matter which I am, for I cannot be both at once. Just as rational is the argument, that your future happiness does not depend on your present conduct, because God foresees what both your conduct will be, and to what it will lead.'—This is putting the matter in a familiar way; but, in truth, the whole perplexity arises from wrapping up vague ideas in metaphysical language; and a little common sense on these points is worth whole pages of philosophizing.

5. We objected, in the fifth place, to Dr. Copleston's very dangerous and heretical notions respecting the Providence of God, connected with his idea, that the Divine Prescience and the free agency of man are truths apparently incompatible. The doctrine of Predestination is, in fact, only another phrase

for the doctrine of Providence; and if one is given up, both must be. The same word in Scripture is indifferently used in reference to the events of this life, and the interests of the next; and it is to be regretted that our Translators should have rendered it variously: as Acts iv. 28. "determined before;" 1 Cor. ii. 7. "ordained before;" Rom. viii. 29, Eph. i. 5, 11: "predestinated." If God's seeing a free agent act, or, what amounts to the same thing, his fore-seeing how he will act, is thought to infringe apparently on the liberty of the agent,* so as to constitute a metaphysical difficulty; much more must God's employing that free agency seem incompatible with human freedom. Accordingly, the learned Provost considers a controlling superintendence of events as a suspension, so far as exercised, of free agency; as leaving no room for freedom. Very different were the views of the acute and learned Hersley, who speaks of 'the foreknowledge and providence of the Deity, and that liberty which doth truly belong to man as a moral agent,' as things not only 'perfectly consistent,' but 'naturally connected.' What that liberty is, he is careful to explain, resolving it into the conscious power which every man feels he has, to do the action he approves, and to abstain from another which his conscience condemns,—a conscious power connected with a sense of accountableness. 'Happy, thrice happy,' he exclaims, 'they who act invariably by these (moral) perceptions! They have attained to the glorious liberty of the sons of God!' Here, then, the Bishop recognises another sort of liberty than that which is necessary to accountableness; that liberty of which St. Paul speaks when he says, that "the law (or principle) of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," had set him "free from the law of sin and death"—a freedom which he contrasts with the moral bondage of the sinner. Now then, it is quite clear, that free agency does not require this higher species of freedom, which is peculiar to the regenerate; and this is all that the Calvinist maintains. He denies the monstrous figment of the Arminian, a will independent of motives, independent of the nature of the agent, self moved, and sovereignly indifferent; he denies that the will of man is free from bias; but he does not dispute that man is free to will, that is, that he acts freely. It is truly astonishing how much nonsense has been talked on both sides for want of defining terms. Yet, the language of the Confession of Faith agreed

* "We do not deny that the attribute of foreknowledge in the Deity makes it difficult to conceive how men can be regarded by him as free and accountable agents."

upon by the Assembly of Divines, is most unexceptionably explicit on this point. 'Nor is violence,' they say, speaking of the Divine Decrees, 'offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.*' Again: 'God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty, that is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined to do good or evil.†' It is true, what follows seems to hold out the idea that this natural liberty was lost at the Fall; but the words, 'any *spiritual* good accompanying salvation,' shew, that the meaning of the reverend Compilers, was, not that fallen man had lost the power of freely willing, but that he is destitute of the strength to recover himself from a state of moral bondage; which is no metaphysical refinement, but a plain doctrine of Scripture. Dr. Copleston, however, differs not more widely from the Assembly of Divines, than he does from Bp. Horsley. He seems to have no idea that the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity can be got rid of, unless by setting up a Philosophical Free-will. He cites the following passage from Diderot, without attempting to point out its fallacy, merely as a proof of the bad moral tendency of such opinions, in the absence of counteracting causes.

"Examine it narrowly, and you will see that the word *liberty* is a word devoid of meaning; that there are not, and that there cannot be free beings; that we are only what accords with the general order, with our organization, our education, and the chain of events. These dispose of us invincibly. We can no more conceive of a being acting without a motive, than we can of one of the arms of a balance acting without a weight. The motive is always exterior and foreign, fastened upon us by some cause distinct from ourselves. What deceives us is, the prodigious variety of our actions, joined to the habit which we catch at our birth, of confounding the voluntary and the free. We have been so often praised and blamed, and have so often praised and blamed others, that we contract an inveterate prejudice of believing that we and they will and act freely. But if there is no liberty, there is no action that merits either praise or blame; neither vice nor virtue; nothing that ought either to be rewarded or punished. What then is the distinction among men! The doing of good and the doing of ill! The doer of ill is one who must be destroyed, not punished. The doer of good is lucky, not virtuous."

Dr. Copleston gives this as an illustration of the 'theory of Necessity:' it is, in truth, the theory of the *Materialist*. This important fact he leaves out of sight, though it is the most remarkable feature in the Frenchman's reasoning, and

* "Confession." ch. iii. § 1. † ch. ix. § 1.

gives all its *vires* to the passage. Why has he done this? Can such opinions be fairly adduced as a sample of the moral tendency of the doctrine of Necessity, linked as that doctrine is in his title-page, not with Materialism, but with Calvinistic Predestination? Diderot is right, when he says that we cannot conceive of a rational being acting without a motive, and denies that there can be a freedom from motive. The fallacy lies in his applying the laws of mechanical motion to the operations of the mind, and confounding moral causes with mechanical ones. As to the rest of the passage, it would be a false inference, even were we to grant him his premises. This Leibnitz has ably shewn. Rewards and punishments would still have a place in a system of motives, as moral means of producing good and repressing evil; and it would still be wise and necessary, to punish, not to destroy the doer of ill: a principle which is recognised in the treatment of animals. So far, is this Frenchman's profligate doctrine from being a legitimate consequence of his own philosophical creed. But the best comment on the whole extract that we can supply, is a noble passage in the sermon of the learned prelate before alluded to, which we shall make no apology to our readers for giving at length.

The previous certainty of things to come, is one of those truths which are not easily comprehended. The difficulty seems to arise from a habit that we have of measuring all intellectual powers by the standard of human intellect. There is nothing in the nature of certainty, abstractedly considered, to connect it with past time or with the present, more than with the future. But human knowledge extends in so small a degree to future things, that scarce any thing becomes certain to us till it comes to pass; and therefore we are apt to imagine that things *acquire* their certainty from their accomplishment. But this is a gross fallacy. The proof of an event to us always depends either upon the testimony of others or the evidence of our own senses; but the certainty of events in themselves arises from their natural connexion with their proper causes. Hence, to that great Being who knows things, not by testimony—not by sense, but by their causes, as being Himself the First Cause, the source of power and activity to all other causes,—to Him, every thing that shall ever be, is at all times infinitely more certain than any thing either past or present can be to any man; except perhaps the simple fact of his own existence, and some of those necessary truths which are evidenced to every man, not by his bodily senses, but by that

• internal perception which seems to be the first act of created intellect.

• This certainty, however, is to be carefully distinguished from
 • a true *necessity* inherent in the nature of the thing. A thing
 • is *necessary* when the idea of existence is included in the
 • idea of the thing as an inseparable part of it. Thus, God is
 • necessary;—the mind cannot think of Him at all without
 • thinking of Him as existent. The very notion and name of
 • an *event* excludes this necessity, which belongs only to things
 • uncaused. The events of the created universe are *certain*,
 • because sufficient causes *do*, not because they *must* act to
 • their production. God *knows* this certainty, because He
 • knows the action of all these causes, inasmuch as He himself
 • begins it, and perfectly comprehends those mutual connexions
 • between the things He hath created, which render *this* a cause
 • and *that* its effect.

• But the mere certainty of things to come, including in it
 • even human actions, is not all that is implied in the terms of
 • our Lord's prediction; which plainly intimate that the actions
 • of men, even their worst actions, are in some measure com-
 • prised in the design of Providence, who, although He wills
 • not the evil of any single act, undoubtedly wills the good in
 • which the whole system of created agency shall ultimately
 • terminate.

• There is yet another error upon this subject,
 • which, I think, took its rise among professed infidels; and to
 • them, till of late, it hath been entirely confined. But some
 • have appeared among its modern advocates, actuated, I am
 • persuaded, by the same humble spirit of resigned devotion
 • which gave birth to the plan of arbitrary predestination.
 • Deeply versed in physics, which the Calvinists neglected,
 • these men wish to reconcile the notions of God's arbitrary
 • dominion, which they in common with the Calvinists maintain,
 • with what the others entirely overlooked, the regular opera-
 • tion of second causes. So far as these Neces-
 • sarians maintain the certain influence of moral motives, as
 • the natural and sufficient means whereby human actions, and
 • even human thoughts, are brought into that continued chain
 • of causes and effects, which, taking its beginning in the
 • operations of the Infinite Mind, cannot but be fully under-
 • stood by Him,—so far they do service to the cause of truth,
 • placing the "great and glorious" doctrines of foreknowledge
 • and providence—absolute foreknowledge, universal provi-
 • dence—upon a firm and philosophical foundation; a thing to
 • be wished with respect to every doctrine of any practical im-
 • portance, whenever, as in this case, the great obscurity of

the subject renders the interpretation of texts of Scripture dubious, which otherwise, taken as they ought to be, in the plainest and the most natural meaning of the words, might be decisive. But when they go beyond this,—when they would represent this influence of moral motives as arising from a physical necessity, the very same with that which excites and governs the motions of the inanimate creation,—here they confound Nature's distinctions, and contradict the very principles they would seem to have established. The source of their mistake is this, that they imagine a similitude between things which admit of no comparison—between the influence of a moral motive upon mind, and that of mechanical force upon matter. A moral motive and a mechanical force are both indeed causes, and equally certain causes each of its proper effect; but they are causes in very different senses of the word, and derive their energy from the most opposite principles. Force is only another name for an *efficient* cause; it is that which impresses motion upon body, the passive recipient of a foreign impulse. A moral motive is what is more significantly called the *final* cause; and can have no influence but with a being that proposes to itself an end, chooses means, and thus *puts itself* in action. It is true, that while *this* is my *end*, and while I conceive *these* to be the *means*, a definite act will as certainly follow that definite choice and judgement of my mind, provided I be free from all external restraint and impediment, as a determinate motion will be excited in a body by a force applied in a given direction. There is in both cases an equal certainty of the effect. But the principle of the certainty in the one case and in the other, is entirely different; which difference necessarily arises from the different nature of final and efficient causes. Every cause, except it be the will of the Deity acting to the first production of substances,—every cause, I say, except this acting in this singular instance, produces its effect by acting *upon* something; and, whatever be the cause that acts, the principle of certainty lies in a capacity, in the thing on which it acts, of being affected by that action. Now, the capacity which force, or an efficient cause, requires in the object of its action, is absolute inertness. But intelligence and liberty constitute the capacity of being influenced by a final cause—by a moral motive; and to this very liberty does this sort of cause owe its whole efficacy—the whole certainty of its operation; which certainty never can disprove the existence of that liberty upon which it is itself founded, and of which it affords the highest evidence.

These distinctions between the efficient and the final cause

' being once understood, we may from the Necessarian's own
 ' principles deduce the firmest proof of the liberty of man.
 ' For, since God foreknows and governs future events, so far
 ' as subordinate agents are concerned in them, by the means of
 ' moral motives, that is, by final causes,—since these are the
 ' engines by which He turns and wields the intellectual world,
 ' bending the perverse wills of wicked men and of apostate
 ' spirits to His purpose,—and since these motives owe their
 ' energy, their whole success, to the liberty of the beings that
 ' are governed by them,—it is in consequence most certain,
 ' however it may seem most strange, that God could not govern
 ' the world as He does, by final causes, if man were not free ;
 ' no more than He could govern the material part of it mechan-
 ' ically, by efficient causes, if matter were not wholly passive.
 ' The Necessarian does not listen to this argument. He has
 ' furnished himself with an expedient to make room for the
 ' physical necessity he would introduce into what has been
 ' called the moral world. His expedient is neither more nor
 ' less than this, that he would annihilate the moral world alto-
 ' gether. He *denies the existence of the immaterial principle in*
 ' *man* ; and would stamp the very form of human intellect,
 ' that living image of the Divinity, upon the passive substance
 ' of the brain !'*

With this admirable specimen of truly philosophical reason-
 ing, we cannot do better than take leave, for the present, of
 the subject. Other confutations and refutations of Calvinism
 are before us, which will require us to resume the topic at some
 future period. Dr. Copleston's views of Prayer furnished our
 sixth objection to the doctrines contained in his Inquiry ; but
 we shall not repeat what we then remarked as to the unscrip-
 tural and comfortless character of the Oriel philosophy on this
 point. We have already said enough to shew, that the learned
 Provost has not met the most formidable objections to which
 his statements are open, and that these are objections which, as
 a wise and good man, it behooves him attentively to consider,
 and fairly to dispose of, before he ventures forth again as an
 assailant of Calvinistic opinions. As a critic and philologist,
 as a writer and a scholar, as professor of poetry and Provost of
 Oriel College, he deserves the reputation and the more sub-
 stantial honours he enjoys. We the more deeply regret that
 he should not have thought a little more closely, and informed
 himself a little more extensively, on theological subjects,
 before he undertook to write on them. Probably, they are a
 pursuit as new to him, as foreign from all his previous studies.

as Chemistry was to Bishop Watson, when he undertook to lecture on it at Cambridge. We judge so from the authors he cites, as much as from the immaturity of his own reasonings. If he will push his inquiries a little further, he will, we doubt not, be conducted to the conclusion, that Calvinism, in its crudest form, is but truth ill-stated, or, if we may so express it, truth out of drawing; that its statements may sometimes require correction, but that the denial of its principles must always involve error.

Art. III. *A Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies*. By Granville Penn, Esq. pp. 460. 8vo. Price 12s. London. 1822.

THIS is by far the most plausible and masterly attempt which has hitherto been made, to compare the facts of Geology with the sacred records of the Creation and the Deluge. Mr. Penn is an erudite speculative Geologist, rather than a personal observer of the facts and phenomena connected with the formation of the rocks, mountains, and other materials of the earth's surface. He does not, like Saussure, or Humboldt, or Macculloch, go forth to visit Alpine solitudes, or islands and shores of difficult and dangerous access, to gather materials for the chronology of the Earth, from the remaining monuments of former catastrophes and revolutions. He seems to have little relish for the romantic wanderings and fanciful theories which, time out of mind, have brightened the day-dreams of Geologists, and cheered them on in their perilous adventures among precipices, glaciers, and volcanoes. He likes not 'the dreadful pleasure' of climbing the craggy cliff embossed with mountains, or scooped into gulfs; and shrinks back from the position of standing on some Alpine pinnacle,

'Like shipwreck'd mariner on desert coast,'

to contemplate the sublimities of Nature. All such dangerous and uncomfortable modes of study, he renounces for an elegant library and a cheerful hearth, where the mountain storm cannot assail him, nor the avalanche break in upon the smooth current of his musings. The practical Geologist, he looks upon as a mere pioneer, who is to assist him by supplying the materials of which he may construct his system; and this, he sets himself to rear with all the indefatigable and formal industry of a German commentator, and all the calculating caution of an Aristotelian fresh from the schools.

Before he commences his own structure, however, he lays for it a strong foundation, by demolishing all the geological edifices previously built, and piling up their ruins and *débris* into a huge tumulus of amorphous fragments, which can never again, he thinks, be employed by any future architect, and must of course supply an imperishable mound of support for the "Mosaic Geology." It will afford our readers, we conceive, the most adequate notion of the work, to give them a specimen of our Author's powers in the character of the 'Architect of Ruin,' before we attempt a sketch of his more laborious undertaking,—the foundation of a system of Geology.

He commences his work of demolition, by employing the philosophical principles of Bacon and Newton, as tests to try the several Systems of Geology; among which he makes little discrimination, massing them all together, Whistonian, Wernerian, and Huttonian, under the name of Mineral Geology, 'or, according to a more recent denomination, Geognosy.' This science has avowedly for its object, the discovery of the *mode* of the *first formation*, and of the *subsequent changes* of the rocks and other materials on the Earth's surface, as deduced from observation and 'sound principles of physics, by the rules of an exact logic.'

The leading position of the Mineral Geologists, which our Author proves with great formality by multiplied quotations, is, that the crystalline phenomena of rocks, indicate the former existence of a chaotic ocean, or original chaotic fluid, in which a confused mass of elemental principles were suspended in a vast solution, till, after an unassignable series of ages, they settled themselves into order and correspondence of parts, by a gradual process of precipitation and crystallization, according to the laws of affinity and aggregation. Before the Earth obtained its present solidity, it is supposed to have derived its spherical figure from the operation of physical laws, by which also it was made to revolve upon its axis. Now all this, he shews, is in direct opposition to the principles of Newton, whom the Mineral Geologists affect to follow. Newton never dreamed of a first formation by the blind working of the laws of chemical affinity, in a chaotic solution. He expressly says: 'All material things seem to have been composed, and variously associated in the *first Creation*, by the counsels of an Intelligent Agent. For it became Him who created them, to set them in order; and if He did so, it is *unphilosophical* to seek for any other origin of this world, or to pretend that it might rise out of a chaos, by the mere laws of Nature; though, being once formed, it may continue by those laws for

'many ages.* Newton's philosophy is equally in opposition to the Huttonian doctrine of successive worlds. He says: 'The growth of new systems out of old ones, without the mediation of a Divine Power, seems to me apparently absurd.†

Again, what Newton advanced only as an *hypothetical illustration*, Geologists have laid down *positively*, that the Earth was once in a state of fluidity. Newton, however, merely says, 'If the earth were formed of a uniformly yielding substance, and if it were to become deprived of its motion,‡ it would settle into a perfect sphere; and if it were then to receive a transverse impulse, it would be changed to an obtuse spheroid, flattened at the poles. But, instead of concluding from this, that the Earth *was* formerly either fluid or of a yielding substance, he infers that it *was* originally thus formed at its first creation, God having given it this form, because it 'most conduced to the end for which He formed it. Newton refers to an Intelligent Cause; the Mineral Geologist, to a chemical *menstruum*. Newton proceeded 'from effects to their causes, and from particular causes to more general ones, till the argument ends in the most general.' Whereas the Mineral Geologists have never extended their analysis beyond the *particulars* belonging to mineral matter; although the mode of the first formation, which is the subject of their speculations, necessarily supposes the most general cause. This proceeding of theirs, Mr. Penn remarks, entitles them to be ranked among those of whom Bacon speaks, who impede knowledge 'by slipping off particular sciences from the root and stock of universal knowledge.'

De Luc makes rather a singular apology for giving up Newton's principle—'De Deo ex *phanomenis disserere ad philosophiam Naturalem pertinet*.' His words are:—'I shall not say *created*, because, in physics, I ought not to employ expressions which are not generally understood.' The word *created* was not, indeed, understood by many of De Luc's atheistical contemporaries, because, like Falstaff, they were 'troubled with the disease of not listening, the malady of not marking.' Newton, however, whose philosophy De Luc pretends to follow, made *creation* the leading principle of first formations, and consequently avoided the vague and aimless wanderings of the Mineral Geologist.

It is a rule of the Newtonian philosophy, that we should re-

* *Optics. lib. III. ad fin.*

† *Third Letter to Bentley.*

‡ *Si terra constaret ex uniformi materia, motuque omni privaretur, &c. Princip. l. iii. Prop. 19, prob. 3.*

fer to the same common cause, all existences which share the same common properties. Now not only does it hold good of the three kingdoms of matter, the Animal, the Vegetable, and the Mineral, that they share the same general properties, but there seems to be 'a community of system:' the Earth is fitted to support animals and vegetables, and they again cannot be supported or nourished without the Earth. They are, therefore, constituent parts of one whole; and the first formations of each, must, accordingly, be referred to the same *cause*, and to the same *mode*; so that, by discerning the relation of any one of them, we at the same time discern that of the other two. If we connect this with the Newtonian principle, 'That *all material things* were in the beginning created and set in order by 'God, in their fittest sizes, figures, proportions, and properties,' bearing in mind that the act of *creation* must have been immediate as to Him, we shall have the means of ascertaining, 'what is the authority of sensible phenomena, for determining 'the mode of the first formations of each of the three kingdoms of matter.' All terrestrial matter signifies only the aggregate of all the animals, vegetables, and minerals composing the Earth and its inhabitants. The first formation of each of these, our Author most ingeniously examines; and as this is one of the most original and striking parts of the work, we shall try to put our readers in possession of the substance of his observations.

If we trace back the generations of men to their *first formation*, we ultimately arrive at a primitive, ungenerated parent or parents; 'for there must have been a first-formed, created man, 'as certainly as there has since been a succession of generated 'men.' It is of little consequence to the argument, to what period of infancy, boyhood, manhood, or old age, the first man corresponded after his creation; though it agrees best with our notions of a Supreme Intelligence, to suppose that he was created mature. He possessed at all events a bodily structure similar to ours, the soft parts being supported and strengthened by means of *bones*. The first inquiry, therefore, which presents itself, relates to the formation of bone.

'To this question Anatomy replies: "The use of the *bones* is to give shape and *firmness* to the body; to be levers for the muscles to act upon, &c.:—their fibres, when *first formed*, are *very soft*, until, by the addition of a matter which is separated by the blood into them, they grow *by degrees* to the hardness of a cartilage, and *then*, perfect bone. But this change is neither made in a *very short time*, nor begun in all parts of the bone *at once*. By the continual addition of the ossifying matter, the bones increase till the hardness resists a further extension; and that

hardness increasing while they are growing, the increase of their growth becomes slower and slower, till they cease to grow at all." p. 61.

This is the process of the formation of bone *now*; but such could not have been the process at the formation of the bones of the first man. His bones could not have been formed by degrees, nor by a slow and gradual addition of ossifying matter, nor with soft fibres gradually growing hard and firm; for, if so, the process must have commenced in a maternal womb, whence it is certain that he did not proceed. He was created at once, with his bones firm, hard, and of their proper magnitude; the Creator anticipating, in that first formation, by an immediate act, effects which were thenceforward to be produced only by a gradual process, of which He then established the laws. Yet, if a bone of the first man now remained, and could be submitted to an Anatomist, he would doubtless, from its structure and sensible phenomena, infer, that it had been produced according to the laws of ossification; just as the Mineral Geologist sees in the structure of rocks, nothing but precipitations, crystallizations, and dissolutions which have occurred during the reign of chaos or the formation of new worlds. The Anatomist would conclude that this bone of the first man had been formed in the womb, had been at first soft and slender, and had gradually become hard and strong. But his conclusion would be false, and for this reason; he draws his inferences wholly from sensible phenomena, which, by the hypothesis, are inadequate to solve the question, viz. the mode of the first formation of bone. Hence we obtain this general principle; that sensible phenomena *alone*, cannot determine the mode of first formations, since the real mode was in direct contradiction to the laws which now regulate these phenomena.

The same reasoning will hold good of the first created tree. The tree under which the created man first reposed, and from which he gathered his first fruit, must have had a stem or trunk, composed of wood. What then is *wood*? The Naturalist answers, It is a solid body giving support and strength to the tree, as bones do to the bodies of animals. It is at first soft and herbaceous, before it acquires the solidity of wood, which it does only after many years; for 'as nature does nothing but by a progressive course, wood acquires its hardness only by little and little.' But, in the first tree, the wood could not have gone through this gradual process of hardening from a state of softness and herbaceousness. It must have been formed so at once and suddenly. Now if a portion of this first tree remained at present, and if a section of its wood were to be mingled with other sections of trees propagated

from seed or suckers, the Naturalist would not be able on inspection to perceive that it had not, like the rest, proceeded gradually and slowly from a soft to a hard state; he would see nothing in it but what had been produced by the ordinary laws of lignification; in the same way as the Mineral Geologist can see nothing in rocks, but crystals which have arisen from solutions or fusions of mineral matter by water or by fire. The inference of the Naturalist, however, like that of the Anatomist, would be false, inasmuch as the real mode of the first formation of trees, like that of bones and that of rocks, was in direct contradiction to the sensible indications of their phenomena; for 'the Creating Agent anticipated by an immediate act, effects which were thenceforth to be produced only by a gradual process of which he then established the laws.'

Let us now, a little more in detail, consider the first created rock, as we have considered the first created bone, and the first created wood. Rocks are looked upon by the Mineral Geologists as the '*magna assa parentis*,'—the 'first and most solid bones of this globe,' forming, in some measure, the skeleton, 'or, as it were, the rough frame-work of the Earth;' they are also said to be 'stamped with the character of a formation altogether crystalline, as if they were really the product of a tranquil precipitation.' But, if we follow Newton's second rule of philosophizing, by which we are bound to assign the same cause for the same effects, we must conclude, according to the analogy of the bone and the wood, that the real mode in which the first rocks were produced, was in direct contradiction to the apparent indications of the phenomena. The sensible phenomena which suggest crystallization to the Wernerian, or vitrification to the Huttonian Geologist, are exactly of the same authority with those which suggest ossification and lignification to the Anatomist and the Naturalist. Nothing can be more unphilosophical than their *prima facie* conclusions, so very different from the conclusion of Newton, 'that all the particles of matter were variously associated at the first creation by the counsels of an Intelligent Agent.' 'I am,' says Mr. Penn, 'well aware of the power of phenomena over the mind, and of the difficulty of resisting them.' But then, he remarks, the difficulty is precisely of the same kind as that which an illiterate peasant experiences in renouncing his persuasion, that the sun rises from the earth in the morning, and sets at night, either in the ocean or behind the hills.

The absurdity of the theory maintained by the Mineral Geologists becomes still more obvious, when we compare their principles with the known causes and operations of Nature as we learn them from observation and experience.

'When the mineral geology ascribes the first formation of rocks to the mode of crystallization in an universal aqueous fluid, it assumes an effect which was never known in course of production, and explains this effect by an assumed cause which was never known in course of operation. And what is this in philosophy, but assuming an occult cause? and, in reason, but assuming a fiction instead of a fact, for the basis of a science?

* * * * *

'To what cause, then, it will exclaim, are we to ascribe the regular successive *strata* in the *first* mineral formations, previous to the disturbance of which they bear the evidence? I ask, in reply: To what cause are we to ascribe the regular successive *laminae* in the shell of the first tortoise; or the regular successive folds in the wood of the first tree; or the regular successive compartments in the pulp of the first orange? The *final cause*, in each, was the *end* to which it was to serve; the *efficient cause*, was the *intelligent power* which sought those ends; to whom, all created magnitudes are equal.

'To what cause, it will again exclaim, are we to ascribe characteristic diversities of *granite, porphyry, serpentine, &c.*? I again reply, by asking: To what cause are we to ascribe the diversity of the *ivory* of the *first elephant*, and the *horn* of the *first elk*; of the *wool* of the *first sheep*, and the *fur* of the *first ermine*? Those were *first formations, then*, as the *granite, the porphyry, and the serpentine, continue to be first formations, now*. 'To what cause are we to ascribe the diversity of *spots* in the *first formed panther*, of *stripes* in the *first formed tiger*, and of a *plain hide* in the *first formed lion*? To what are we to ascribe the different textures, of *bone, cartilage, and muscle*, in the *created animal*? We may as well ascribe all these to differences of *secretion and accretion*, which never took place, as the diversity of *primitive rocks* to differences of *precipitation and crystallization*, which never took place. Of true *first formations*, the cause of the *being* and of the *diversity* must be the same. The philosophy of Bacon and Newton, will never consent to derive these from an *elemental chaos*.' pp. 95, 117, 18.

Having thus disposed of the doctrines of Geologists relating to the mode of first formations, Mr. Penn proceeds to examine by the same tests, their speculations respecting the changes and revolutions of the globe. Kirwan has a just remark to this effect; that we can obtain little more certain knowledge of past Geological facts, merely from their still existing consequences exhibited on the Earth's surface, than we could obtain of the history of ancient Rome, merely from the medals and scattered monuments of its former grandeur. D'Aubuisson also confesses, that 'those revolutions are of an order which has nothing analogous to the effects which we see Nature produce. The thread of induction,' he says, 'is cut off; it can conduct us no longer: and to attempt to advance without its aid, would be voluntarily to lose ourselves

'in pure hypothesis.' Cuvier, however, in a very different spirit, as if the thing were possible, exclaims: 'Would it not be glorious for man to burst the limits of time, and, by a few observations, to ascertain the history of the world, and the series of events which preceded the birth of the human race?' Yet, in the face of these confessions of ignorance, Geologists have advanced most confidently to the task of composing a minute history of the revolutions of the Earth, with no other materials than the fanciful speculations founded on a few striking appearances observed upon its surface. They tell us of indefinite periods of deposition from the chaotic waters, of the sinking of these waters, and the appearance of the rocks above them, and again, of a sudden rising and overflow of the waters on the newly bared rocks, and of many other events which they detail with all the minuteness of history and all the confidence of truth. Their appeal to the philosophy of Bacon and of Newton in support of their theories, is singularly unhappy. Bacon says expressly, 'that there is nothing in the history of the Creation to invalidate the fact, that the mass and substance of heaven and earth was created in one moment of time; but that six days were assigned for disposing and adjusting it.*' He admits most distinctly the authority of the Mosaic record; and those who reject this, and at the same time pretend to follow him, are, to say the least, not very consistent. Our Author now proceeds to take up the sacred record in detail, and he illustrates it by many very ingenious and novel observations. He shews that Rosenmuller, Bishop Patrick, and other eminent commentators, have been drawn away from the simplicity of the Mosaic narrative by the imposing arguments of the Mineral Geology.

The second verse of the first chapter of Genesis, Mr. Penn translates thus: "*But the Earth was invisible and unfurnished.*" In support of which, he first enters into a critical dissertation on the Hebrew conjunction *vau*; quoting the elder Michaelis, who assigns it no fewer than *thirty-seven* different significations, and Noldius, who gives it *seventy*. Our Author asserts, that 'it discharges in the Hebrew language, the functions of *all* the conjunctions, both copulative and disjunctive;' which is more correct than attributing to it so many different significations. There can be no doubt that it requires to be differently rendered; but, as its specific signification must, in every instance, be gathered from the context, it seems to us not a little dangerous to rest upon the precise force of this particle, the

* *De Aug. Scient.* lib. i. p. 37.

' true interpretation of the sequel.' The fact is, that the Hebrews appear to have laid no such logical stress upon the particle, as we are accustomed to attach to our exceptive *but*s, and argumentative *therefores*. The 'intimate relation of the ' sentences,' for which Mr. Penn contends, may be *marked* more clearly by the various rendering of the conjunction, but it must be *proved* by other and better arguments. There are some other criticisms on the passage, for which we must refer our readers to the volume.

Mr. Penn is much more successful in applying the late discoveries, if we may call them so, of Sir William Herschel, to obviate the difficulty of light being created before the sun. Sir William is of opinion, that the body of the sun is opaque, and ' that the splendid matter which dispenses light and heat ' to our world, is a luminous atmosphere, attached to its sur- ' face, figuratively, though not physically, as flame is at- ' tached to the wick of a lamp or a torch.' Mr. Penn infers, therefore, that the creation of light does not necessarily imply the creation of the body of the sun, nor the contrary. The solar orb, he thinks, was created in darkness at the first creation of " the heaven and the Earth;" and the period which elapsed from this creation till the creation of light, constituted the first night; while the first day commenced at the moment of the creation of light.

Our Author's next discussion relates to the meaning given, in the history of the Creation, to the term *day*, which has of late, in most systems of Geology, been understood to import a very long or an indefinite period of time. Why Mr. Penn calls the question an ' unlearned' one, we pretend not to divine: to us, it has always appeared to involve some very erudite inquiries. Rosenmuller, for example, whom Mr. Penn cites, in order to support the notion of an indefinite period of time, has recourse to the Protean conjunction *v*, which he renders *posthac*, *afterwards*, giving the reader the choice of so understanding it in any one of the three places where the *vau* occurs. Bishop Patrick fixes upon the *tohu vabohu*,* in preference to the conjunction, to support the same opinion. The words, he says, mean the chaos of the ancients, ' wherein the seeds and principles of all things were blended together;' and things might, he thinks, have remained in this state, ' a great while.' Rosenmuller, with whom on this point our Author agrees, we think judiciously,—says, that the notion of a chaos, which is not to

* These disputed words, according to Mr. Penn, signify " invisible and unfurnished."

be found in the Mosaic record, has been wholly derived from the fictions of the Greek and Latin poets.

One of the chief supports which Mr. Penn assumes for his account of the Mosaic Geology, is derived from Gen. i. 9. 10 "And God said; Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear. And it was so. And God called the dry land Earth, and the gathering together of the waters called He Seas. Our Author infers from this, that, to provide a basin for the waters in order to collect them into one place, a *disruption* and deepening of the solid parts of the Earth must have taken place; and as the operation was immediate at the Divine command, so, it must have been violent.

'The solid frame-work of the Earth was therefore burst, fractured, and subverted in all those parts where depression was to produce the profundity; and it carried down with it, in apparent confusion, vast and extensive portions of the materials or soils which had been regularly disposed and compacted upon it; leaving other portions partially dislocated and variously distorted from their primitive positions.' p. 182.

He imagines, further, that, as a secondary agency, either employed in producing or necessarily accompanying this 'tremendous primitive revolution of the globe,' volcanic expansion and explosion were in operation, by which the original crust of the globe would be thrown into a state of laceration and apparent ruin. There can, he thinks, be no doubt about the existence of extensive subterranean fires; and when the waters were extensively admitted to these by the disruption of the crust of the earth, volcanic action and explosion would follow as a physical consequence, from the provision of the Deity's own laws. This happened on the third day of the Creation, and consequently before the existence of any organised beings. Mr. Penn considers Psalm civ. as containing a beautiful commentary on this passage in the sacred record: "The waters stood above the mountains. At Thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of Thy thunders they hasted away; they went over the mountains, they went down by the valleys unto THE PLACE which thou didst found for them. Thou didst set a *bound* which they should not pass over." The "rebuke" and the "thunders" 'manifestly imply a crisis of stupendous and terrific convulsion,' when the waters of the sea or the abyss, not the hypothetical sea of solutions talked of by Geologists, were fixed in their capacious channel.

On the third day also, the Creator clothed the dry land, now separated from the waters, with a covering of vegetation, not in the infancy of growth, but "with the herb yielding seed," and "with the tree yielding fruit, after its kind."

On the fourth day, the two great luminaries of heaven were—not created, for this was done on the first day, but—appointed as lights “for dividing between the day and the night, and to be for signs, and for seasons, and for solemn days, and for years.” To confirm this interpretation, Mr. Penn, following Rosenmuller, enters into a minute criticism on the passage, which he translates: “And God said, Let the *lights* in the firmament of heaven, for dividing the day from the night, be for signs,” &c. The words יְרֵי תִּמְרוֹת, he contends, are not to be rendered, “Let lights be made,” but, “Let lights be,” i. e. serve for distinguishing, &c. It is worthy of remark, that even now, the moon is not seen as the ruler of the night, till she is three or four days old; as it was not till the fourth night after her revolution, that she was appointed to this office by the Creator. Vatablus, whom, Moreri says, even the Jews admired for his profound knowledge of Hebrew, remarks, that the opinion of the sun’s being created on the fourth day, was a modern conjecture of the Greeks and Latins, as the Hebrews uniformly assert the sun and moon to have been created on the first day. In this opinion, Rosenmuller concurs. (*Antiq. Tell. Hist.* p. 64.) Mr. Penn further attempts to shew, that it was on the fourth day that the heavenly luminaries were first visible, as previously their light had been transmitted to the Earth through a dense nebulous medium, *μὴτι ἡλίου, μὴτι ἀστρῶν ἐμφανιστῶν*—‘neither sun nor stars having been apparent.’

On the fifth day, the waters were stored abundantly with ‘great whales,’ and every moving creature; and the air was also peopled with ‘birds of every wing;’ and these were all commanded to be fruitful and multiply. It will be of importance here to recollect the state in which the bottom of the sea must then have been, after its bason was formed by the violent disruption of the primitive crust of the globe. It must in some places have been covered with shingles, gravel, and fragments of rocks; in others, with soil and alime; while every where it was stocked with marine animals and vegetables. This is of the utmost importance to the proper understanding of the Mosaic Geology.

Mr. Penn concludes this survey with a passage from Lord Bacon, in which that great man professes his belief,

“that God created heaven and earth; and gave unto them constant and perpetual laws, which we call of *Nature*; which is nothing but *the laws of the Creation*;—that the *laws of nature*, which now remain, and govern inviolably till the end of the world, began to be in force when God rested from His work:—that, notwithstanding God hath rested from creating, since the first sabbath, yet, nevertheless, He doth accomplish and fulfil His divine will in all

things, great and small, general and particular, as full and exactly by providence, as He could do by miracle and new creation ; though His working be not immediate and direct, but by compass ; not violating nature, which is His own laws, upon His creatures." p. 242

Mr. Penn comes next to the DELUGE, which is perhaps the most interesting topic of all Geological discussions. His views of that great revolution seem to be not less accurate than they are novel, notwithstanding the multitudinous inquiries which have been directed to this subject. The Mineral Geologists have determined, ' that the soils of all the plains, (such as those of ' Alsace, Holland, and Lombardy,) were deposited in the ' bosom of a tranquil water ; that their actual order is only to ' be dated from the period of the retreat of that water ; and ' that the date of that period is not very ancient.' In this conclusion, the most distinguished Naturalists of the age concur, among whom we may mention, Dolomieu, Saussure, De Luc, and Cuvier. By following the Mosaic history, we obtain the details of this great revolution.

Moses states, that, in consequence of the wickedness of man being great in the Earth, God resolved to destroy what he had made—" man and beast"—" all flesh"—" *together with the earth ;*" excepting only the righteous Noah and his family. The full import of the phrase " with the earth," has seldom been attended to in this inquiry, though it must obviously form the basis of all our reasoning. The Hebrew particle *אִתּוֹ* is most frequently rendered by *cum*, *und cum*—*with, together with*. The Septuagint gives, *ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΓΗ* ; the Chaldee Paraphrase and both the Targums give *cum terrâ* ; and Aben Ezra much more strongly paraphrases the passage, '*Perdam eos, et perdam terram,*' I will destroy them, *and I will destroy the earth*. St. Peter says distinctly : *ὁ τότε κόσμος, ὑδατι κατακλυθεὶς, ἀπώλετο.* (2 Pet. iii. 6, 7.)—" the world which then was, being overflowed with water, " perished." A still more ancient testimony confirms the interpretation, Job xxii. 15, 16., which Mr. Penn renders, *with some learned commentators, " whose foundation (the Earth) " was destroyed by a flood of waters.*" The same ancient Author says, alluding to the two great revolutions, " He " withholdeth the waters, and they dry up ; also, He sendeth " them forth, and they *destroy the Earth.*" (chap. xii. 15.) What strongly confirms this view of the passage, if, indeed, it require further confirmation, is the promise of God given after the Deluge, " Neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the " *Earth.*"

From these historical documents, our Author infers, that the *second Earth*, upon which the Ark rested, (for that which is now our habitation, is not, he contends, that which existed before

the Deluge,) was produced in the same manner as the *first* Earth, then destroyed by the breaking up of the rocks and strata which formed its crust, thus forming of the first Earth a *new* basin for the sea, and elevating the *former* basin of the sea to become the new dry land. For the legitimacy of his logic, he again appeals to his guides, Bacon and Newton. If the *first* Earth was formed by draining off the waters into a basin formed for them, on the principle of referring like effects to like causes, we should be led to conclude that the *second* Earth also might be produced by similar means. And that this is not a mere conjecture, is proved by the record itself, and by all the facts which the modern study of Geology has elicited. But if so, the Earth which we now inhabit, constituted the bed of the ocean for the period of one thousand, six hundred, and fifty six years; it was also subjected to the operation of the waters of the Deluge for about twelvemonths. The Mineral Geologists are all agreed as to the fact, 'that our *continents once formed the bed of the sea.*' This is incontestably proved by the immense beds of sea-shells incrustated in the masses of mountains, and by the innumerable marine productions found when the lowest strata are penetrated to a great depth. Sometimes, the shells are so numerous as to constitute the entire body of the stratum; and they are almost every where in a high state of preservation, retaining their most delicate and fragile parts, and often their pearly lustre. It is to be remarked also, that every part of the Earth which has hitherto been explored, exhibits such appearances. As to the accuracy of these facts, there is now no controversy even among the most sceptical.

But it is necessary for the argument, to prove, not only that the present dry land was once the basin of the Sea, but that a great primeval convulsion took place, when the former basin of the Sea was converted into the habitable Earth, while the former continents were shattered and deepened into the bed of the present ocean. Geologists have established these facts also by accumulated evidence. The bare pyramidal summits of the Alps, as D'Aubuisson remarks, 'are eloquent witnesses of the destruction of the soils which once encompassed them, and of which they formed a part.' 'All the substance,' says Saussure, 'which they now want, has been broken off and swept away; for we can discern nothing around them but other summits, whose bases are equally rooted in the soil, and whose sides, equally fractured, indicate immense ruins.' What is called the Transition class of rocks, points to a revolution, 'which, from the numerous indications that we wit-

'ness, is, perhaps, the most violent of all which occurred during the formation of the mineral shell of the globe.'

The agents which Mr. Penn conceives to have been called into operation, besides the mass of water, are earthquakes and volcanoes. He makes a very proper distinction here, between what we know of these agents from modern observation, and what must have been the *extent* of their action when called into simultaneous operation over the whole globe. He refers to the Giant's Causeway, the Island of Staffa, and other great depositions of basalt, for the proof of a more widely diffused volcanic action than we can now expect to see exemplified in the limited range of a few conical mountains.

M. Boué, in his "*Essai Géologique sur l'Ecosse*," just published, has concluded, that all the basaltic rocks from Dunbar to the Firth of Clyde, are the production of an immense submarine volcano, which he thinks must have existed somewhere in East Lothian. As M. Boué reasons upon *data* very different from Mr. Penn, this conclusion is of some importance. This volcanic action is supposed by our Author to have been produced by the admission of the sea water to subterranean fires in the interior of the globe; while the whole was directed by the same Power who established the laws of volcanic action.

The general conclusion is, that there have been *two*, and *only two* great revolutions of this globe; the first, at the formation of the basin of the primitive ocean; the second, at the formation of the basin of the present ocean. This, our readers are aware, is at complete variance with the theories of Geologists, who, instead of *two*, affirm that there have been '*four successive seas*,' and that the *revolutions* have been *numerous*; thus multiplying causes without necessity, and contrary to sound philosophy. They hesitate not to ascribe the formation of low levels, or plains, between chains of mountains, to the *hand of Time* and atmospheric agents, which have imperceptibly eroded and wasted away all the immense mass of matter which filled up the void now existing; though they forget to tell us why the mountains themselves were spared, and why the hand of time and the atmospheric agents acted so capriciously, as it would appear from these historians, they must have done.

It is a very singular circumstance in the history of Infidelity, that the French Encyclopedists brought forward the very arguments here adduced by Mr. Penn, in order to disprove the Deluge altogether.

'It is a truth,' they say, 'now recognised by the most enlightened naturalists, that the sea, in the most remote times, occupied the greater part of the continents which we inhabit; it is to its residence, that is owing the prodigious quantity of shells, of skeletons of fishes,

and of other bodies, which we find in the mountains and strata of the earth, in places often very distant from the bed which the sea actually occupies. In vain would any one attribute these phenomena to the Universal Deluge: we have shewn, under the article Fossils, that that revolution, having been merely transient, could not have produced all the effects which the greater part of naturalists have attributed to it. Whereas, in supposing the residence of the sea upon our earth, nothing will be more easy than to form to oneself a clear idea of the formation of the strata (i. e. the secondary strata) of the earth; and to conceive, how so great a number of marine bodies are found in a soil which the sea has abandoned. These writers were little aware, that they were urging the very statement of the record; and that what they so authoritatively opposed, was, in fact, not the record itself, but the misinterpretation of the record.*

The reasoning of Mr. Penn as to the means by which the bones and bodies of land animals now subsisting only within the Tropics, have been imbedded to a great depth in the soil of Siberia and other northern countries, is, we think, one of his most successful efforts of ingenuity, learning, and sound judgement. Keeping to his description of the breaking up of the former continents in order to form a new channel for the present ocean, and to the effects of the great Deluge, he shews, that, according to the strongest analogy drawn from the tides and currents, and the velocity of sailing, that the body of an elephant or of a rhinoceros, could have been transported from the Equator to Siberia in from fifteen to twenty days. The rapidity with which such a body might be imbedded to a considerable depth, he illustrates from the effects of the *Pororoca* or *Bore*, a rapid elevation of the tide which frequently occurs on the East coast of America. Condamine says, that the Bore reaches its greatest elevation in one or two minutes, advancing with a tremendous noise, presenting in front 'a promontory of water' from twelve to fifteen feet in height, and breaking down and sweeping away every thing in its course. An eye-witness told Mr. Penn, that a *Bore* which occurred on the coast of Nova Scotia, instantly imbedded a schooner of 32 tons so deep in sand and ooze, that only her *taffel*, or upper rail of the deck, could be seen. Now, when the whole mass of the waters of the globe were flowing over the mountains at the Deluge, it is easy to conceive that their effects must have been much greater than that of any *Bore* whatever. In this way, Mr. Penn at once gets over the difficulty of supposing that the ante-diluvian animals lived where their remains are now found. This is rational and intelligible, compared with the wild and impious speculations which infidelity has vented on this subject. Sir R. Phillips, for instance, in his *New System of Philosophy*,

* *Encyclop.* Tom. X. *Art. Mer.*

gravely calculates the time when Great Britain was situated within the Tropics, and finds from the motion of the perihelion point, which is only 52" in a century, that this circumstance dates about *one hundred and fifty thousand years before the Mosaic Creation!!* On the same grounds he prophesies, that our Island will be submerged sometime about the year 4641 of the Christian era, and that it will lie about 3000 years more at the bottom of the merciless ocean!

Most readers know that Brydone, in his "Tour to Sicily and Malta," contested the truth of the Mosaic History upon the ground of the Volcanic Phenomena of Etna, chiefly, as he pretended, on the evidence of the Canon Ricupero. Now we are told by Dolomieu, whose veracity is as unquestionable as his profound skill in Mineralogy, that the worthy Canon 'died without any other affliction than that which was caused to him by the work of Mr. Brydone,' owing to its having excited suspicions of the orthodoxy of his faith. Dolomieu expressly contradicts Brydone, affirming, that 'vegetable earths between beds of lava do *not* exist,' and that 'it is not in such facts that we can trace the *age* of that volcano.' This it is important to every friend of truth to know, as Brydone's work, though, as an authority, it has long been given up, obtained a wide circulation at first, and is still read for its cleverness.

But a question here arises. If the ante-diluvian continents are now at the bottom of the sea, why does Moses mention the Euphrates and other post-diluvian rivers as watering the *Garden of Eden*? De Luc has met this difficulty with the conjecture, that the old names were transferred to the new rivers, as is common in colonies where new places are called after the names of the mother country. Our Author rejects this explanation as only cutting the knot, and suggests that the whole passage, Gen. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, originated in an ancient gloss, which has crept into the text. He gives it thus,

Text.

Supposed Gloss.

The name of the first is *Pison*; that is it which compasseth the whole land of *Havilah*, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second

And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it, &c.

Supposed Gloss.

river is *Gihon*: the same is it, that encompasseth the whole land of *Ethiopia*. And the name of the third is *Hiddekel*; that is it which goeth in front of *Assyria*. And the fourth river is *Euphrates*.

Mr. Penn fortifies this criticism by referring, as to a parallel case, to the gloss found in the *Codex Ephremi*, in the Royal Library of Paris, which has been taken into the received text. The last clause of the third, and the whole of the fourth verse of the Vth chapter of John, appear in that MS. as a marginal note in a different hand. The *Codex Ephremi* is by Wetstein pronounced to be of the same age as the celebrated Alexandrian MS. All that we can say of this criticism is, that, though it is both ingenious and plausible, it proceeds wholly upon the dangerous ground of conjecture, which ought never to be admitted without the most obvious necessity into Biblical investigations.

We have extended our review of this ingenious and valuable work to so great a length, that we have left ourselves no room to advert to a variety of interesting topics connected with the general argument, in the treatment of which Mr. Penn has displayed the same learning, extent of information, and acuteness, that appear in the specimens we have given. The volume demands the attention of every Geologist, while it will not fail to interest the Biblical critic, and all who attach importance to the bearings of science on the evidences of Revealed Religion.

Art. IV. *Thoughts on the Anglican, and American Anglo-Churches*. By John Bristed, Counsellor at Law, &c. 8vo. pp. 500. New York. 1822.

WERE the question of church-polity stripped of all the adventitious matter which party-spirit and secular interests have mixed up with it, it would resolve itself simply into this: What system of ecclesiastical rule and discipline is in itself best adapted, as a means, to secure the two-fold object of Christian institutions—the perpetuation and the extension of the Church of Christ. We say, in itself adapted, because the proper way of determining the question would be, to consider the several schemes of church-polity separate from an Establishment, a state of things with which they have no necessary connexion. The alliance of Church and State is a measure of political expediency, which must be tried by other considerations. What sort of church-polity is best adapted, and has the strongest claims to be taken into *such* an alliance, is obviously a very different inquiry from the first. The end proposed by the complex scheme being changed, the adaptation of the means is set in quite a different light. Episcopacy may seem to possess some natural recommendations, in its primitive character; and those who are so honestly of this opinion

as to love it for its own sake, may possibly regret that it should be seen in this country through the disguise of an Establishment. Those who regret the want of discipline in the Church of England, and who are accustomed to speak of this as the only spot in its sun-like splendour, must needs regret the cause equally with the effect; especially since the cause which has produced this want of discipline, is such as would render discipline, if it were practicable, a greater evil than the want of it. Such friends of Episcopacy must, therefore, naturally wish for an opportunity of having the superior efficiency of their favourite scheme of church-government, put to the test under circumstances which would give full scope, and as it were fair play to its native energies. Such an opportunity seems to present itself in the United States of America, where Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches, alike protected by the State, yet, unencumbered with its patronage, are seen in amicable, and we doubt not beneficial competition. What Episcopacy, under such circumstances, may lose in outward pomp and dignity, it cannot fail to gain in inward purity and primitive discipline.

The majority of Episcopalians, however, it cannot be concealed, have no relish for this humble sort of Episcopacy. Their attachment is to an Establishment, and an Established religion; and a non-established Church, and a non-established religion, would seem to them a very poor sort of thing indeed. Like a root out of a dry ground, it would have in their eyes neither form nor comeliness. They will not deny that Episcopacy might exist in such a state of humiliation, and put forth its spiritual functions; but it seems to them an unnatural condition, one of dilapidation and disgrace. So strong is the tendency of Episcopacy to combine, both in idea and in fact, with the elements of secular grandeur, and to identify itself with political rule.

We are indebted for these "Thoughts" of Counsellor Bristed's, to a publication which appeared in this country in the year 1821, written by the Rev. S. C. Wilks, under the title of "Correlative Claims and Duties," which has for its main design, to shew 'the necessity of a Church-establishment' in a Christian country, for the preservation of Christianity 'among the people of all ranks and denominations.' The British Reviewers, we recollect, pronounced it unanswerable. The fact is, that it contains nothing in the shape of reasoning, that has not been met and refuted again and again. It is neither an answer to what has been written on the other side, nor admits itself of an answer, the argumentation being singularly feeble, vague, and untangible. But the Writer evidently

means well; and the strain of piety which runs through the work, may render it useful among the only class for whom, we presume, it was designed, members of the Church of England. On the other side of the Atlantic, however, it appears to have attracted somewhat more notice than on ours; and Mr. Wilks has the honour of having drawn down upon "the Anglican Church," this indignant *exposé* by way of rejoinder. 'The main position,' says Mr. Bristed, 'taken and enforced by Mr. Wilks, is,—that where there is no Church-establishment, a nation necessarily tends to irreligion and heathenism.'

'An inquiry, however brief and cursory, into the soundness of this position, may be deemed of some moment in these United States, where no church-establishment can be instituted, without violating an express provision in the federal or national compact, which binds together the whole Union. For, if this doctrine be sound, America has reason to apprehend the most portentous national evils, in consequence of not having linked the civil government and some one dominant Christian sect in the bonds of inseparable alliance.'

The Author's qualifications for this Inquiry are set forth in the Introduction. He represents himself as having a kind of hereditary claim to be enrolled among the advocates of all that vitally concerns the well-being of the Protestant Episcopal Church, whether it be that established in England, or its legitimate offspring located in these United States. His father, grand-father, and great grand-father were, he tells us, all beneficed clergymen in the Church of England; his elder brother is so now; and he was himself designed, from his birth, for the clerical calling. With this view, he was sent to Winchester College, which had for its head-master at that time, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Warton, 'of classical and poetical memory.' When he had been here little more than three years, and had ascended from the lowest class up to nearly the head of the senior part of the fifth form,

'a general rebellion against the severe and capricious authority of Dr. Huntingford, then only Warden, now both Warden of Winchester College and Bishop of Hereford, broke out among the gownsmen or students on William of Wykeham's foundation. This rebellion was headed, and the oath of universal conspiracy administered, by Richard Mant, then one of the prefects in the sixth form, and now a protestant champion of the popish doctrine of *baptismal* regeneration, and one of the Editors of Mant and D'Oyley's Family Bible. In order to set an example of vigorous discipline, the Warden and Fellows of Winchester, after an express pledge on their part to bury the whole under an act of general amnesty, expelled the first forty boys who stood senior on the college rolls.'

Mr. Bristed's name 'happened to stand the twenty-first 'on the roll,' and he was consequently included in the act of expulsion. He returned to the parental roof, where he spent some years, still 'steadily directing his steps' towards an entrance into the Church. But, at the age of seventeen, his resolution as to taking orders was considerably shaken, in consequence, he tells us, of several conversations with the Provost of Queen's College, Cambridge.

'The main substance of the learned Provost's arguments, in order to dissuade me from entering the Church, was, that as all the livings in the establishment were under the control of patronage, public or private; either ministerial, as representing the government, or lay, as belonging to individual noblemen and gentlemen; or clerical, as vested in single bishops or in religious bodies; a man's location or ascent in the national Church did *not* depend exclusively, or chiefly, or, probably, at all, upon *his own* talents, learning and character; but upon some extrinsic influence, some remote contingencies and probabilities, over which he had no control.

'In addition to which, he represented the clerical market in England as being overstocked; the number of parishes and church benefices bearing no reasonable proportion to the multitudes of the national clergy. Whence, he concluded, that either of the other learned professions, whether law or physic, would be preferable for a young man to pursue, as rendering him in a greater degree the master and carver out of his own fortunes.

'All these, and other similar observations, to be sure, bore only a secular aspect, and had nothing to do with preaching the Gospel, either to the poor or to the rich; yet, falling from the lips of a clergyman high in the establishment, advanced in years, and distinguished for his talents and learning, made a deep and lasting impression upon my unexperienced, unballasted mind; and induced me to relinquish all thoughts of the church, and embrace the calling of a physician.'

'My objections to the Church of England were then, and are now, confined exclusively to her *political* position; her close alliance with the state; her system of patronage, whether lay or clerical, excluding the congregations altogether from any choice of the clerk, who is to minister to them spiritually; and her provision of tithes. Her liturgy, articles, and homilies, are all strictly spiritual; and when faithfully set forth, and supported by the preaching and living of evangelical clergymen, are eminently calculated, under the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, to call men from darkness into light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

'My kingdom is *not* of this world, emphatically declares the Lord Jesus Christ. But Bishop Warburton, with all his immense talents and exhaustless ingenuity, urges the position, that the Church and the State, in England, are, in themselves, two free and independent sovereigns, and *as such*, form a mutual, equal alliance and league

between each other; in the same manner as is, or might be, done between any two other earthly potentates.

But, without encountering any detail, we may simply ask, *who is the head of this independent, sovereign church?* The Lord Jesus Christ himself. And *does He* enter into an equal, mutual alliance, offensive and defensive, with impious, irreligious, profligate, formal sovereigns? for example, with the brutal, bloody Henry; the politic, arbitrary Elizabeth: or the perfidious persecuting dynasty of the Stuarts? *Utrum horum mavis, accipe.* Which will ye believe? The Saviour himself, who says his kingdom is not of this world, or the right reverend William Warburton, who seeks to stamp the secular stain upon its beauty of holiness?

In addition to this, the political wisdom of excluding every other religious denomination, except the dominant sect, from an equal participation in the rights, privileges, and offices of government, is more than doubtful. This policy proscribes, and thus renders useless, if not hostile, at least *one-third* of the talent, learning, piety, and efficiency of the whole empire. Mr. Bates, a loyal adherent to the British government, and a sound churchman withal, in his valuable work called "Christian Politics," recommends, that, while the Anglican church should be protected in all her present emoluments, benefices, and dignities, the partition-wall between her and the other denominations should be so far thrown down, as to admit every religious persuasion, throughout the empire, to an equal share in the offices of government, whether civil or military; giving to all the citizens equal political rights and privileges, and allowing to the national church the exclusive enjoyment of her revenues and ecclesiastical prerogatives.

It is not easy to find a valid reason why Britain should not repeal her *Test and Corporation acts*; laws passed amidst the heat and smoke of religious intolerance and persecution. She has already done it, with signal success, in relation to her Irish protestant dissenters. And why not extend the boon to all the dissenting sects throughout the nation; and thus, indefinitely, augment her own intellectual and moral power, by permitting *all*, instead of only a privileged order of her people, to serve, aid, and support her, to the full extent of their capacity and powers, in her civil and military functions; in the field and on the flood; in foreign courts, and in her home councils and cabinet?

Other countries have learned this lesson of practical political wisdom. In these United States, every religious communion is placed on equal ground, as to all civil rights and privileges. By a provision of the federal constitution, the general government is interdicted from regulating or interfering with the religion of the Union; and the separate States, for the most part, have confined their legislative enactments to the mere civil incorporation, with certain restrictions, of such religious bodies as apply for charters. In the United Netherlands, in Prussia, in Russia, nay, even in France, there is no exclusive national church, shutting out the other sects from equal political privileges; but in those countries, all religious denominations stand on the same level of social claim and right.

During the time when Russia broke down the military strength

of revolutionary France, the commander in chief of all her armies belonged to the communion of the Greek Church; her minister of finance was a protestant, and her premier, a papist. Her affairs, civil and military, were not the worse conducted, in her agonizing struggle for existence, because she disfranchises none of her people of their political rights, on account of their religious opinions or belief.

‘ But the ministerial and lay *patronage* of the Anglican Church is subject to a much higher and more awful objection than the mere want of political wisdom, in shutting out, for ever, so much talent, learning, and efficiency from the service of the State. It almost of necessity ensures a constant supply of *formalism*, at least, if not of absolute irreligion, to the clerical establishment.’

Mr. Bristed cites the words of the benevolent Granville Sharp in his “ Law of Retribution,” as expressing his own sentiment: ‘ If I am prejudiced at all, I am sure it is in favour of Episcopacy. I am thoroughly convinced by the Holy Scriptures, that the institution of that order in the Christian Church is of God; and that the only defect in the English Establishment of it, is the want of a free election to the office.’ It is singular that that learned and good man should have failed to perceive, that, how consonant soever a free election may be with ancient usage and with primitive episcopacy, it is altogether incompatible with an Establishment. The following account is given of the present state of what Mr. Bristed calls, we know not why, the American-Anglo-Church.

‘ At present there are *nine* bishops in the American-Anglo-Church, to wit, of the eastern diocese, including the states of Maine, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Rhode-Island; of the states, respectively, of Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Ohio. There are two dioceses, the state of Delaware, and the state of North Carolina, which have no bishops. Every state in the Union may become a diocese whenever its protestant episcopalians are sufficiently numerous, and deem it expedient.

‘ The whole Church is governed by the General Convention, whose power pervades every diocese. It sits regularly once in three years; but may be especially convened in the interval. It consists of an upper house, composed of all the existing bishops; and of a lower house, containing a delegated portion of clergy and laity from each diocese. The state conventions are held, for the most part, annually in each diocese, and consist of clergy and lay-delegates from every separate congregation. These bodies legislate for their respective dioceses; but their canons must not contradict the constitution of the general Church.

‘ The liturgy, articles, and homilies of the Anglican Church are adopted, with some few slight, local alterations. No particular revenues are attached to the episcopate; and the bishops, generally, are parish priests, in addition to their bishoprics. But efforts are making

in several dioceses to raise a bishop's fund, in order to disengage the diocesan from parochial duty, and leave him at leisure to perform the services that are deemed more peculiarly episcopal. Archbishops there are none, nor prebendaries, nor deans, nor archdeacons, nor a long list of *et ceteras* to be found in the Anglican Church; the only orders are three, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The senior bishop presides in the house of bishops, during the session of the General Convention.

'The parish priests are elected, according to the charters of the congregations. Some Churches choose their minister by the vestry, consisting of persons elected annually by the pew-holders. Others by ballot, the whole congregation voting. The bishops have no *direct* patronage—no livings in their gift. The clergy are settled by the choice or call of the people to whom they minister; and the stipend is fixed by the compact between the pastor and the congregation; and the common law enforces the fulfilment of this contract on both sides, whence all undue dependence of the clergy on the people is prevented.'

Into the bosom of this, his mother church, Mr. Bristed, after some erratic movements, and quarrelling with Dr. Mason, states himself to have returned; but whether, having relinquished physic and law, he has embraced divinity as a profession, and taken orders, we do not clearly understand from his metaphorical language. Our concern, however, is with the book, not with the man, except so far as the validity of his testimony is concerned, and that we see no reason to question. Of Mr. Bristed's talents as an author, we have given our opinion in reviewing his former work. These "Thoughts," as might be anticipated from the Title, are written in the same desultory, spirited style. They display, however, no small portion of acuteness, extensive, though somewhat loosely packed information, and, upon the whole, just Scriptural notions of the subject. The Author has got hold of some plain facts, and he does not seem over solicitous as to the order and mode of presenting them. Exception may be taken to some of his statements, great offence will be given by others, and splenetic criticism might find ample employment in his pages. But the general truth of his representations cannot be questioned; his facts will at least weigh down Mr. Wilks's reasonings; and the conclusion to which it will at all events conduct an American reader, will be, that a church-establishment is not necessary for the maintenance of Christianity.

Mr. Bristed begins with Ireland, and he asks Mr. Wilks:

'If it be sound doctrine that a church establishment is necessary to prevent a Christian nation from degenerating into heathenism, how is it, that, under the Hibernian church-establishment, Ireland has, ever since the time of Elizabeth to the present hour, (a period of

nearly three hundred years,) been positively increasing in popery, paganism, persecution, ignorance, and crime; so as now to become an object of apprehension and terror, instead of being, what her natural situation of capacity point her out to be, the efficient right arm of the British empire?.....The existing state, moral and physical, of Ireland, is, most assuredly, no proof of the Christianizing tendencies of the Anglican and Hibernian church-establishments.'

The Church of Ireland has the largest revenues of any Ecclesiastical Establishment in the world. It is bloated with wealth, and pampered into indolence. Yet, in the plenitude of its secular power, what has it achieved for Ireland? In that country, the operations of the Establishment have met with little or no counteraction from Puritans and Methodists: it has had pretty much its own way till lately. There has been full time enough allowed to shew what an Ecclesiastical Establishment, backed by the Aristocracy, and uninfested with Evangelicals, can do. And what has it done? Increased the amount of the tithes and the number of Papists. The history of the Protestant Church of Ireland would not bear the light.

Mr. Bristed asks again :

' If it be a correct position, that a church establishment is necessary to preserve a Christian country from the darkness of heathen ignorance, how happens it that there has been generally, and is now, a larger proportional aggregate of evangelical piety *out of*, than in the Church of England? To say nothing for the present, of the condition of the state religion under the Tudors and Stuarts, its formalism and deadness during the reigns of William, of Anne, and of the first two sovereigns of the Brunswick dynasty, are sufficiently notorious to all who are acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the period.'

' From the restoration of the second Charles, to the rise of Methodism in the reign of George the second, Dissenters stood *alone* in defence of the best of causes. They alone maintained the depravity of human nature, which no baptismal waters could wash away; they preached the great tenets of the Reformation, the doctrines of justification by faith alone, and of regeneration by the Holy Spirit; when they were ridiculed by the established clergy, in defiance of their own articles and homilies, as the dogmas of fanaticism; and they, singly, dared to protest against the fashionable vices of the nation, the profligacy of a corrupt or a careless court, at the hazard of being treated as outlaws from society, and traitors to the state.

' Of them may it be said—except the Lord of Hosts had left us that remnant, our country had been as Sodom and Gomorrah. The apostacy of the English nation from the sentiments and spirit of the Gospel, had been nearly total, but for the Dissenters; by their

means, almost exclusively, a vital spark of pure evangelism was preserved, and the nation is now warmed into light and life by the spreading of the heavenly flame. To have been, for nearly a century, the witnesses for God in the land, although prophesying in sackcloth, was a high honour, and a distinguished blessing.

‘ A thousand dissenting churches were, during all that time, receiving into their communion, those who were converted by the preaching of the Gospel among them; while no such effects were looked for by the established clergy; nay, were derided by them, as the delirious dreamings of puritanical madness and folly. To form an adequate estimate of all the benefits, direct and indirect, produced in the cities, towns, and villages of England, from such a practical testimony borne to the most important of all truths, is beyond the power of human calculation. But he who exults in the prosperity which now attends the Gospel of Christ in various communions, must look back with veneration to the people, who once professed, *alone*, what now forms the general glory of the land.

‘ Though the numbers of the Dissenters are more than doubled, and their activity much increased, it is difficult to compute their influence, at present, upon true religion: because they share it in common with new sects, and a new party in the establishment. But as their ministers more than double the evangelical clergy in the state church, it is manifest, that so many labourers, added to those who preach the Gospel in the establishment, must produce the happiest effects in diffusing religion throughout the nation.

‘ Besides, many of the Dissenting churches are as important now as ever they were; being located where all around them is *still*, notwithstanding the Christianizing tendencies of a state church, as dark in irreligion and heathenism as before the rise of Methodism in England, or the subsequent revival of religion within the bosom of the establishment. The living fire, so long secretly cherished by the Dissenters, has communicated its heat to many who avoid their name. Those clergymen who were the fathers of the Methodists, might never have been heard of beyond the boundaries of a single parish, had they not learned from the Dissenters to consider the whole kingdom as their parochial cure.

‘ The *social* religion, cherished by Dissenters as the life of the Christian church, has not only produced the happiest effects among themselves, but has also been imparted to the friends of evangelical truth in the establishment. Many, who remain under episcopal government, imitate the Dissenters in the choice of their own ministers. Thus several parishes in London have obtained evangelical afternoon lecturers; and some livings have been procured for those who preach the creed to which they have sworn.

‘ The zealous friends to the doctrines of the articles and homilies, also, observing that the Dissenting seminaries for the ministry are supported by voluntary contributions, have established a similar fund to support serious young men, while preparing at the universities for the ministry of the Anglican Church. The Missionary Society, formed among various classes of Dissenters, has given rise to

another, confined to churchmen; and new proofs are continually exhibited of the salutary effects of Dissent on the cause of true religion, even beyond the immediate circle of Dissenting churches.'

Mr. Bristed, after further expatiating on the obligations this country is under to Protestant Dissenters, for both its religious character and its civil liberties, proceeds to put a third question to Mr. Wilks.

'If the want of a church-establishment necessarily tends either to wear out, or to prevent the existence of Christianity in a country, how happens it that the Anglican Church, ever since its establishment at the Reformation, has so *generally persecuted* pure, evangelical religion, whether detected in its own members, or in those of other communions?'

Mr. Bristed acknowledges that, under the House of Hanover, persecution has always been discouraged by the State, and that the religious liberty of the subject has been put out of jeopardy. And the influence of Dissenters has, he thinks, compelled the Establishment to be less notoriously rigid to her own sons.

'But,' he proceeds, 'instead of the sterner inquisitions which cast out the puritans, and cut off the Nonconformists, the present ecclesiastical governors of England have recourse to such paltry persecution of stipendiary curates and pious presentees, as fully demonstrates their own fear and weakness, as well as their hatred to the doctrines of the Reformation, contained in their articles, homilies, and liturgy. Whatever inclination the formalists exhibit to expel the evangelical clergy from the Establishment, they dare not now, by another Bartholomew-act, give the Dissenters a decided preponderance by adding to their numbers such a formidable host of piety, talent, learning, wealth, wisdom, influence, and power.'

'All party feeling, whether connected with this or that outward form of doctrine, or worship, or church government, is ruinous to religion; and most nefarious are the attempts, *now* made by formal divines of all the gradations of rank in the state church, to prove the existence, and to promote the spirit of a religious *schism* among the English established clergy, adverse to the existing order of church and state. *No* such schism exists, notwithstanding the unhallowed efforts of the formalists to provoke it, and to produce and perpetuate a hostile division between the evangelical clergy in the establishment, and themselves.

'Infinite pains are taken by the established formalists, to persuade the evangelicals to *become* discontented with the existing order of things, by assuring them that they *are* so; and when they strongly deny it, by still again insisting that they are, and must, and shall be discontented. Loud charges of schismatical guilt are continually growled forth from all the conduit-pipes of formalism; and there is not a pious pastor of a flock, in any English parish, far or near, large

or small, public or retired, but the ungodly part of his congregation has sufficient warrant from innumerable publications, in the shape of books, journals, and pamphlets, both priestly and prelatial, every month, or week, or day, or hour, to revile him as a methodist, Calvinist, puritan, fanatic, enthusiast, hypocrite, and the like.

'Nay, on such base *party* misrepresentations and calumnies are the church preferments dispensed; and, for the most part, effectual care is taken to exclude from the mitre, the stall, and the benefice, those who faithfully preach the evangelical doctrines of the Bible; of the Reformation; of the public formularies of the Anglican Church.

'Is *this* the mode by which the national church-establishment is to promote piety, and prevent heathenism, throughout England, Wales, and Ireland?'

Our Author, in support of his charge against Establishments, of having an incorrigible disposition to persecute, takes a review of the church-history of the reigns of the Stuarts. When he comes to speak of the Act of Uniformity, he cites some remarks from the "Christian Observer" for 1811, in apology for that measure on the ground of secular restitution; the puritan ministers who occupied the livings at the Restoration, being represented as usurpers who 'had for a long course of years enjoyed the unjust profit' of the benefices from which they were ejected. After complimenting the conductors of that publication on what he terms their liberal and catholic spirit, Mr. B. adds:

'But it seems a *mistake* to suppose, that the act of uniformity was passed, *in order* to get rid of those puritan ministers, who had been instituted in the place of the sequestered episcopal clergy. for *all* these puritan substitutes were ejected *before* the passing of the Bartholomew statute; which was an *additimal* blessing, bestowed by Charles and his state bishops, on the English established church, in driving out two thousand evangelical clergymen from her bosom; and leaving within it a goodly body of secular formalists, who, certainly, did *not*, either in precept or in practice, brighten the Scriptural doctrines of the Reformation.

'The Anglican Church has *never yet* recovered from the effects of this deadly blow. From August 1662, till the middle of the reign of George the second, a period of eighty years, formalism and irreligion pervaded the great body of the English national clergy; and, although since the year 1742, a great *revival* of religion has taken place among the national clergy; a revival, be it remembered, constantly and virulently opposed and persecuted by the church-establishment, *as such*, by the great body of the bishops and dignitaries, of the secular governors, and of the lay patrons; it is doubtful, if *now*, in 1822, there be so many as two thousand evangelical ministers, out of the whole number of the state clergy.

'Nay, if there were as many evangelical clergymen, now in the

English establishment, as were cast out of it on Bartholomew day, their *proportion* to the English population is not quite one-third; there being in 1662, less than four millions of people in England and Wales; whereas the returns in 1822, gave an account of more than twelve millions. Whence a very minute portion of the laity of England, not one twelfth, has an opportunity of hearing, within the walls of their established church, the reformed, the scriptural doctrines of her liturgy, articles, and homilies.' pp. 171, 172.

Once more, Mr. Bristed asks: 'If a national church-establishment *be* necessary to promote piety, and to prevent heathenism in a country, *how* is it, that, during the full influence of the English church-establishment, from its restoration under Charles II. to the middle of the reign of George II., infidelity was so much diffused in England?' As it has been customary of late, to date the spread of infidelity in this country from the French Revolution, Mr. Bristed has done well to substantiate this representation, by referring to the testimonies of Bishop Stillingfleet in 1662, of Dr. Owen in 1771, the Declaration against the Rebellion, put forth by the Archbishop of Canterbury and thirteen Bishops, in 1715, and the language of Bishop Butler in 1736. The latter prelate, in a charge to his clergy, states, that 'the influence of religion is more and more wearing out of the minds of men: the number of those who are avowed unbelievers, increase, and, with their numbers, their zeal. The deplorable distinction of *our* age, is an avowed scorn of religion in some, and a growing disregard to it in the generality.' It has always been our conviction, that infidelity is not on the increase among the lower orders, and we believe that political motives have had the chief share in originating an opposite representation.

In order to determine the moral efficiency of a church-establishment, it would be necessary to separate, so far as possible, its specific influence from that of other moral causes which may have been in simultaneous operation. In this country, for instance, it would be proper to leave out of the estimate whatever good may have arisen, not only from the exertions of Dissenters, but more specifically from the Sunday School System, the Bible Society, the Missionary Societies, the British and Foreign School Society,—institutions not merely independent of the Establishment, but discountenanced and opposed by its rulers, and by a majority of its members. We must suppose that these institutions had never been called into existence, that Wesley and Whitfield had never appeared to trouble the Church, and to turn the world upside down. And if we can bring our minds to conceive what would then have been by this time the state of Protestant England, we shall have the

genuine result of the undisturbed operation of an Establishment,—the overwhelming proof of the hypothesis Mr. Wilks labours to establish. He durst not abide by such a test.

But, proceeds Mr. Bristed,

‘ the incessant cry of Mr. Wilks, Mr. Wilberforce, Dr. Chalmers, the Christian Observer, and other most respectable religious writers in the British empire, that it is the bounden and imperative duty of the English government, and bishops, and nobility and gentry, to give a *different* course to their church patronage; to turn it from a secular and political, into a pious and evangelical channel; is a *virtual* acknowledgement, that the National Establishment is not exactly calculated, much less absolutely necessary to promote piety and prevent paganism.’

Such a change in the whole direction of State patronage, cannot, remarks Mr. B., ‘ reasonably be expected, before the ‘ Millennium sets in.’ It would, indeed, be a revolution, and so it would be regarded by the present rulers of the Church, of that radical character, which would amount to little short of an overthrow of the present system. The Author cites the Christian Observer as an authority, in remarking on the systematic care which is taken to prevent the Church-patronage of England from straying into an evangelical channel; and he asks whether its conductors seriously expect it to have any other than the present direction. After adverting to the case of Mr. Scott, our Anglo-American exclaims:

‘ I desire to thank God that, in these United States, there is no power, civil or ecclesiastical, that *could*, by any possibility, keep down in poverty or obscurity such a man as Thomas Scott. If Mr. Scott had attached himself to any one of the evangelical communions in this country, he would have obtained its highest emoluments and honours; because where the people *choose*, as well as pay their own clergy, under Providence, a man’s piety, talent, learning, and character, conduct him, in the ordinary course of human affairs, to eminence and influence. But in a state church, where the secular government and secular patronage are *all*, and the people *nothing*, ecclesiastical preferment *never can* be directed generally into an evangelical current.’

But what is the state of things in America? For the low condition of religion in the United States, is one main proof on which Mr. Wilks relies for the establishment of his position, that a national church-establishment is necessary to preserve a Christian country from lapsing into heathenism. For the full answer to this inquiry, we must refer our readers to the volume before us.* Mr. Bristed’s estimate, ‘ in round numbers,’

* A London edition is already announced.

66 *Bristed on the Anglican and American Churches.*

of the clergy of all denominations, regular and irregular, is as follows.

Episcopal Church	300
Presbyterian	1300
Congregational	1600
Baptists	3000
Methodists, travelling preachers .	1000
———— local preachers . .	4000
All other denominations	600
Total	11,800

That is, taking the population at ten millions, more than one religious teacher to every thousand souls. Mr. Bristed does not, however, pretend to affirm, that this provision is either adequate or equally distributed. Indeed, so rapid has been the progress of population in America, that it was morally impossible that the regular provision of ecclesiastical teachers should keep pace with the numerical increase. Mr. Bristed maintains, however, that 'throughout the United States, pure evangelism is much more generally diffused' than within the pale of the English Church-Establishment; that the standard of morals is higher; that the number of religious institutions in America, 'exceeds, if possible, those of England;' and that the principal religious denominations are making co-joined and vigorous efforts to increase the provision by the foundation of theological seminaries. Further, the destitution of religious instruction which confessedly exists in some of the States, appears to arise chiefly from vacancies unsupplied, owing to a deficient supply of ministers. The state of England so late in the reign of Elizabeth, might be adduced as a proof that even a wealthy establishment could not ensure a regular and competent supply of this kind. In a thinly peopled country, the Church, unless a very high bounty is given, will occasionally like the State, be in want of hands. The only way in which a richly endowed National Church could have anticipated the present demand in America, would have been by creating secular inducements to assume the clerical profession, and so coming into operation motives which inevitably vitiate the system thus artificially produced, and destroy the whole efficiency of the system. It must be something more than an adequate provision, that shall tempt secular men to undertake the distasteful drudgery of spiritual functions, for which they feel themselves wholly unfit; unless it be in an overpeopled country where every other market is overstocked; and yet, otherwise.

than by overcoming this repugnance, an Establishment could never provide the requisite number of clergy.

But even were the idea of an Establishment to be entertained by the Legislature of the United States, 'it would be more difficult,' says Mr. Bristed, 'than, perhaps; Mr. Wilks imagines, to determine *which* should be the dominant sect. *Certainly, it would not be the American Anglo Church;*' that is, the Episcopal; 'and the political precedence,' he adds, 'could not easily be settled among the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists.' The Episcopal Church, besides being the lowest in point of numbers, is represented as being 'fearfully in the wake of the other denominations' in point of efficiency.

'What is the fact? Does the American Anglo Church exhibit in *her* clergy an *average* of talent and learning in any assignable proportion, comparable to the talent and learning displayed by other religious denominations? Where are *her* Edwards's, and Davies's, and Dwights, and a thousand other brightly burning luminaries, that have shed an imperishable lustre upon the Presbyterian and Congregational persuasions? Where are *her* theological treatises; *her* series of sermons on the great, the distinguishing doctrines of Revelation; *her* Biblical disquisitions? What *has* she hitherto produced? Little, very little, except some mawling, mawkish, miserable controversy about external churchmanship.

'It is a deep stain upon the American Anglo Church, that she alone, of all the compacted religious bodies, has degenerated into extensive formalism. While the presbyterians, of every various shade in doctrine, discipline, and government, have continued, as Calvinists, faithfully preaching the systematic creed contained in their respective confessions; and while the Wesleyan Methodists, or Arminians, have preserved the system of Scriptural instruction handed down to them by their great founder and leader; *too many* of the Protestant Episcopal clergy have grievously swerved from the high standard of their own evangelical articles, homilies, and liturgy: to which may the Great Head of the Church bring them back with all convenient speed!

Here we must break off the argument, and take leave of Mr. Bristed, thanking him for the information his volume contains, and for the justice which, though an Episcopalian, he has done to the English Dissenters. His work, with whatever defects it may be chargeable, deserves to obtain public attention, as a reply to delusive statements which have been industriously propagated. For our own part, as matters stand, having an Ecclesiastical Establishment, all that we have to wish, is, that the best were made of what Dr. Chalmers terms the 'costly apparatus.' On this point, we have already expressed most unequivocally the sentiment which we believe to be common

to those who nevertheless, on religious grounds, disapprove of the Ecclesiastical system.* To adopt the words of a contemporary Writer, 'a man may honestly be no admirer of the theory of an Establishment; and, of all possible Establishments, he may not think our own the best; and yet he may be decidedly adverse to revolutionary experiments, and may deprecate as warmly as any man, the overthrow of any branch of our existing institutions, for this reason among others, that he cannot tell what may not be shaken by the concussion, nor can calculate where the exploded materials may fall. But, if he does not wish to see the Church subverted, much less can he wish to see it degraded; for the character of the people at large cannot fail to suffer deterioration, as the consequence of being less under the control of even imperfect institutions.'

Art. V. Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land. By William Rae Wilson, Esq. 8vo. pp. 544 (plates). Price 18s. London. 1822.

WHOEVER has recommended William Rae Wilson, Esq. to turn author, has done a very unkind thing. He seems to be a very good, well-intentioned gentleman, and his *Travels to the Holy Land*, might form a very proper theme of complacent narrative at Kelvinbank; but truly, his book is a very ridiculous one. A more arrant specimen of book-making has not for some time fallen under our observation. Mr. Wilson confesses that it never entered into his contemplation, during his journey, to write and send forth to the world a publication of this nature; 'otherwise,' he says, 'I might have examined more critically such countries with their customs, and, in that view, resided longer among the natives.' Having yielded with 'reluctance' to the wishes of his injudicious friends, he expresses his willingness to submit to the charge of 'literary deficiencies,' if he is permitted, (and it is, he says, the utmost extent of his wishes,) 'to attain the very humble merit of having seen all the various objects described, under the influence of reverential awe and piety.' Now we would have forgiven the Author his literary deficiencies, if he had brought us home any novel information. But, much as we honour reverential awe and piety, even when associated with little discrimination or good taste, we submit that an eighteen shilling volume was much too expensive a vehicle for the Writer's merits and feelings, notwithstanding the goodly portion o

* Eclectic Review, Vol. xv, p. 572. Art. Chalmers's *Economy Towns*.

Scripture which occupies his pages. Reverential awe and piety are excellent qualities; but they must not be confounded together. There may be awe without piety, and piety without knowledge; an awe of which credulity is the nurse, and what passes for piety, of which ignorance is the mother. And Jerusalem is a very dangerous place for persons of not very strong minds, who would wish to keep clear of these Romish virtues. Superstition is the endemic of the place; and though, if any body, we should have thought a North Briton might have escaped the infection, Mr. Wilson seems to have returned an accomplished devotee. Chateaubriand himself does not come up to the pious transports of our Author on approaching the Turkish city which occupies the site of Jerusalem.

‘ Any language that I could attempt to use, would fall infinitely short of conveying to the mind of the reader those emotions with which I was seized at beholding the blessed city with its towers, minarets, mosques, and in particular, the dome over the church of the Holy Sepulchre, sparkling under the setting of a glorious sun; a spot where the voice of the Eternal himself had sounded, the great Redeemer proclaimed his divinity, and shed his precious blood on the cross, as a voluntary sacrifice to satisfy the offended justice of heaven, for that violation of the law which had been committed by man, thus making reconciliation between the Creator and creature, and establishing a happiness which is everlasting. At this never-to-be-forgotten moment, I was thrown into a transport of holy awe and joy, which elevated my heart; when I leaped from my mule, threw off my shoes, and falling down in all humility saluted the ground, exclaiming, “Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards men.”

‘ At this time I could not fail to contemplate, with feelings of the deepest gratitude, how much a gracious Providence had watched over me through all those numerous difficulties and dangers, to which I had been exposed by sea and land since I left my native country, and conferring the distinguished honour of bringing me to behold a place where transactions of a more awful nature regarding the eternal interests of mankind had occurred, than in any other region under the canopy of heaven. These ever memorable events, the sublime and glorious language opened up in the book of truth, which had fallen from the lips of him “who spake as never man did,” all rushed upon my mind. I was, in truth, almost out of the body, and impressed with a sense of unworthiness to tread a soil so eminently sacred, with my sinful feet.

‘ I am aware that some of my readers, and perhaps those of a serious frame of mind, may be surprised at the strong language I find myself impelled, almost irresistibly, to employ, in order to convey an idea of those delightful sensations experienced in surveying places connected with those objects and events which must ever be regarded by believers as the most grand and interesting. To guard,

however, against misapprehension, I take the liberty to remark, that I wish not to lose sight of considerations adapted to check presumption on the one hand, and to prevent the wildness of superstition on the other. Those delightful feelings, which occupied my mind in the situations referred to, I do by no means hold inseparably connected with the view of such places; there, indeed, arises a natural connection, from what is called, the association of ideas; but it must be remembered, to the disgrace and humiliation of human nature, that many have been witnesses, not only of the country, but of the great and divine appearances and transactions referred to, under no feelings at all, but those of deplorable stupidity and wickedness.

'I hope, however, that I may be permitted, without the charge of arrogance and vanity, to acknowledge it as a favour on the part of Divine Providence, not unaccompanied, I trust, with the influence of grace, that I was elevated in the manner I have narrated, while passing over this sacred ground. It is still farther to be considered, that those christians who have never set their eyes on this sacred spot of the earth, though it is, at present, by the righteous judgement of God, fearfully laid waste, may, by the lively exercise of faith, connected with the word and institutions of the Gospel, rise to the most exalted and powerful views of the glorious objects of their confidence, and sources of supreme delight, and thus experience the fulfilment of those expressions of the true and faithful witness, "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." ' pp. 159—62.

Mr. Wilson is, we doubt not, too good a man wilfully to misapply Scripture; but we must tell him, that this citation is most woefully inapplicable. In a writer of less gravity, it would be liable to be mistaken for an irreverent joke. The comparison of the personal manifestation of the Saviour after his resurrection, to the sight of modern Jerusalem, approaches so near to burlesque, that we can hardly conceive how even Mr. Wilson should have been unconscious of the impropriety. Of the blessedness attaching to a visit to the Holy City, we have good reasons for thinking very lightly; and our Author certainly appears to have derived little benefit of an intellectual kind from the journey. He takes his reader, as most of his predecessors have done, the tour of the city, retailing, with large Scriptural references, the stupid legends of the lying monks. Thus he has gravely enumerated, the 'chapel said to contain the tomb of St. Ann, the mother of Mary,' and the tomb of Joseph, 'the husband of the latter;' the cavern in which the Apostles drew up the Creed; and the spot 'where our Lord looked down upon Jerusalem in grief, and pronounced that ever memorable prophecy, Luke xix. 41—45.' To this passage a note is subjoined, containing the verses from the Gospel at length. The next paragraph acquaints us, that 'a little to the right of this most impressive situation,' our Lord dictated a

second time what is called the Lord's Prayer; and in a note, Mr. Wilson has considerably printed this prayer at length, and, for the sake of greater distinctness, with breaks between the verses. He then goes off into the following rhapsody :

' Was I to attempt to describe only in part those sensations I experienced when standing on that very ground which had been trodden by the sacred feet of our Redeemer, all that language could express would at once fall short. The warmest glow of inexpressible delight arose in my bosom, and of that solemn nature of which a reader can form no just conception. My heart beat, or rather burned with emotions that it had at no former period enjoyed ; a gratification, indeed, more pure than can be derived from the corporeal senses. I was, in truth, extricated as it were from the mortal vestment of the body, and absorbed in the raptures of a more holy life. I must not, however, trust to an ineffectual pen to describe all those delightful feelings I enjoyed on this particular occasion. To taste that exalted pleasure of which I partook on this sanctified ground, the reader must not only possess a heart, sincere in the belief of Divine Revelation, but stand on the identical spot, and be favored with a vivid image of the great and glorious labours of redemption, which were accomplished there by Jesus Christ, and before the eyes of those who were witnesses of his exalted power, clemency, and charity. If I find myself so totally inadequate to relate what I felt in this lower part of the mount, so blessed by his presence, how shall I express all that rushed upon my soul when I reached the pinnacle of that glorious elevation, from which the Redeemer of the world had ascended to heaven !' pp. 170- -1.

Now the worst is, that every reader will not be charitable enough to take this for simple-hearted rant. Mr. Wilson talks so much of his feelings, that, we fear, some persons will be apt to suspect that he has none. He doubtless fancies that he felt all this ; but it is a long while ago, and it was a great way off, and possibly his recollection deceives him. We venture to say, that, in the cottages of the Scottish poor, individuals might be found, who, without having stood on the identical spot where the feet of Jesus once rested, have had quite as vivid a sense of their Redeemer's presence and of his love, as our Author has described ; and much would they marvel, simple folk, at being told, that a Christian man, instead of going to the Kirk to have this sense of things excited in his breast, must needs go beyond sea, all the way to Jerusalem.

Mr. Wilson goes on to speak of the other buildings of *Saint Helena*. Hey, Sirs, we are now in the land of saints. And misled by his unlucky knack of citing Scripture, he speaks of the ' innumerable monuments of her faith and " labour of love" ' ; the text being marked in the margin. We need not

stry to point out the blunder made in this misapplication. The Mount of Olivés reminded the Author of many parts in the Highlands of Scotland; but he omits to specify what parts. In describing Gethsemane, he does not fail to notice the precise place where the Apostles fell asleep, and where Judas betrayed our Lord; to which notifications are annexed at the foot of the page, Matt. xxvi. 36, 40; Mark xiv. 32, 35, 36, 37; Luke xxii. 44; and John xviii. 1; all cited at full length. The mention of the Pit of Jeremiah, affords occasion for printing as a note, 2 Maccabees i. 19—26; and the Pool of Siloam introduces John ix. 6—11. 'Zaccheus's House' brings in Luke xix. 2—9; and the Mount of Beatitudes, Matt. v. 1—12. The monks going barefoot is supposed to illustrate Gen. xviii. 4, 5, xxiv. 32, 3.; Judges xix. 21.; Luke vii. 44.; which are accordingly all displayed in a foot-note; and their *not* washing the feet of pilgrims, occasions a reference to John xii. 5, 14. Thus he goes on stringing together citation after citation, till he has actually contrived to get into the compass of about five hundred pages, upwards of six hundred passages of Scripture, many of them extending to several verses, so as to occupy, in some instances, half the page. It is but justice to add, that all the notes, however, do not consist of Scripture. Mr. Wilson, quotes, moreover, Milton, Young, Shakspeare, Parnell, Hervey's Meditations, Watts's Divine Songs, Josephus, Chateaubriand, Blair's Grave, Gibbon, Massillon, Denon, and *Count Forbin*. We must give a specimen or two. The Bay of Aboukir, leads Mr. W. to speak of the 'conqueror Nelson,' and his well-known words, 'England expects,' &c. The following note is subjoined.

'Lord Nelson's despatches.

'The body *also* of this *Ruler of the seas* lies under the cathedral of St. Paul's, London, and next to that of his brave companion, Lord Collingwood.' p. 54.

The *also* does not mean that any thing besides the body of the brave admiral is interred in St. Paul's, but refers, we presume, to the preceding note, which informs us that Sir Ralph Abercrombie's remains were conveyed to Malta; whereas Lord Nelson's were conveyed *also* to England. The good orthodox folk of Kelvinbank will, however, be rather startled at the somewhat profane designation conferred upon Nelson. Britannia, we all know, rules the seas in the old song; but the title of *Ruler of the Seas*, recalls graver ideas. Near Samaria, Mr. Wilson took a walk one Sunday morning, 'admiring the works of God:' the note to this notable passage is as follows:

"——— All things speak a God ;
Take God from nature, nothing great is left."

YOUNG.

'The God of *Nature* has written his *existence* on all his works.—
GIBBON,' p. 313.

The word 'hut,' has this useful explanation subjoined.

"By a hut, I mean a dwelling with only one floor."
JOHNSON,' p. 354.

The words 'bring the name of the great Author of their
'faith into contempt,' give rise to the following incoherent
string of sentences.

"Thou didst *blaspheme* God."—1 Kings xxi. 10.

"The *name of God* is *blasphemed* among the Gentiles through
you."—Romans ii. 24.

"Whose mouth is full of *cursing* and *bitterness*."—Romans
iii. 13.

"Should each *blasphemer* quite escape the rod,
Because the insult's not to man, but *God*?"—POPE.

"A man can hardly pass the streets without having his ears
grated with *blasphemous* oaths and curses."—TILLOTSON.

"Where is the right use of his reason, while he would *blaspheme*
mously set up to *controul* the commands of the Almighty?"—SWIFT.

"But if the *gospel* be hid, it is hid to them who are lost. In
whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them *which*
believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the
image of God, should shine unto them."—2 Corinthians iv. 3, 4.
p. 516.

We must make room for both text and notes in the following
account of our Author's introduction to Lady Hester Stanhope.

'The indefatigable exertions which had been used by my illustrious
friend, the Duke of Kent, not only in behalf of suffering humanity,
but after the noble example of his revered father,* respecting the
interests of a rising generation, in the cause of education, having been
touched upon, in the course of our correspondence : it was gratifying
to my feelings, to find Lady Stanhope speak in such exalted terms of
this benevolent Prince, and express a hope, that "she never would
forget it was his Royal Highness who had made a *true British Soldier*
of a beloved brother she lost in Spain.'† Having imparted the way
and manner adopted under the system followed in England, patro-
nized by his Royal Highness, in "training up a child in the way it

* "I hope the time is not far distant, when every poor child in
my dominions will be able to read his Bible."—George the Third.

† Presumed to be Major Charles Stanhope.

should go†," I presented her ladyship with a copy of the last report published by the Society in London: which I found directing her attention to that rapidity with which the system was spreading over the world, and respectfully entreating that her extensive influence might be called into exercise, to establish the plan at Sidon, and other places; as beneficial effects might be expected to be derived; and the Society, co-operating with her, would use every exertion to promote an object of such importance.

• The dragoman, or interpreter of her ladyship, who was fifty years of age, and had more the appearance of a gentleman than any in that character I had seen, was most attentive and communicative; who rode a noble white horse, he had just received from her as a gift. I was accompanied by him about the town and neighbourhood; conducted to his house; afforded every information; and he mentioned a variety of circumstances respecting the popularity and generosity of Lady Stanhope, who, it appears, adopts the costume so peculiar to the east. Having particularly enquired if her ladyship entertained an idea of returning, to spend the remainder of her days, or paying a visit to England, he observed it was unlikely; and her remains would repose in that quarter of the world in which she had resided so long, and where her attachment was strong. Here I would take the opportunity of confirming the sentiments expressed by this individual, not only with regard to that marked affection and interest manifested on the part of this personage of rank towards the people of Sidon, but the various acts of benevolence exercised by her, whose "heart is open as day to melting charity."

• I presume, it may be known to the reader, that her ladyship, who was nearly allied to the late Mr. Pitt, prime-minister, and long directed her attention to his domestic concerns, enjoys a handsome pension from the British government; which, I should conceive, on a calculation of the value of money and prices of articles, may be nearly three times the amount in this country than in England; which enables her ladyship to stretch forth her hand to promote the happiness and comfort of many around her. No person, in short, can be held in higher estimation; and more beloved, nay, idolised in that country; whose name, even to the very lowest class is always in the mouth of an Arab; by whom she is sometimes styled "Princess," and another "My Laddie;" thousands of whom I am disposed to think would, upon an emergency, be at command, and lay down their lives in her cause. In short, her benevolence here is extensive and judicious; and, in every place I visited, (for she has travelled over the Holy Land), I found the name

† "We would cause, as we very easily may, by God's help, all the youth, that now are of the English nation, to be put to learning; and that they should be set about no other business, till they first know how to read English." *Alfred the Great.*

§ "About three thousand schools have been established, under this plan, in Britain and abroad: fifty in Asia, and twenty in Africa."

of Lady Stanhope mentioned, either in one way or other, with the highest veneration and respect. Any letter of recommendation indeed, under her hand, in favour of travellers, may be considered a sufficient passport, and sure to meet with the proper attention.

‘It has naturally excited surprise, that her ladyship, who is of a highly cultivated mind, and an English-woman by birth and education, should prefer to live in this remote corner of the earth, widely separated from friends in England; and sarcastic sneers have been most reprehensibly thrown out on this account. But may I not be allowed to ask, since it is the wish of her ladyship, who is unquestionably the most competent judge, to choose a climate suited to her own health, *animo remanendi*, and contribute to the happiness and comfort of a particular tribe of her fellow creatures; how can her right to this election be called in question any more than that the reader, or his friends, should be blamed for fixing upon any particular spot on the Continent, or elsewhere, as a permanent residence, either for the benefit of health, economy, the promotion of benevolent objects, or other considerations?’ pp. 413—17.

As we are quite sure that we could not have selected a passage from the whole volume more to Mr. Wilson’s satisfaction than this, we will here, out of respect to his illustrious connexions, take leave of him with this parting word of friendly counsel, never again to trust himself in print.

Art. VI. *A Second Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, K. G. &c. &c. in Reply to that from the Rev. H. H. Norris, A. M. on the Subject of the British and Foreign Bible Society. By the Rev. James Scholefield, A. M. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 200. London. 1822.*

MR. NORRIS must be a very ambitious man: he has obtained a prebend, and he barks still. Does he think to be made a bishop? That would never do, for an English bishop ought at least to be a gentleman.

We had not intended to take notice of his last seven shilling pamphlet. Few, we imagined, would buy, and still fewer read a work so bulky, so malignant, yet so dull. But possibly we were mistaken; and Mr. Scholefield has determined rightly, that the noble Earl whose name Mr. Norris has laid hold of to give attraction to his title-page, would have a right to ask, Does the Society plead guilty to all this? Not that we think his Lordship would have asked the question *after* reading Mr. Norris’s charges; but, respect to his Lordship dictated a reply to them. Now a reply, in general, claims to be at least twice as long as the attack, whereas Mr. Scholefield’s Letter is not much above half the length of that to which it is an answer;

nevertheless, it is too long by half. It is a complete answer, very able, and written in an excellent spirit; but it goes by far too much into reasoning and remonstrance, considering the nature of the charges and the quarter from which they proceed. Mr. S. treats Mr. Norris, not as a libeller, but as a rational, well-behaved opponent. Whereas all that was wanted, was a plain statement to "put him down." This plain statement, with Mr. Scholefield's aid, we shall endeavour to supply, by briefly recapitulating in the first place the calumnies he has vented against the Society, and next by illustrating the temper and spirit of this inveterate libeller.

The first charge, or series of charges, to which we shall advert, relates to the alleged mission of Dr. Steinkopff to Napoleon, which called forth the following Letter from the Foreign Secretary.

"London, Savoy, July 23, 1822.

"REVEREND SIR,

"Having read the various allegations contained in your recent publication (pages 192, 193), permit me simply but positively to state the following facts:

"1. That I never went on any mission to Buonaparte.

"2. That no deputation from the British and Foreign Bible Society was ever sent to Buonaparte.

"3. That the Edition of the French Bible, printed at Paris, in 1805, is no edition of the British and Foreign Bible Society; or, to refer to your own expressions, that no *deputies of the British and Foreign Bible Society were its editors*.

"4. That no edition of the French Bible printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, contains the *insertion in the title-page (An. XIII. de la Republique Française)*.

"Of course all the inferences drawn from these assumed premises, of the *accommodating spirit of the Bible Society, and of prostrating religion before Buonaparte*, completely fall to the ground.

"From a gentleman, a Christian, and a clergyman, I may confidently expect, that you will either prove your allegations true, or candidly acknowledge that you have been led into an error.

"I have the honour to be,

"Reverend Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

"CH. FR. A. STEINKOPFF."

"Minister of the German Lutheran Church in the Savoy, and Foreign Secretary to the British and Foreign Bible Society."

"The Rev. H. H. Norris,
Curate of St. John's Chapel,
Hackney."

"The following is Mr. Norris's answer.

"REV. SIR,

"The authorities on which the allegations are made, to

which your letter refers, are expressly stated in the same page of my pamphlet which contains the allegations. These authorities are printed documents which have been for some years before the world: the 'expressions,' moreover, are not mine, as you are pleased to call them; but, in one instance, those of the editor of the Cambridge Chronicle, a newspaper demonstratively in the interest of the Bible Society; and in the other, of Dr. Abauzit; and as far as my knowledge extends, your letter of this day's date is the first authoritative contradiction which they have received. As I have no other object but truth in view, should my Letter pass into a second edition, I shall not fail to set your counter-statement against the authorities there produced.

" I have the honour to be

" Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

" H. H. NORRIS."

' Grove Street,
July 24th, 1822.'

On this correspondence, it is only necessary to remark, first that Dr. Steinkopff's Letter is not the first contradiction given to Mr. Norris's allegation respecting the supposed mission to the French Emperor, *and he knows it*. It was contradicted, on its appearing in his former work, by Mr. Dealtry, and in the Christian Observer, as well as indirectly in the Society's Report. Next, that the Cambridge Paper does *not* contain 'the expressions,' or even imply that a mission or deputation had been sent to Bonaparte. Thirdly, that his avowal that he means to repeat his statement in the event of a new edition, with Dr. Steinkopff's counter-statement merely set against his 'authorities,' proves that he is utterly careless alike of the moral considerations which should operate as a check on party malignity, and of the decencies of social intercourse. He refuses to retract or suppress a confuted and notorious falsehood, giving two false excuses for having repeated it.

Mr. Norris's next attack is upon the Newbury Auxiliary Bible Society, for having appointed Sir Joseph Andrews their president, 'in opposition to his wishes,' and subsequently Lord Craven under the same circumstances. The 'authority' cited is a Reading Newspaper. Mr. Norris *conceals* a subsequent paragraph relative to the first statement, which was sent to the Newspaper by *Sir Joseph himself*, correcting the misstatement. The other statement is absolutely false. The noble Earl not only consented to be the patron of the Society, prior to the meeting, but transmitted a check for 30l. as his subscription, three months afterwards. But for such plain incontrovertible facts as these, one would hardly imagine that the enemies of the Bible Society would have the audacity to coin falsehoods having no foundation in fact.

The next point is almost too trifling to deserve notice, except

that the Bible Society endangers the Church of England. Mr. Scholefield very properly asks :

‘ But while Mr. Norris and his new allies are thus happily agreed on the tendency of the Bible Society to overturn the Establishment, are they fully satisfied with each other as to the methods by which they respectively arrive at the same conclusion? Mr. Norris, in his great delight to find them embracing the same opinions with himself, seems strangely to have overlooked the appalling premises from which their conclusion is drawn, and in which he must to a certain extent harmonize with them, before he can with any tolerable consistency appeal to their judgement in his own favour. Every one knows that the argument of an enemy would be this: The Church of England is not founded on the Bible: by the most extensive circulation of the Bible, therefore, you most effectually sap the foundations of that Church. This is clear and intelligible: grant him the premises, and the conclusion is irresistible. But what support does it lend to the argument of a man who abhors the premises? I believe I speak the sentiments of many when I say, that nothing I have yet read on this much agitated subject could ever reconcile me to the consistency of a *full confidence* in the scriptural constitution of our Church with an apprehension of danger to it from the widest circulation of the Bible, either with or without the Prayer-Book.’

pp. 103—4.

As regards the Dissenters, Mr. S. is quite right in his representation, that the sentiment attributable to any of them, is not that the Bible Society has any tendency to endanger the Church, but that the circulation of the Bible has this tendency. Whether this idea be correct or not, the two positions are essentially different. If there be any foundation for the opinion, the distribution of the Bible by the Bartlett's Buildings Society will lead just as certainly to the same issue. It is from the diffusion of Scriptural knowledge alone that such a result can be anticipated. If, however, Mr. Norris means to insinuate that such an expectation has had the slightest influence in inducing any portion of the Dissenters to cooperate in the Bible Society, he defames. The tendencies of the Bible Society are, we know, extensively regarded as unfavourable to the progress of Dissent, inasmuch as its influence tends to neutralise hostility to the Establishment, and at once to conciliate and to subordinate the Dissenting portion of the Society to that connected with the Episcopal Church. Could we bring ourselves to look on the interests of Dissenters as those of a party, we should regard such prelates as Bishop Ryder, and such clergymen as Owen, as our most formidable enemies, while we hailed Bishop Marsh and Mr. Norris as our most serviceable allies. Such men as the latter are standing reasons for Dissent. In the diocese of Peterborough, we have no fewer than eighty seven

arguments for nonconformity constantly at work for us; and in his little sphere, the Minister of St. John's chapel, Hackney, is blindly aiding the progress of sectarianism by the whole negative force of his character. Popery, under any form, will not go down with the people of England; and Mr. Gandolphy, to whom Mr. Norris appeals, will tell him to his face, that the opponents of the Bible Society have relinquished the characteristic principles of Protestantism. A Protestant Church cannot recede from those principles without danger; but let the danger be charged on its true authors. On such a subject, the opinion of acute lookers-on ought to have some weight; and with this view we shall transcribe a short passage from a recent article in the *Edinburgh Review*, on the 'Bishop of Peterborough and his Clergy.' 'Under (existing) circumstances,' they say, 'what could the worst enemy of the English Church require? A bitter, bustling, theological Bishop accused by his clergy of tyranny and oppression—the cause of daily petitions and daily debates in the House of Commons—the idoneous vehicle of abuse against the Establishment—a stalking-horse to bad men for the introduction of revolutionary opinions, mischievous ridicule, and irreligious feelings. It is inconceivable how such a prelate shakes all the upper works of the Church, and ripens it for dissolution and decay. Six such bishops, multiplied by eighty seven, and working with five hundred and two questions, would fetch every thing to the ground in less than six months.' His Majesty's ministers, warned by the outrageous innovations of Bishop Marsh, will probably take care how they again entrust power in such hands; and therefore, the present mischief is likely to constitute the whole source of danger. One Bishop Marsh, and twenty Norris's, cannot endanger a Church. But so far as such causes operate, so far as these men's principles are acted upon, the Church must suffer in its best interests, as well as in its outward reputation, and that in proportion as the people at large become enlightened and well-principled.

Mr. Norris's next case is the opening of a Dissenting place of worship at St. Petersburg, which is said to be 'supported almost exclusively by the different persons employed in the various departments of the Bible Society;' and this after a pledge said to have been given by Dr. Paterson, that 'there should be no opposition,' on the part of the Bible Society, 'to the Church.' Moreover, the London Missionary Society, 'completes the *knavery*' by erecting the 'factory into' one of its stations; and the Bible Society sanctions the whole, by assigning *the house* given to it by the Emperor, to Mr. Knill for a residence, and making him its *chargé d'affaires*,

&c. This is one tissue of falsehoods. The house belongs to the Russian Bible Society, over which the British and Foreign Bible Society has no control; it has *not* been assigned to Mr. Knill as a residence by the Russian Society; Mr. Knill has no connexion whatever with the British and Foreign Bible Society; and his residence in the house given to the Russian Society by the Emperor, 'arises merely from his sojourning with his friend ' and countryman Dr. Paterson, who had apartments in it assigned to him.' Mr. Norris's impudent assertion respecting the London Missionary Society, deserves no notice. As to the Dissenting Chapel, the persons connected with the Factory, who have withdrawn from the Church to attend it, prove to be Scotch Presbyterians, who, while attending the Episcopal Church, were actually dissenting from the Established Church of their own country. Mr. Norris must submit to be told, that he would be a Dissenter on the other side of the Tweed. We will not say in what light he would be looked upon at St. Petersburg; but we think we can guess.

The next charge shall be given in Mr. Norris's own words.

' " At Cambridge there was a time, now happily gone by, when the Bible Society had sufficient influence in the printing-office to have a *first sheet* struck off for their own *special use*, to be substituted for the *ordinary sheet* in all the copies forwarded to its order, at the bottom of which sheet this *falsehood* was exhibited in capital letters, 'FOR THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, instituted in London in the Year 1804, and sold to Subscribers only, by L. B. Seeley, at the Society's Depository, No. 169, Fleet Street.' The purpose and effect of this piece of shop-keeping trickery is obvious." pp. 148—49.

'The answer to this tremendous charge,' says Mr. Scholefield, 'is very simple.'

'First, it is implied, that the obnoxious notice on the title-page is confined to those Bibles which are printed at the Cambridge press. My Lord, it is no such thing: the King's printers and the University press at Oxford are equally guilty. Next, it is implied, that the privilege in question was obtained by underhand influence with the printer. A regular application was made to the syndics of the press, and they readily acceded to it. Thirdly, it is asserted, that that time is "*happily gone by*." Whatever effect it may have on the happiness of Mr. Norris or of the world, it is *not* gone by: for the same title-page is still preserved in all the Bibles and Testaments printed for the Society. Fourthly, it is asserted, that it announces a *FALSEHOOD*. There is no falsehood. They *are* printed for the Bible Society; that Society was instituted in London in the year 1804, and the books *are* sold to subscribers only. But, *fifthly*, and this will be a more powerful argument with Mr. Norris—the Bartlett's Buildings' Society has copied the example of the Bible Society, and has its Bibles now printed with a similar

title-page. Now, it is an axiom agreed upon by both parties, that the Bible Society is not censurable for any thing which the other Society has condescended to copy; it must, therefore, have been an oversight in Mr. Norris to complain so heavily of this practice, and charge it to so disgraceful an account.' pp. 149—50.

The next series of frivolous and vexatious charges relates to the Translations. Mr. Norris, in the plenitude of his self-sufficiency and ignorance, complains, that the Society multiplies translations unnecessarily, several of the dialects being of the same 'philological family,'—a remark not less applicable to many of the tongues enumerated Acts ii. 9—11. Of course, the translation of the Bible into the Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic dialects, must be a very supererogatory labour. But it is useless to reason with a man destitute of even common information on the subject on which he presumes to write. Mr. Norris proceeds to charge the Bible Society, with undertaking the Welsh Bible at a time when the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge were preparing as large an edition as could be wanted. Mr. Scholefield shews that Mr. Norris must have known to the contrary of what he here asserts. Mr. Norris affirms, that the Bible Society *intended* to introduce objectionable improvements into the Irish New Testament. This is shewn to be a pure fabrication. Mr. Norris asserts that the person employed to superintend that edition, was an ignorant fellow, a fanatic of the worst class, who had behaved ill to Dr. Hales, and who knew as little of the Irish language as of Greek or divinity. This infamous aspersions is shewn to be of precisely similar authenticity. Mr. Mc Quige, the person alluded to, was so well known for his critical knowledge of the Irish, that, previously to being employed by the Bible Society, he had been engaged by Trinity College, Dublin, to translate some ancient Irish MSS.; which he performed so much to the satisfaction of the College, as to have offered to him the Professorship of the Irish language. The charge of outrageously offensive conduct to Dr. Hales, is explained by Mr. Mc Quige's son, and turns out to be of a piece with the rest of Mr. Norris's misrepresentations. Mr. Norris reiterates the series of imbecile charges which first appeared in the Christian Remembrancer, relative to the French Bible, with a few additional misstatements of his own. On this subject, we must refer our readers to our notice of Mr. Owen's Letter on the subject, E. R. for Oct. 1822. The Icelandic Testament is represented as having been so corrected and revised, that it '*broke the hearts*' of the worthy Icelanders to see the liberties that had been taken with their Scriptures. The reply to this charge is, that the alterations are stated by Dr. Henderson to be of no great importance; that the edition,

whatever were its faults, was not undertaken by the Bible Society, but by a Society at Rügen; and that the second edition, published under Dr. Henderson's superintendence in 1813, is open to no such objection. Mr. Norris's base attack on Leander Van Ess's German Testament founds itself on the complaint, that the second edition follows the Vulgate, giving the more approved renderings in the margin. The Spanish Testament is stated by a Writer in the Christian Remembrancer, to be nearly unintelligible to the Spaniards, to be among the worst translations of the New Testament extant, and to be, like the Society's French Testament, *Calvinistic* in its rendering. But no proof or authority is adduced in support of this anonymous calumny. Our readers will find some remarks on this subject in our review of Mr. Luccock's Notes on Brazil. (E. R. for Sept. 1821. Vol. XVI. p. 295.) Passing over the attack on Professor Lee, we next come to a droll story copied from the same Christian Remembrancer, aimed at the Serampore Translators, whose establishment, Mr. Norris says, 'has been very happily designated the *spiritual steam-engine* of the East.' 'Every syllable of that statement,' says Mr. Ward, 'is as destitute of truth as the Arabian Nights.' Mr. Norris affirms that the Hindoostanee version of Matt. vii. 1. renders it: 'Do no justice, that justice be not done to you.' A letter given by Mr. Scholefield from Professor Lee, shews this to be either an ignorant or a wilful misstatement. And thus ends Mr. Norris's 'evidence of the Society's' versional defects.

Our readers must be sick of this disgusting subject; but, having disposed of the matter of Mr. Norris's charges, we must now say a few words about the spirit in which they are made. Some specimens of his vituperative powers have been given in the preceding pages. The Bible Society Committee, for instance, is charged with dishonesty, extortion, shop-keeping trickery, craft, and falsehood; and to them is elegantly applied the language of Solomon, in reference to their foreign operations, "A fool's eyes are in the ends of the earth." The London Missionary Society is charged with knavery; the Serampore Missionaries with imposition and ignorance. The libel on Mr. Mc Quige is but one of a number of personal attacks. Mr. Charles is stigmatised as 'a renegade clergyman.' Dr. Henderson is reproached with having 'once moved with his companion Dr. Paterson in a much less splendid sphere of life, in the Carron Iron works.' Gross as is this contemptible and low-bred attack, it yields in baseness to the imputations cast on the venerable Professor Leander Van Ess and the Rev. Mr. Gossner.

'I know not,' says Mr. Scholefield, 'in what language to express my as-

stonishment at the terms, in which Mr. Norris, a minister of a Protestant Church, characterizes these intrepid and laborious men. He shall speak for himself. "Both of them," he says, "Roman Catholic Clergymen, and both signalized by this remarkable trait of character, that continuing to hold offices of trust and emolument under the Church of Rome, and bound by all the solemn vows which that See imposes, they are casting scorn upon its authority, are giving the right hand of fellowship to Protestants, and promoting the wildest fanaticism by every means in their power." p. 176.

After this, such expressions as 'Calvinistic heresies,' 'Socinian and Presbyterian heresies,' 'obviously wicked,' 'palpably and malignantly mischievous,' applied to the operations of the Bible Society, 'process of female demoralization,' &c. &c. appear scarcely to deserve notice. Nor does it seem worth while to animadvert on Mr. Norris's assertion, that 'the words *without note or comment*, are in themselves a 'commentary upon Scripture,' and a 'commentary of no immaterial import;' 'for,' argues this exquisite logician,

'it fixes this character upon the word of God—that its doctrines are for the most part of *doubtful* disputation, and conveyed in terms sufficiently *undeterminate* to warrant all the *anomalies* for which it is made responsible; that thus *confusedly* promulgated by its *Divine Author*, it has been turned as it were *adrift* into the world, without an *authorised* interpreter, or a *consistent* interpretation, to be tossed to and fro by the varying conceits and perverseness of human opinion, and to be the *common document of all sects and persuasions*.'

This passage, we say, requires no animadversion; any more than the declaration, that 'the word of God circulated, not in its original language, but in translations, is *necessarily commented on*; the version produced being neither more nor less than the *translator's exposition*.' Nor need we do more than simply cite the assertion, that a Persian translation of Mother Bunch would have been quite as highly approved by the King of Persia as Martyn's Persian Testament. But, when Mr. Norris proceeds in so many words to deny 'that the Bible Society's labours have *generally* promoted Christianity,' or 'that there is *any* tendency in these labours to promote it throughout the world;' when he boldly asks, 'How can *such* a society contribute *any thing* to the propagation of Christianity?' when he more than insinuates, that 'the only fruits of the mighty stir which it has been making in every part of the country for upwards of seventeen years,' have been crimes enhanced in guilt, and multiplied in the same degree and proportion;—we are ready to ask, Is this the language of Tom Paine or of Carlile? Can it possibly proceed from a dignitary of a

Protestant Church? It is the distribution of the Bible, of which this infatuated man thus blasphemously speaks. It is on a Society formed for the sole purpose of distributing the holy Scriptures, and which has actually distributed near four millions of copies, that he vents his malignity. And can such a man be even a believer in the Scriptures, leagued as he is with the Papist and the Infidel, in ridiculing and opposing their unrestricted circulation?

We are grieved and pained to notice the concluding paragraph of Mr. Scholefield's Letter.

'And for Mr. Norris,' he says, 'I take leave of him in your Lordship's presence, with an expression of my cordial willingness to believe, that we both have at heart the same honest desire to promote the welfare of a Church, to whose service we are bound not less by inclination than by the most solemn vows, though, unfortunately, we differ so widely in our estimate of the most suitable means for attaining the same end. May all these unhappy bickerings among us be speedily terminated, "lest Satan should get an advantage of us; for we are not ignorant of his devices."' p. 199.

We readily give Mr. Scholefield credit for the best intentions in penning this paragraph, and we almost envy the tranquillity of temper which it seems to breathe. But in what a light does a Christian minister place himself, who, after such disclosures as his Letter contains, can recognise in his opponent a brother minister, actuated by 'the same honest desire' to promote the welfare of the Church? What would an infidel think of such a declaration? Would not *he* be ready to suspect, that the two parties were, after all, no more sincerely at variance, than two well fed advocates, who, after the wordy combat of the bar, meet at night to laugh over the same bottle? There is a spurious candour which becomes the apologist for iniquity, and which is abhorrent from the spirit of the Gospel. We cannot be too patient under *personal* injuries; and when reviled, it ill becomes a follower of the Lord Jesus to revile again. But the case of a public offender comes under a very different rule. If there ever was a man who knew how to unite the polished courtesies of life with the integrity and independence of the Christian character, it was St. Paul. In addressing the Roman procurator, he scrupled not to pay honour to his official dignity, by styling him "Most noble Festus." But what is his language on another occasion? "O full of all subtlety and "all mischief, thou child of the Devil, thou enemy of all "righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways "of the Lord?"

Our readers will not misunderstand us as meaning to in-

timate, that a difference of opinion on the merits of the Bible Society, could justify a severity of language, or the imputation of improper motives. We speak of the spirit in which the present assault has been made, the utter faithlessness by which it has been characterized, the bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, with all malice, which have been exhibited in the false accusations brought against the Society, the dereliction of integrity which they betray, and, above all, the scarcely concealed infidelity which calls in question the utility of distributing the sacred Scriptures. Putting these together, we say, that every principle of Christianity forbids the compromising courtesy into which Mr. Scholefield has been, with the best intentions, betrayed. Bishop Watson has been often blamed, and not without reason, for his excess of courtesy towards Gibbon. Yet, it is observable that, towards the heathen, the Apostles always maintained a marked courtesy and forbearance: their severest language was reserved for the false teacher and the blind guide. Mr. Scholefield would be shocked and scandalised at a person's charitably ascribing to Mr. Carlile an 'honest desire' to promote the welfare of his country, though unfortunately he mistook the means. Yet, on comparing the respective proofs of an 'honest desire' in the two cases, he would find that he has been guilty of scarcely less impropriety. So analogous, to say the least, are the essential traits of conduct and character betrayed in the malignant opposition made to the circulation of the Scriptures, that it may seem to be referrible to the sovereign dispensations of Providence, rather than to any moral difference in the individuals, that Mr. Carlile is not the dignified reviler of the Bible Society, and H. H. Norris the half-starved vender of sedition and blasphemy in Fleet-street.

Art. VII. *Observations on the Conduct and Character of Judas Iscariot:* in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. James Primrose, by the Rev. John Bonar, one of the Ministers of Perth. A new Edition. 18mo. pp. 54. Edinburgh. 1822.

THE Author of this Tract, which has long been out of print, was one of the ministers of Perth, from 1756 to 1761, when he was cut off in the midst of his usefulness. Dr. Doddridge has recommended it, in his Lectures, as setting the important testimony of the apostate Judas to the innocency of his Master 'in a most just and beautiful light.' The encomium of such a man will supersede any opinion of ours; nor can we have any hesitation in recommending the Tract to the perusal

of our readers, notwithstanding that we differ from the Writer on a few minor points. Those persons who have never hitherto considered the force of the argument in favour of the Divine mission of our Lord, supplied by the conduct and confession of Judas, will be much pleased with these Observations.

The exceptions which we are inclined to make to the correctness of the Author's statements, do not affect the validity of his argument. That 'Judas knew Christ to be the true Messiah,' is very far from being evident from Matt. xxvi. 49; Luke xxii. 48. They afford, in our opinion, not even a presumption in favour of the supposition. Nor do we consider the term "Son of Man," as ever having a sense equivalent to Messiah. It is clearly a term of humiliation, under which our Lord speaks of himself. It is observable that Judas, so far from acknowledging his Master to be Messiah, addresses our Lord by a different compellation from that used by the Eleven at the Passover. When our Lord told them, that one of their number should betray him, they began every one to say, "Lord, 'is it I?'" But Judas, when he at last puts the same question, says, "Master, is it I?" (Matt. xxvi. 22, 25.)

That Judas had cherished his diabolical project long before our Lord went up to Jerusalem, we consider as another gratuitous, and indeed improbable notion. But it would lead us too far, to shew, from the Gospel history, the reasons which appear to us to lie against the supposition.

The greatest difficulty in explaining the conduct of the Traitor, arises from his selling his Master for such a trifle as 3*l.* 15*s.* or, according to Dean Prideaux, 4*l.* 10*s.* of our money; when one is apt to think, that his covetousness would have led him to demand, and the eagerness of the Jewish rulers would have made them willing to give, a much greater sum. Mr. Bonar's explanation is, that he acted from the mixed motive of covetousness and resentment combined; and that impatient for revenge, he had not coolness enough to make the most advantageous bargain. Macknight has a long and fanciful note on the subject, which displays all his characteristic ingenuity and boldness; but his reasoning is weak, and his conclusion quite inadmissible. His notion is, that Judas, becoming excessively impatient at our Lord's not assuming the dignity of Messiah, hit upon the scheme of delivering his Master into the hands of the council, as the shortest way to oblige him to assume his power, and enter on the regal dignity. He admits that resentment urged him on to the execution of this design, but thinks that he had no idea of exposing his Master to death. The most judicious part of the note is the concluding sentence: 'However, as the motives of men's actions at such a distance of time, must

needs be intricate, especially where history is in a great measure silent concerning them, we ought to be very modest in our attempts to unravel them : for which cause, the above account of Judas's conduct is proposed only as a conjecture worthy of further inquiry.' Bishop Porteus says : ' It appears to me, that the acquittal or condemnation of Jesus never entered into Judas's contemplation. All he thought of was *gain*. He had kept the common purse, and had robbed it ; and his only object was to obtain a sum of money, which he determined to have at all events, and left consequences to take care of themselves. But when he saw that his Divine Master, whom he knew to be perfectly innocent, was actually condemned to death, his conscience then flew in his face, his guilt rose up before him in all its horrors.' This account of the matter does not by any means adequately explain all the circumstances of the case ; nor does it seem to us credible, that, if his *only* object had been to obtain a sum of money, he would coolly have adhered to so paltry a bargain. His conduct was not that of a man who thought only of immediate gain ; for, though covetousness was probably his ruling passion, and his following Christ was from sinister motives, yet, he must have been governed in such a step by long-sighted calculations of ultimate advantage, and his character appears to have been marked by consummate prudence. That we may not fall under the charge of merely raising objections, the common fault of critics, without contributing to a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, we shall transcribe from some manuscript notes to which we have access, what appears to us the most Scriptural view of the conduct of the Traitor.

' Of the motive by which Judas was actuated in betraying our Lord, different explanations have been given. But the inquiry is more curious than important. That he was " a thief," a hard-hearted man who cared not for the poor, and in that instance at least a hypocrite, is certain. (John xii. 6.) But the trifling sum for which he sold his master and his own soul, could hardly have been a sufficient temptation, especially when his resolution was taken before he knew whether he could make any bargain with the priests. Sudden resentment could not have been his motive, for it was no hasty act, but had been for days premeditated. There can be no doubt that, as a worldly-minded and covetous man, he had not only shared in the astonishment and disappointment of the other disciples, at finding the kingdom of our Lord was not, as they imagined, a temporal reign,—at learning that " Christ must suffer," and that riches were incompatible with becoming his disciple ; but his faith was unequal to the

VOL. XIX. N.S. H

trial. Though he did not desert Christ, still cherishing, perhaps, the hope of eventual aggrandisement, it is plain that he "believed not." See John vi. 64—71. His disappointment was heightened by his covetousness, till it probably excited the most malignant feelings towards our Lord as the occasion of it. The promises of future glory, which sustained the sinking faith of the other disciples, and the personal attachment which kept them faithful when hope had forsaken their minds, had no influence on Judas. Deep-rooted malignity must have taken possession of his soul, to account for the expression, "Satan entered him." At the instigation of the "Father of murderers," to whom his own evil passions had made him a prey, he resolved on putting his Master into the hands of his enemies. It is possible that he might think by this private bargain to make his peace with the Jewish rulers, and to provide for his worldly interests, which he had sacrificed on becoming a follower of Jesus; while his avarice made him grasp at the paltry reward for which he bargained. It is a great mistake, however, to suppose that he acted upon any cool calculations of profit. The Scriptures lead us to attribute to his motives the highest malignity, and to believe that he was urged on to the commission of his crime by the immediate influence of the Enemy of souls; a fact wholly lost sight of by the interpreters who would resolve his conduct into ordinary principles.

Art. VIII. *Remarks on the Indians of North America*, in a Letter to an Edinburgh Reviewer. 8vo. pp. 64. London. 1822.

THE Irish, the Hindoos, and the North American Indians, have, superadded to their claims on British benevolence as men, the stronger claim which arises from their common character as fellow subjects. Besides the silent appeal which they make to us on the ground of their depressed condition, a louder voice than that of simple misery, speaks to us in their wrongs. And if the strength of their claim not only to compassion, but to reparation, be determined by the amount of injustice and injury they have suffered at the hands of their conquerors, perhaps, that of the North American Indians, would appear to be the strongest. Yet, hitherto, their condition has excited little or no attention on this side of the Atlantic.

A cold-blooded *illuminé*, however, who writes in the Edinburgh Review, has discovered that the Indians are incapable of emerging from barbarism; that the tendency to improvement which distinguishes man from the lower animals, 'would seem

' to be totally wanting to them ' We had thought that it was rather too late in the day for crude, and heartless, and baseless speculations of this kind to be put forth by philosophers. Before the establishment of the Haytian republic, before the moral revolution which has since taken place among the once unutterably degraded hordes of the South Sea Islands, such notions might have worn a degree of plausibility. The argument was invaluable to the abettors of the African slave-trade. But the Indians have proved themselves to be capable of civilization; the successes of Eliot and Brainerd are not yet forgotten; and the fact is capable of being established by the clearest historical evidence, that the tendency to improvement which had begun to develop itself in their adoption of the modes of civilized life, has been checked and stopped by the encroachments, the insidious policy, and the outrages of Europeans.

' The destruction of the Indians, in the now peopled parts of North America, has been accomplished too gradually, and by means too obviously barbarous and human, to be attributable to any other agency than that of man. . . . From a passage in the *Biographia Britannica*, it appears, that, in Lord Egmont's manuscripts, there are preserved certain reflections of Carteret, Lord Granville, on education and colonial government. With deliberate heartlessness, he reproves the converting of the Indians, because the knowledge of Christianity will introduce them to a knowledge of the arts, and such a consummation will make them *dangerous to our plantations.*'

We rejoice to learn from this highly interesting pamphlet, that, at the present moment, ' means are in active progress,' in America, ' to an extent almost beyond hope,' which ' make ' the *permanent* improvement of the condition of the Indians ' extremely probable.' In the hope of receiving fuller information on this head; we take leave of the subject for the present, with recommending these Remarks of Philadelphus and the facts he has brought forward, to the attention of our readers. The Writer appears to us to confound, in one place, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with the New England Society.

Art. IX. *Thomas Johnson's Further Reasons for Dissenting from the Church of England*: in two Dialogues with Mr. Sikes and John Twilight. 24mo. pp. 48. Price 4d. London. 1822.

THOMAS Johnson, although a plain man, is both reflective and conscientious. He is evidently averse to think by proxy, even though it should be in the venerable person of a regularly constituted priest, with all the dignity of Apostolic

succession about him. His common sense and scriptural knowledge would render him a formidable antagonist to many a lofty son of the Church. We are not even without our suspicions that he might puzzle his lordship of Peterborough himself, with all his array of questions, provided that the Bishop, having once disposed of all his queries, would allow Thomas the indulgence of asking a few in return. To be grave, however, we assure our readers that Thomas Johnson is neither in the predicament of some Dissenters, who can assign no substantial reason why they are not within the pale of the National Church, nor in that of some churchmen, who could not, for a kingdom, tell you why they do not worship in a Conventicle. He is "ready to give a reason of the hope that is in him," whether it be to Master Twilight, a neighbour, or to Mr. Sikes the clergyman of the parish; and whether he combats the trite and borrowed remarks of the one, or the "high swelling words of vanity" of the other, he is equally successful and triumphant, although no one will imagine that a clergyman will admit himself to be conquered by the arguments of an obscure parishioner.

If these Dialogues are not the records of actual conversations, they are nevertheless a fair representation of what is every day transpiring in parishes where the leaven and the light of Dissent have penetrated. We have seen men answering, in all respects, to the characters introduced in these Dialogues. It is not a little curious, that a clergyman of the name of Sikes has lately ushered into the world several very acrimonious tracts on the subject of Dissent, and that some of his most pithy arguments—so strong are his powers of reasoning—are those employed by the clerical hero of the little tracts before us. Perhaps, Thomas Johnson, whoever he may be, has this reverend reasoner in view; and if he had, we congratulate him on having left his opponent in the horns of a dilemma. For proof of the justice of this congratulation, we refer our readers to Thomas's mode of reasoning on the much misunderstood subject of Toleration.

Mr. Sikes. You Dissenters ought to be thankful indeed, to be allowed to break with impunity all the laws concerning the church and sacraments, which the King and Parliament have enacted to maintain true Christianity among us. Did you ever hear of any other country in which such a licence as this was given?

Thomas. I think I have, Sir. They say, that in the countries governed by the Turks, where the established religion is that of the false prophet, Christians, who are the Dissenters there, have the same sort of liberty. If they had not, you know, Sir, there could be no such thing as Christianity in those countries.

‘ *Mr. Sikes.* Yes, yes, of course : but the case is different where the established religion is the true one. It is not possible, I tell you, that an honest Dissenter can be so good a subject in this country as an honest Churchman, because the Churchman obeys all the King’s laws without exception, while the Dissenter has got leave to break some of them : in other words, has got leave to go wrong

‘ *Thomas.* Why, now, Sir, you puzzle me. It is strange, is it not, Sir, that there should be laws which give a man leave to break the laws, making it right to go wrong? You say, Sir, that there are certain laws which we Dissenters have got leave to break. Then, Sir, if we have got leave to break them, it is lawful to break them. But if it is lawful to break them, they have ceased to be the laws of the kingdom : because the laws are binding upon all, and laws which may be broken with impunity, are no laws. And so you see, Sir, the Dissenter breaks no laws at all : for, if he did, you, as a magistrate, would soon have him up to answer for it.’

Thomas Johnson’s religious reasoning is as good as his political, and we should be glad if that portion of evangelical churchmen, who are so loyal to the religion of the parish, as to recommend an attendance on its forms, even where the truth is not preached, would spend fourpence on the purchase of these Dialogues. Query, would St. Paul have recommended any disciple to attend a teacher, whom, for the sake of his doctrine, he had pronounced to be accursed?

Art. X. An Essay on the Evils of Scandal, Slander, and Misrepresentation. 12mo. pp. 144. Price 3s. 6d. London. 1821.

A philosophical investigation of this baneful propensity, would afford a framework for the introduction of much interesting matter illustrative of the natural and artificial character of man. How far it belongs to the elementary qualities of our composition, and how far it is to be referred to the circumstances in which we are placed by the refinements of civilized association, is a question involved in some difficulty.

Without puzzling himself with this laborious and circuitous train of inquiry, the present Writer takes the shorter and easier course of pointing out the evils of the carping and calumniating habit, and describing some of the usual modes of its operation. We cannot say that he has done this in a very impressive manner, but he has made his book the vehicle of much sound and wholesome admonition. It is but fair to add, that his declamation is occasionally spirited, and that a due attention to his counsels would prevent much injurious conduct, and much consequent misery.

ART. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

** * Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works, which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

In the press, Pulpit Orations, Lectures and Sermons, delivered in the Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, by the Rev. Edward Irving, M.A. 1 vol. 8vo.

The Rev. Alexander Fletcher has in the press, a small volume of Sermons addressed to Children. Also, a new edition of the Spiritual Guardian for Youth.

Shortly will be published, in 1 vol. 8vo. A Diary of a Journey through Southern India, Egypt, and Palestine, in 1821, &c. By a Field Officer of Cavalry.

Preparing for publication, the whole Works of the Rev. John Owen, D. D. Edited by Thomas Cloutt, M.A.

In the press, The Doctrines of Grace conclusive to eminent Holiness, a Sermon preached at Salter's Hall, Dec. 5th. By the Rev. J. B. Innes.

Proposals have been issued for publishing by subscription, the Portraits of the late Rev. John Owen, A.M. the Rev. Dr. Steinkopff, and the Rev. Joseph Hughes, from original drawings by Mr. Slater. That of Mr. Owen will appear about the end of March. Prints (the three) 11. 1s. Proofs, 2l. 2s.

Mr. Boyce has in the press, an improved edition of the Belgian Traveller, with additional views.

Mr. James White, Civil Engineer, has in course of publication, A New Century of Inventions, being designs and descriptions of one hundred machines relating to arts, manufactures, and domestic life, illustrated by 50 engravings. To be completed in five parts, demy 4to. 2l. each part.

The Lives of Scottish Poets, complete in 3 vols. with portraits, will be ready in a few days.

In the press, The Eventide, being Disquisitions on the Prophecies of Daniel and St. John. By J. A. Brown. 2 vols. 8vo.

Early in January, will be published "Relics of Literature," by Stephen

Collet, A.M. in 8vo. with a frontispiece of Autographs of eminent Characters.

In the press, Sequel to an Unpublished Manuscript of Henry Kirke White's; designed to illustrate the contrast afforded by Christians and Infidels, at the close of life. By the Author of "The Wonders of the Vegetable Kingdom Displayed," &c.

In the press, the Antiquities of Freemasonry. Comprising illustrations of the five grand periods of Masonry, from the Creation of the World, to the Dedication of King Solomon's Temple. By George Oliver, vicar of Cloe, in the county of Lincoln, P.G. chaplain for the same county, and domestic chaplain to the right hon. lord Kensington.

In the press, an Introduction to the Hebrew Language, by W. Reimann, Professor of the Hebrew and German languages, and author of the Catechism of Hebrew Grammar, an introduction to German reading. 12mo.

In the press, the Theory and Practice of Music, professionally analysed, for the use of the instructor, the amateur, and the student, with a brief history of the science, &c. together with a practical essay on the capabilities and application of the human voice. By J. Nathan, author of the "Hebrew Melodies." royal 4to.

Preparing for the press, Systematic Geography, or a simple, new, and practical plan for the use of young ladies. By S. Renou. Also, by the same author, an Introduction to Astronomy.

Mr. Grant of Crouch End, has nearly ready for publication, a new edition of his Institutes of Latin Grammar, revised and considerably augmented.

Martin Luther, on the Bondage of the Will. The subscribers to Vaughan's Luther are respectfully informed, that the work is now going to press, and will be ready for delivery to subscribers on or before the 31st day of March next ensuing. Mr. Vaughan considers himself re-

List of Works recently Published.

95

responsible for the delivery of the book to all subscribers, when the price of subscription is to be paid.

All fresh subscribers are requested to send their names without delay to the Editor only, at Leicester. Further particulars will be advertised in due time.

Mr. T. E. Evans is engaged in translating from the French of Messrs. Dufau, Duvergier, and Guadet, a collection of

the constitutions, charters, and laws of the various nations of Europe, and of North and South America, with historical sketches of the origin of their liberties and political institutions. The first volume, containing the rise and progress of the governments of France and the Netherlands, will appear very shortly, and the remaining volumes will be published periodically.

Art. XII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

ARCHITECTURE.

The Architectural Antiquities of Rome: consisting of views, plans, elevations, sections, and details of the ancient edifices in that city. By G. L. Taylor, and Edward Cressy, Architects and F.A.S. 2 vols. imp. folio, 150 plates, 18l. 18s.

The Revived Architecture of Italy, selected from palaces, churches, and other edifices in which the architecture of the ancients has been most successfully appropriated to domestic purposes. By G. L. Taylor, and Edward Cressy. Nos. 1 and 2. imp. folio, 11. 11s 6d.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of Timothy Dwight. 18mo. 1s. 3d. fine 2s.

Active Goodness beautifully exemplified in the Life and Labours of the Rev. Thomas Gouge, of London. 6d.

Memoirs of the Rev. Jos. Benson. By the Rev. James Macdonald, 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. John Griffin, Junior, late minister of Castle-street Chapel, Exeter. By John Griffin, of Portsea. 8vo. 8s.

FINE ARTS.

A Series of Portraits of eminent historical characters introduced in the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley; with biographical notices. No. 7, containing Graham of Claverhouse—Rob Roy—Prince Charles—King James. 12mo. 8s. 8vo. 10s.

HISTORY.

Sir Robert Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, or Count of Queen Elizabeth. A new edition, corrected by the origi-

nal MSS. With notes and a life of Naunton; eight portraits. small 8vo. 12s. 6d.: demy, 21s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Remarks on the usefulness of Classical Learning. By James Beattie, LL.D. a new edition, with a biographical sketch of the Author. royal 18mo. 2s. 6d.

An Accurate Table of the Population of the British Empire in 1821; specifying all the Cities and Boroughs in Great Britain, with every other parish or place, containing two thousand inhabitants or upwards, &c. double demy paper, 5s. or, on fine paper of very large size, 7s.

German Popular Stories, translated from the *Kinder und Hausmärchen* of M. M. Grimm. With an introduction and notes, and 12 plates by G. Cruikshank. 12mo. 7s.

MEDICINE.

A Treatise on the Utility of Sanguisuction or Leech-bleeding. By Rees Price, M.D. Surgeon, &c. 3s. 6d.

POETRY.

The Loves of the Angels. By Thomas Moore, Esq. 8vo. 9s.

Don Carlos; or Persecution. A Tragedy. By Lord John Russell, 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Werner, a Tragedy. By Lord Byron. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

The Enchanted Flute, with other Poems, and Fables from La Fontaine. By E. P. Wolfenstan. 8vo.

Serious Musings. By Joseph Jones, M.A. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

The Martyrs, a Poem. By the Rev. Joseph Jones, M.A. 12mo. 3s.

The Republic of Ants: a poem, illustrated with notes developing the various modes of life of that singular little insect. By the Author of the *Monarchy of Bees*. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

A Vindication of the Authenticity of the Narratives contained in the first two Chapters of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke; being an Investigation of Objections urged by the Unitarian Editors of the Improved Version of the New Testament. By a Layman. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Aurea Sententia. Select Sentences, transcribed from sundry eminent divines and other writers, with some suitable Texts of Scripture, by Thomas Stratton. With a recommendatory preface, by John Morison. 12mo.

Sketches of Sermons, preached on the Continent, &c. furnished by their respective Authors. Vol. IV. 12mo. 4s.

On the Means of obtaining Satisfaction with regard to the Truth of Religious Sentiments: a Sermon preached before a monthly association of ministers, &c. By John Pye Smith, D.D. 1s.

Sin removed by Christ the Lamb of God, and Sinners directed to an all-wise

cient Saviour: the substance of a Sermon by John Peacock. 1s.

The Bible Teacher's Manual. By a Clergyman. Part I. Genesis. 6d.

The Redeemer's Tears wept over Lost Souls; with two discourses on self-dedication, and on yielding ourselves to God. By the Rev. John Howe, A.M. With an introductory essay, by the Rev. Robert Gordon, Edinburgh. 3s. 6d.

Baxter's Compassionate Counsel to young men. New edition, 1s.

The Perseverance and Success of Messiah, in promoting the submission of mankind to his government, by the agency of the Gospel. By the Rev. William Logan, Leamabago. 1s.

TRAVELS AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Journal of a Tour through the Netherlands, to Paris, in 1821. By the Author of the *Magic Lantern*, *Sketches and Fragments*, &c. fcap. 8vo. 8s.

Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land. By William Rae Wilson, Esq. 8vo. 18s.

Fifteen Years in India; or Sketches of a Soldier's Life. Being an attempt to describe persons and things in various parts of Hindostan. From the Journal of an Officer in his Majesty's service. 8vo. 14s.

* * * The Title-page, Index, and Contents to Vol. XVIII., will be given in the Number for February, in which will appear Articles on the Napoleon Memoirs, Lord John Russel's Don Carlos, Lord Byron's Werner, Archbishop of Dublin's Charge, Montgomery's Songs of Zion, Joyce on Love to God, Bracebridge Hall, Martyn's Sermons, &c. &c.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1823.

Art. I. *A Treatise on Love to God, considered as the Perfection of Christian Morals.* By the Rev. James Joyce, A.M. Curate of Hitcham, Bucks. 8vo. pp. 248. Price 7s. 6d. London. 1822.

WE have read this volume with very high satisfaction. The subject, strange to say, possesses a kind of novelty, owing to the comparative neglect it has met with from Christian writers; and those who have treated of it, are, for the most part, theologians of a stamp little to our taste. The Mystics on the one hand, and the Platonic moralists on the other, have descanted sometimes sublimely on love to the Supreme Being; but the metaphysical aberrations and the objectionable phraseology of the Quietists, throw a disguise over the principle of Scriptural piety; while the philosophic notion of love to God is little better than a barren, though beautiful speculation. It is, in fact, that subject of theology, or rather that view of religion, which, though above every other in importance, is the most rarely treated with perfect propriety. Mr. Joyce, we are happy to say, has shewn his sound judgement and piety equally in the choice and in the treatment of his subject. His work may be appealed to as an evidence that it is very possible to combine piety and philosophy, without abandoning the ground of evangelical principles, or ceasing to be practical. The treatise is of a more philosophical character than may perhaps suit the taste or intellectual habits of the generality of religious readers. The style, however, is extremely lucid, while the sentiments are free from any obscurity; and not the least recommendation of the work, is, that its spirit is highly devotional. We speak not altogether as critics when we say, that we hope we have not read it without advantage to our

our own minds ; and we are sure that the fault will lie with the reader who is not bettered by the perusal.

After expressing thus unreservedly our opinion of the work, we might, perhaps, leave it to those of our readers who defer to our judgement, to satisfy themselves, by a perusal of its contents, as to the justness of our encomium. But we are unwilling thus briefly to dismiss either the Author or the subject. We may do him a disservice by exciting indefinite and unreasonable expectations respecting his performance ; and we are quite aware that many readers would be ready to charge the critic with partiality, on failing to derive from it that kind of gratification which they may anticipate. The very circumstance which recommends the subject to some minds, may give it, in the view of others, an uninteresting character. It is one far removed from the mere technicalities of orthodoxy. It admits of none of the smartness of controversy, is destitute of the zest attaching to disputed points, and almost repels the attempt to clothe it in the pomp of declamation. It is delightful to find in the stormy regions of theology, so vexed with mists and noxious vapours generated from the angry passions of controvertists, one elevated spot where we may breathe a purer atmosphere ; and that not in ' the arctic land ' of philosophic speculation, but in the very centre of the evangelical system.

After noticing the errors into which preceding writers on this subject have fallen, in reference chiefly to the Quietists, Mr. Joyce thus announces the general object and plan of his work.

' But the erroneous views, the imprudent analogies, and the incautious expressions of former writers on the subject of love to God, are not the only reasons for the publication of the present remarks. The Author thinks (though it may expose him to the imputation of an ostentatious promise to say so) that there are some truths connected with his view of the subject, which have not been sufficiently insisted on ; and others which, as far as his researches extend, remain untouched. It appears to him, that the principle of love to God, when properly understood, throws a great light not only on the degree, but on the nature of our happiness in a better state of being. And considered as a principle which, in the early ages of the world, was found in the Jewish writings, and in them alone, but which has never been equalled in heathen schools, nor ever professed to be surpassed by subsequent revelations from heaven ; it furnishes additional and powerful evidence in favour of the Divine authority of the Scriptures.

' The work, then, seems naturally to divide itself into three parts ; of which the first will illustrate the several dispositions which are included in love to God ; the second will shew in what manner this principle improves our conceptions of future happiness ; and the third will treat the argument which may be deduced from it, in favour of the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures.'

The several dispositions included in the principle of love to God, are treated in the following order: 'admiration of the Divine perfections; gratitude; a supreme regard for the glory of God; a constant desire of the Divine favour; a habit of communion with God; a desire of similitude to God; a delight in his service; love to our fellow creatures.' These dispositions have often been treated of in their effects, in the outward actions or duties by which the holy principle is displayed; but it is the Author's object to fix the attention upon them more specifically as 'the component parts of the sacred and supreme principle of love to God,' which 'enter essentially into its nature.' If it should be objected, that some of these are fruits and evidences, rather than component parts of the principle itself, it must be recollected, that the Author is not attempting a definition, but a description of love to God, and that the excellency of a description is the reverse of that which forms the recommendation of a definition. In moral inquiries definitions are rarely necessary, generally useless. Logical precision has often been mistaken for clearness of ideas; and the attempt to simplify has led to the substitution of theoretic propositions for illustrative explanation or analysis. Of this nature is President Edwards's definition of Virtue, as consisting in 'benevolence to being in general;' which, putting aside the other objections to which it is liable, has obviously no pretensions to the character of an analytical explanation. The terms employed in the definition require themselves to be defined, in order to fix the acceptation in which we are to understand the writer as speaking of being and benevolence. What is this benevolence? 'To speak more accurately,' says the President, 'it is that consent, propensity, and union of heart to being in general, which is immediately exercised in a general good-will.' Are we any nearer a just and clear idea of benevolence or virtue than before? By no means. We have only an indefinite sentiment substituted, as a generic appellation, for the various distinct principles comprehended in love to God and love to man. Edwards's error appears to us to consist, not so much 'in placing virtue exclusively in some one disposition of mind,'* as in placing it in an abstraction which has no relation to either human nature or the Divine. This benevolence or love in which virtue consists, is not, according to him, the love of complacency, neither does it consist in gratitude; though these two principles, the love of moral

* The objection urged by Mr. Hall in his Sermon on "Modern Infidelity."

esteem and the love of gratitude, have usually been considered as making up the whole of a virtuous disposition towards God. But no, says Edwards, 'what is commonly called love' of complacency, presupposes (moral) beauty' as its object, and 'gratitude supposes a benevolence prior to gratitude,' as its cause. Therefore, 'God's virtue'—the expression is most harsh and improper, but his argument requires it—cannot consist in either of these modifications of love. In other words, he would infer that *that* principle cannot be of the essence of virtue *in us*, which presupposes the being of a God as its object. And why? Simply because the perfections of God exist prior to any external object. The inconsequential nature of this reasoning is not less palpable than the impropriety of the terms which the Author has found it necessary to employ. This most profound thinker and able polemic, skilled as he was in the unravelling of sophistry and the demolition of error, has failed in the very outset of his attempt to construct a moral system.

President Dwight, misled by the high authority of his illustrious grandfather, has fallen into a similar error; defining 'evangelical love' to be 'a delight in happiness,' or, in other words, good-will towards percipient beings as capable of happiness. This definition equally excludes the love of moral esteem and that of gratitude. It teaches us to form a notion of love to God, separate from all reference to the Divine perfections as the cause and object of that love. Such are the absurdities which metaphysics introduce into morals.

"God is love," that is, essential benevolence; for this is doubtless the force of the word employed by the inspired writer. Benevolence is the only species or modification of love which we can conceive of as existing in the Divine mind towards creatures unworthy of his favour. It corresponds to the declaration of the Psalmist, that "God is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works." The goodness displayed in his works, is the manifestation of his benevolence. And the children of God are, in this perfection, to be imitators of the Divine Being. "perfect as their Heavenly Father is perfect." But what is the object of this love or benevolence in which we are to imitate God? Not Himself, but the creatures he has made. It is, in other words, love to man; and benevolence, whether existing in the Divine mind or in a human bosom, can have no other object than the creature. But if so, there must be a higher principle than this good-will towards percipient beings, this benevolence to being,—a principle having God for its object. Benevolence, so far from constituting the essence of virtue, is but the sum of the duties

of the second table. Love to God is not only a higher duty in us, but corresponds to a higher kind of love than that of benevolence, if we may be allowed so to speak, even in the Divine Mind,—the love of his own essential attributes.

The immediate object of love, as well as that of the other affections, must be some moral quality adapted to excite that inward sensation in the mind. The moral quality which is the immediate object of love, is goodness or moral excellence. 'The highest, the adequate object of this affection,' to use the words of Bp. Butler, 'is perfect goodness; which, therefore, we are to love with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength.*' Now, this same quality or attribute of goodness must be the necessary object of the Divine complacency. As, in accommodation to our ideas, God is said to hate sin and to delight in mercy, so we may say, that his own Goodness must be, antecedent to any outward manifestation of it, the object of His eternal satisfaction,—the source, together with all other perfections, of the infinite, undervived, self-sufficient happiness of Deity. And if such a word as virtue might be applied to God, it would be this holy love of essential goodness, rather than 'benevolence to being,' in which it would seem properly to consist. This holds good, at least, of the creature. Existence, physical existence, or the physical happiness of percipient beings, which is represented as the object of benevolence, is an object, assuredly, of inferior value and consideration to that which constitutes the well-being of all intelligent creatures. The goodness or moral excellence of an individual is a matter of higher concern than his physical being: it is of more importance that he should be virtuous, than that he should exist. And this will apply to all created beings. That principle, therefore, which leads us to delight in goodness, which relates to the moral qualities of the individual, must be a nobler affection of the mind, than the bare principle of general good-will towards percipient beings, which relates only to their physical happiness. The love of goodness is, in fact, when carried out into its proper exercise, the love of God; and this, in every point of view, must be a higher and more excellent virtue than that benevolence which consists in love to man.

The same reasoning will apply with equal force to the love of gratitude. This disposition is not less essentially involved in the primary duty of the creature, and it has for its immediate object, the same moral quality as the love of moral esteem;

* Sermon on the Love of God.

that is, Goodness or moral excellence, but *Goodness acting in relation to ourselves*. It might easily be shewn, that no favour or benefit is adapted to excite the emotion of gratitude, except as viewed in connexion with that goodness or benevolence from which it proceeds. We never feel grateful but to the person in whom we recognise the moral qualities which belong to the character of a benefactor. Now the Divine goodness cannot be perceived, so as to waken any moral affection at all, without being seen in that relation which is adapted to inspire gratitude. We could have had no idea of the Creator's goodness had it not been manifested in the act of creation; and such a manifestation of the Divine goodness as is necessary to our knowledge of its existence, affords an immediate occasion for gratitude. For the relation between the Divine Being and the creature, which lays a foundation for this principle, is a necessary relation; and its immediate object is the manifested benevolence of the Creator.

We have been speaking of gratitude to God as entering into the essence of the love and adoration of pure and happy beings, as inseparable from a sense of their dependence, and the full feeling of allegiance. It is perfectly astonishing that benevolence should ever have been selected by so acute and pious a writer as Edwards, as a disposition having in it more of the nature of true virtue. But, in the case of fallen beings, the subject admits of being placed in, if possible, a still stronger light. That peculiar manifestation of the Divine character, which has been made to our guilty world, by which we know that "God is love," makes its immediate appeal to the principle of gratitude. "In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him."* Our knowledge of the real character of God comes to us wholly through this medium; and the very first perception we have of the Divine perfections, discloses to us the adorable goodness of God exerted towards ourselves in an interposition of the most stupendous nature. Every other view of the Divine character than that which is exhibited in the page of Revelation, must be hypothetical and fictitious. "The only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him"—declared him as reconcileable to the guilty, as accessible to the penitent. The attributes of Deity, seen through any other medium, have an aspect on the actual state of fallen beings too appalling to be regarded by the conscious sinner with the love of complacency.

* Rom. v. 11.

There is a repugnancy, an enmity against the moral character of God, which resists every other appeal to the affections; than that which touches the spring of gratitude. It is then only that we become capable of "joy in God," when we have "received the reconciliation."

So far is gratitude, then, from being a subordinate element of the principle of love to God, that it might with more propriety be said to constitute its essence; since, as we have already remarked, its basis is the necessary relation of the creature to its Maker, and its object is the essential goodness of the Divine character. The other attributes of Deity are the objects of other affections of the mind; or, more properly speaking, they are the objects of our intellectual powers, rather than of love. That speculative complacency in the deification of ideal excellence, which heathen and Christian philosophers have alike discovered, is not love, because it does not partake of gratitude. We know of no better test by which to detect its spurious character. And the reason is, that it has not for its object the Goodness of God perceived in relation to ourselves: it does not recognise the actual claims of God, nor is it connected with a sense of personal merit and personal obligation. Those representations of the Divine Being, which exhibit him as the First Supreme Cause, as the Fountain of Being, or even as the Chief Good, appeal to the reason, not to the affections. They propose to the mind an abstract object of contemplation, on which the understanding may delight to expatiate, while the heart is at utter variance with the real character of God. The fact is, that, in such cases, the mind practises a deception on itself, abstracting itself from its actual relation to that Divine Object; and its tranquillity and complacency absolutely depend on the artificial position in which it is placed by a voluntary forgetfulness of the real circumstances of our moral condition. It is an unknown God to whom is paid this cold, intellectual worship.

'The exercise of affection towards the chief source of all good, according to Plato, is,' Mr. Joyce remarks, 'when fairly examined, nothing more than the admiration and love of that abstract moral beauty which we may be taught to comprehend by an easy process of investigation. The admirers of that philosopher have sometimes attached higher notions to his statements; but I conceive the mistake to have arisen from transferring Christian thoughts to his expressions, and consecrating his words to a nobler service than ever entered into their master's mind.....If we examine the ode or Pæan of Aristotle*,

* Diog. Laert. lib. v.

composed in praise of the beauty of virtue, or, in other words, of moral excellence abstractedly exhibited to the contemplation of the mind, we shall be convinced how much it was regarded by the ancient philosophers in the light of a metaphysical abstraction, or, what amounts to nearly the same, a poetical prosopopœia.

‘ But perhaps a more powerful argument for shewing that Plato did not attach to his doctrine on moral beauty those sublime thoughts and feelings which the sacred writers experience when they speak of the glorious perfections of God, is the manner in which he introduces and illustrates the subject, and the discussions which he mixes up with it on its first proposal in the Banquet. The most unrestrained wantonness and effrontery of the comic muse of Greece will scarcely surpass the disgusting want of delicacy and modesty exhibited in the very treatise which professes to reveal the loveliness of perfect virtue, and to shew the necessity of mental discipline, in order to contemplate it aright, and give it our entire admiration and affection. One is ready to conclude from this circumstance, that the opinion, on its first proposal, was regarded as a kind of play of the imagination with which the scholar is sometimes amused, and not produced as a grand and Divine principle to be approached with reverence, handled with circumspection and awe, and applied with faithfulness and ardour to the improvement of the heart.

‘ The consideration which proves the point in question most satisfactorily to my own mind, is, that the Founder of the Academy, though he speaks much of the ineffable loveliness of the original source and essence of moral beauty, and of its effect in raising the delight and rapture of those who contemplate it aright; yet represents the animation and feeling all on one side. In Scripture, the prominent idea is, “ God is love.” In Plato, it is man who is delighted and rapt with the view as of some object of natural beauty presented to the eye for the purpose of being simply gazed on and admired. But the great exemplar of all that is fair and lovely is not, like the “ true and living God,” exhibited in intimate communion and endearing intercourse with his intelligent creatures, supplying their wants, promoting and confirming their happiness with parental vigilance and love, and, by his spontaneous and conscious irradiations and communications of sacred influence to the faculties, bringing them to a nearer resemblance to his own glorious perfections.’

There is an intellectual gratification which goes by the name of love, and which has for its object a species of beauty; but it is evident, that the application of the terms in such a reference, is strictly metaphorical. Thus we speak of the love of inanimate nature, and the love of truth or wisdom; and so we speak of the love of money and of other objects of pursuit. In none of these instances, however, is any moral affection towards the object supposed. ‘ The very notion of affection,’ as Bishop Butler remarks, ‘ implies resting in its object as an end.’ But the objects alluded to are such as cannot be proposed as an end: the affections cannot rest in them. It is not abstract

good, but moral goodness, and that not as the quality of a thing, but as the attribute of personal character, the contemplation of which awakens love—inspires a moral attachment. God himself, viewed as an abstract object of contemplation, may be habitually regarded without any holy emotion: the idea may have no more practical force on the affections, than a mathematical truth, or any other abstraction. This is strikingly illustrated, not only in the Platonists of other days, but in the Soofies of Persia, and the Hindoo theists, whose language respecting the Supreme Being is often found to approach very nearly to Christian truth. But we need not go so far for proofs of a position too obviously confirmed by the character of that philosophic belief which, in our own day, would pass for Christianity. What must have been the state of things within the pale of a Christian community, which rendered it necessary for the learned Prelate to whom we have more than once referred, in preaching upon the love of God, to apologise for the subject as having nothing in it enthusiastic or unreasonable? Yet, men will admit nothing more readily than the doctrine of the general benevolence of God, and will listen with a refined and delusive sentimental pleasure to descants on the natural perfections of the Deity, the power, and wisdom, and greatness, and beneficence of the Creator as displayed in his works. But analyse the feeling excited, and it will be found to be nothing higher than an intellectual gratification similar to what is afforded by the qualities of sublimity and beauty in the objects of taste. The attributes of God are, as it were, separately deified, and become the objects of an intellectual idolatry, less gross, indeed, but scarcely less remote from genuine devotion than the polytheism of the Pantheon. The God of the Bible is so far from being recognised, that the most illustrious manifestation which he has made of his character in the redemption and reconciliation of the world to Himself through a Mediator, is viewed with indifference or distaste. A sense of personal interest or personal obligation is never excited by that display of his moral attributes, which alone meets the actual condition of man; nor is a step taken towards access to the Supreme Being in that only way in which approach is possible. For “no man,” said *he* who best knew what consisted with the nature of things and the will of Him who sent him, “no man can come unto the Father but by me.”

True philosophy and Divine Revelation never can be at variance. With regard, therefore, to all such speculations concerning the character of God and the nature of true virtue, as are not consonant with Scripture, we have good reason to believe that they must be at the bottom unphilosophical. We have endeavoured to shew this with regard to President

Edwards's definition of love to God, and the theories founded on it, as well as all those philosophical representations which exclude the evangelical principle of gratitude. Bishop Butler himself appears to us to have split on the same rock. While defending from the charge of irrationality and enthusiasm the Christian doctrine of love to God, he has suffered himself altogether to lose sight of the Scriptural display of the Divine attributes; substituting a chain of philosophical argument for the simple and direct appeal which is made by the inspired writers—the best adapted on his own principles to excite the love of moral esteem or of gratitude; as when St. John exclaims, "Herein is love."^{*} In his second sermon on the subject, he betrays the unsatisfactory character of his theology, and shews how far short of the truth philosophy at best must fall, in the position, that '*resignation to the will of God is the whole of piety.*' 'This,' he tells us, 'includes in it all that is good; and is a source of the most settled and quiet composure of mind. There is the general principle of submission in our nature. . . . Nature teaches and inclines us to take up with our lot.' Now, if we must take our choice between the ecstatic dreams of Plato, and such a meagre offshoot of Christianity as this, we should greatly prefer to err gloriously with the Founder of the Academy. If nature teaches us to take up with our lot, nature teaches us to aspire above it; and the latter is the nobler lesson. The '*Intellectual Pulchritude,*' the Original Beauty, which formed the ideal object of the Grecian enthusiast, was, as it were, the reflection of a light from heaven, and gave something of the image of Divine truth, though without its genial influence. It was a glorious vision, which tended to elevate the mind by connecting its contemplations with unseen things. But, in the Stoical doctrine of resignation to the unalterable course of things, there is nothing to cheer the imagination or to warm the affections. To reconcile us to our condition is an effect of Christianity, but cannot be said to form its design. A virtue which could flourish in the barren soil of heathen wisdom, cannot be the distinguishing feature of Christian morality. But the learned Prelate, in insisting on the '*loyalty of heart*' which is due to the Creator and Governor of the Universe, is so occupied with that specific view of the Divine majesty, that he seems to forget that God has been pleased to discover himself under any other character than that which places the creature at this infinite distance from its Maker. He stops short at the very threshold

* 1 John iv. 10.

of Revelation; for, had he conducted his hearers even to the awful precincts of Sinai, his philosophy would have been annihilated before the terrors of that manifestation of Deity which made Moses himself tremble. Resignation cannot be the highest virtue of sinless and happy beings: still less can it be the whole religion of guilty men. It is that devout exercise of mind which belongs to suffering virtue. But man is not a virtuous sufferer: he is a rebel against his Maker; and before he can be placed in that relation to the Moral Governor of the Universe, which admits of his exercising a filial resignation to his will, he must become "reconciled to God." Then, indeed, he will learn to say, "Father, thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven;" but he will then know that resignation to that will is not 'the whole of piety.' His gratitude to the Redeemer, his joy in God, his desire to glorify the Author of his salvation, will partake of a higher and more heavenly temper than the philosophers of the Porch could ever attain to; and the language of David and of Paul will not appear too enthusiastic to be the expression of his feelings. Surely, an accomplished female writer* uses terms scarcely too strong, when she says: 'Tis very impious so to instruct any one in the general virtue of nature, as not equally to teach them the knowledge of supernatural grace, and the respect it hath to Christ the Mediator; or that any one should be stirred up to the exercise of virtuous acts, without being at the same time taught from whence he is to expect his strength for the performance of them.' We are far from charging every writer who has fallen into this error with impious or improper intentions; but the error is of no small magnitude.

To return to Mr. Joyce. If his illustration of the sacred principle of love to God, does not possess the precision of a philosophical definition, it has the higher merit of being a scriptural description of its nature and operation. A desire of the Divine favour, a regard for the Divine glory, and the other dispositions which he enumerates, are only the necessary operation of the simple principle; but the necessary operations of a principle are an essential part of an adequate description of its nature. The following remarks point out the indissoluble connexion which subsists between these dispositions and our own happiness.

'The true servants of God feel that the best end of their being is fulfilled, if they administer to the display of the Divine goodness and

* Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, "On Theology."

greatness, and that it is the grand office and privilege of creatures, to exalt their all-perfect Creator and Father, and to experience an entire annihilation of themselves in the contemplation of his excellencies, and the desire of promoting his honour and praise. They find, indeed, that God has created them for their own happiness, as well as for his glory; but they also feel, that this happiness is enjoyed in keeping their place as created and dependent beings, and in manifesting, by their gratitude, their praise, and all their services, the perfections of the Divine character. Happiness does not enter into their minds as a sole or chief object of pursuit, but comes to their heart, I had almost said without their solicitude and care, as a donation from the appointment of God, while they pursue as a constant and supreme aim the glory of his name.'

We can do little more than give our readers the heads of the chapters which compose the second part of the treatise: they are as follow. 1. The pleasure which is derived from the exercise of affection. 2. The power of moral excellence in awakening affection. 3. This power of moral excellence increased in proportion to our own improvement in holiness. 4. The provision made for the exercise of affection in heaven. 5. The conclusion from these premises respecting the future blessedness of the servants of God. In treating this part of his subject, we are surprised that Mr. Joyce should have overlooked an Author who may be justly styled at once the most philosophical and the most heavenly-minded of English divines, and whose treatise on the "Blessedness of the Righteous" fairly exhausts the theme. If Mr. Joyce is a stranger to the works of Howe, he has a high intellectual gratification in reserve. In reading his works, he will find himself in company with a kindred though a mightier mind, richly imbued with all the treasures of Grecian and Roman lore, but by nothing more singularly distinguished than by the exquisitely attuned state of his affections, the elevation, tranquillity, and benignity which seem the native element of his feelings. Such a subject was the very fittest for the pen of such a man, and he has brought to it all the resources of his mind. The treatise is replete with the learning which was then regarded as an essential qualification of a divine, and it is in parts too scholastic and metaphysical for modern readers. We by no means wish to bring Mr. Joyce's performance into comparison with that of Howe. The one is not superseded by the other. Mr. Joyce's design is in part different, his style is more popular, and his work is altogether better adapted to the class of readers for whom it is designed. But we regret that he had not seen the treatise to which we allude; for we cannot for a moment imagine that, having seen it, he would not have availed himself of its philosophy and its eloquence. We are unable to resist the

temptation to transcribe the following specimen of the noble views entertained by that admirable Writer on the subject of love to God, as a contrast to the cold abstractions of the American metaphysician, and the Stoical ethics of the English prelate. He is speaking of a sense of dependence on the Divine all-sufficiency as an element of love to God, and as a source, in itself, of the highest pleasure in the heavenly world.

' The thoughts of living at the will and pleasure of another, are grating; but they are grating only to a proud heart, which here hath no place. Things are now pleasant, to the soul in its right mind, as they are suitable, as they carry a comeliness and congruity in them; and nothing now appears more becoming than such a self-annihilation. The distances of Creator and creature, of infinite and finite, of a necessary and an arbitrary being, of a self-originated and a derived being, of what was from everlasting and what had a beginning, are now better understood than ever. And the soul, by how much it is now come nearer to God, is more apprehensive of its distance. And such a frame and posture doth hence please it best, as doth most fitly correspond thereto. Nothing is so pleasing to it, as to be as it ought. That temper is most grateful that is most proper, and which best agrees with its state. Dependence, therefore, is greatly pleasing, as it is a self-nullifying thing. And yet, it is in this respect pleasing but as a means to a further end. The pleasure that attends it, is higher and more intense, according as it more immediately attains that end, namely, the magnifying and exalting of God; which is the most connatural thing to the holy soul, the most fundamental and deeply impressed law of the new creature. Self gives place, that God may take it; becomes nothing, that he may be all: it vanishes, that his glory may shine the brighter. Dependence gives God his proper glory. It is the peculiar honour and prerogative of a Deity, to have a world of creatures hanging upon it, staying themselves upon it; to be the fulcrum, the centre of a lapsing creation. When this dependence is voluntary and intelligent, it carries in it a more explicit owning and acknowledgment of God. By how much more this is the distinct and actual sense of my soul, "Lord, I cannot live but by thee;" so much the more openly and plainly do I speak it out, "Lord, thou art God alone; thou art the fullness of life and being; the only root and spring of life, the everlasting I AM, the Being of Beings."

' How unspeakably pleasant to a holy soul will such a perpetual agnition or acknowledgement of God be! when the perpetuation of its being shall be nothing else than a per-

'petnation of this acknowledgement; when every renewed
 'aspiration, every motion, every pulse of the glorified soul,
 'shall be but a repetition of it; when it shall find itself, in the
 'eternity of life, that everlasting state of life which it now
 'possesses, to be nothing else than an everlasting testimony
 'that God is God: "He is so, for I am; I live, I act, I have
 'the power to love him; none of which could otherwise be."
 'When, amongst the innumerable myriads of the heavenly
 'host, this shall be the mutual, alternate testimony of each
 'to all the rest throughout eternity, will not this be pleasant?
 'When each shall feel continually the fresh illapses and in-
 'comes of God, the power and sweetness of Divine influences,
 'the enlivening vigour of that vital breath, and find in them-
 'selves, thus we live and are sustained; and are yet as secure,
 'touching the continuance of this state of life, as if every
 'one were a God to himself, and did each one possess an
 'entire Godhead;—when their sensible dependence on Him
 'in their glorified state, shall be His perpetual triumph over
 'all the imaginary deities, the fancied *Numina*, wherewith he
 'was heretofore provoked to jealousy, and he shall now have
 'no rival left, but be acknowledged and known to be all in
 'all;—how pleasant will it then be, as it were to lose them-
 'selves in him, and to be swallowed up in the overcoming
 'sense of his boundless, all-sufficient, every where flowing
 'fullness! And then add to this; they do by this dependence
 'actually make this fullness of God their own. They are
 'now met in one common principle of life and blessedness,
 'that is sufficient for them all. They no longer live a life of
 'care, are perpetually exempt from solicitous thoughts, which
 'here they could not perfectly attain to in their earthly state.
 'They have nothing to do but to depend, to live upon a present
 'self-sufficient good, which alone is enough to replenish all
 'desires: else it were not self-sufficient.* How can we
 'divide, in our most abstractive thoughts, the highest pleasure,
 'the fullest satisfaction, from this dependence? It is to live
 'at the rate of a God, a God-like life, a living upon immense
 'fullness, as He lives.'

A little further on, he proceeds to speak of love itself as an
 eminent part of the image of God in his saints. 'This,' he
 continues, 'is an excellency, whether in its original or in the
 'copy, made up of pleasantness. All love hath complacency
 'or pleasure in the nature and most formal notion of it. To

* ' "We esteem that to be self-sufficient, which of itself makes
 life desirable, and leaves no want." ' Arist. *de mor. lib. i. c. 4.*

' search for pleasure in love, is the same thing as if a man
' should be solicitous to find water in the sea, or light in the
' body of the sun. Love to a friend is not without high plea-
' sure, when especially he is actually present and enjoyed.
' Love to a saint rises higher in nobleness and pleasure, ac-
' cording to the more excellent qualification of its object. It
' is now in its highest improvement in both these aspects of it,
' where whatsoever tends to gratify our nature, whether as
' human or holy, will be in its full perfection. Now doth the
' soul take up its stated dwelling in love, even in God who is
' love, and as he is love : it is now enclosed with love, encom-
' passed with love ; it is conversant in the proper region and
' element of love. The love of God is now perfected in it.
' That love which is not only participated from him, but ter-
' minated in him, that "perfect love" casts out tormenting
' fear ; so that here is pleasure without mixture. How natu-
' rally will the blessed soul now dissolve and melt into pleasure !
' It is new framed on purpose for such enjoyments. It shall
' now love like God, as one composed of love. It shall no
' longer be its complaint and burden, that it cannot retaliate
' in this kind ; that, being beloved, it cannot love.'

This is truly sublime theology. We will not weaken the
impression of the passage by a single comment. It only
remains to add, that this is the philosophy of the Bible, and
of the Bible exclusively. Now, on comparing this view of
the principle of love to God with the ancient doctrine of the
Peripatetic school respecting the chief good, and the sub-
limer reveries of the Platonic philosophers with regard to
moral beauty ; taking into consideration too the inaptitude
and indisposition of the Jews for scientific inquiries, among
whom this transcendent moral discovery originated ; an argu-
ment of the most satisfactory kind is supplied in favour of
the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures. It is a principle,
Mr. Joyce remarks, ' which in effect satisfies every condition
' of the problem relating to the supreme felicity of man, so
' long and so anxiously sought for in vain, in the heathen
' schools of philosophy.'

' What escaped the acutest and most active minds on earth, we
find was known to those who were represented as the most inert and
the most incapable. The principle which seemed to require a pers-
picacity which could look without confusion through the entangle-
ments and perplexities of the most extended and comprehensive ar-
gumentation, is simply announced as from an oracle by the least
philosophical people of the world. The doctrine which is founded
upon the justest views and noblest apprehensions of the perfections
of God and the properties of man, of the condition of this world and

their affirmations, or if all the officers who accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, had permitted their signatures to follow the preface in attestation of the circumstances stated. We have, however, little inclination in the present case to be hypercritical; and we shall, without further hesitation, receive these works as official and unquestionable documents.

Count Las Cases is apparently 'an honest chronicler.' He sometimes indulges himself in a little prosing, which we have felt ourselves quite at liberty to run through very cursorily; but, on the whole, he has made up an attractive book, from which we have obtained not a few valuable illustrations of the character and actions of the most conspicuous individual of our own times. The Count occupies a few paragraphs with a sketch of his own life; the principal events of which consist in his noble birth, his service in the navy, where he reached the rank of a *Lieutenant de Vaisseau*, his presentation at court, the annihilation of his prospects by the Revolution, and his consequent emigration. He was at Quiberon, though not among those who had been landed; and, on his return to England, supported himself by teaching. When the Consular amnesty had invited the exiles to return to France, he published, under the borrowed name of le Sage, a work, the Historical Atlas, which 're-established his fortune.' He ultimately obtained a seat in the Council of State; and when Napoleon was finally crushed, offered himself as the companion of his uncertain destinies. We shall anticipate the orderly insertion of the following paragraph, as it illustrates at once the character of Las Cases himself, and the confidential terms on which he conversed with his master, besides communicating some very curious information respecting the secret history of the latter.

'Dec. 15, 1815....Immediately after dinner, the Emperor walked in his favourite path. He had his coffee carried down to him in the garden, and he drank it as he walked about. The conversation turned on love. I must have made some very fine and sentimental remarks on this important subject; for the Emperor laughed at what he styled my prattle, and said that he understood none of my romantic verbiage. Then speaking with an air of levity, he wished to make me believe that he was better acquainted with sensations than sentiments. I made free to remark, that he was trying to be thought worse than he was described to be in the authentic but very secret accounts that were circulated about the palace. "And what was said of me?" resumed he, with an air of gayety. "Sire," I replied, "it is understood that when in the summit of your power, you suffered yourself to be enlaved by the chains of love; that you became a hero of romance; in short, that you conceived an attachment for a lady in humble circumstances; that you wrote her above a dozen love letters; and that her power over you prevailed so far as to compel you

to disguise yourself, and to visit her secretly and alone, at her own residence in the heart of Paris." "And how came this to be known?" said he, smiling; which of course amounted to an admission of the fact. "And it was doubtless added," continued he, "that that was the most imprudent act of my whole life; for had my mistress proved treacherous, what might not have been my fate—alone and disguised in the circumstances in which I was placed, amidst the snares with which I was surrounded? But what more is said of me?"—"Sire, it is affirmed that your Majesty's posterity is not confined to the King of Rome. The secret chronicle states that he has two elder brothers, one, the offspring of a fair foreigner, whom you loved in a distant country; the other, the fruit of a connection nearer at hand, in the bosom of your own capital. It was asserted, that both had been conveyed to Malmaison, before our departure; the one brought by his mother, and the other introduced by his tutor; and they were described to be the living portraits of their father."*

The Emperor laughed much at the extent of my information, as he termed it; and being now in a merry vein, he began to take a frank retrospect of his early years, relating many of the love affairs and humorous adventures in which he had been engaged. He mentioned a supper that took place in the neighbourhood of the Saone at the commencement of the Revolution, and at which he had been present in company with Demazis. He described the whole with the utmost pleasantry. Demazis, he observed, was a good-natured fellow, or his patriotic eloquence might have proved fatal when opposed to the contrary doctrines of the other guests, and might even have brought him into some serious scrape. "You and I," he continued, "were at that time very far from each other."—"Not so very far in point of distance, Sire," I replied, "though certainly very remote with respect to doctrines. At that time I was also in the neighbourhood of the Saone, on one of the quays of Lyons, where crowds of patriots were declaiming against the cannon which they had just discovered in some boats, and which they termed a counter-revolution. I very unopportunately proposed that they should make sure of the cannon, by administering to them the *civic oath*. However I narrowly escaped being hanged for my folly. You see, Sire, that I might at that time have balanced your account, had any disaster befallen you among the Aristocrats." This was not the only curious approximation that was mentioned in the course of the evening. The Emperor having related to me an interesting circumstance that took place in 1788, said, "Where were you at that time?"—"Sire," replied I, after a few moments recollection, "I was then at Martinique, supping every evening with the future Empress Josephine." *Las Cases. Part I. pp. 329—332.*

The general details of that portion of the life of Napoleon

* It is said, that a codicil in the Emperor's will, which, however, must remain secret, completely confirms the above conjectures.

which commenced with his embarkation on board the *Bellerophon*, are too well known to require recapitulation in this place. We shall confine ourselves to those parts of the Journal which present substantial novelty, or tend to place his character in a different light from that in which it has been commonly taken. We have always thought the conduct of the Emperor after the battle of Waterloo, perfectly inexplicable; nor is it at all cleared up in these volumes. Instead of adhering to his army while a wreck of it remained, he completely insulated himself, and by that measure threw himself into the power of his secret enemies. There can be no question of the double dealing of Fouché; but it appears from the statements of Las Cases, that General Becker, who was attached to Napoleon by the Duke of Otranto, for the purpose of watching and controlling his movements, and who was known to have 'a private pique against' him, was so far from exercising his commission in a vindictive spirit, that he expressed the highest indignation at his orders, and executed them with the most respectful attention to the person and feelings of the Emperor. From all this *surveillance*, however, the latter would have been effectually protected, had he identified his fortunes with those of his companions in arms. Victory could scarcely have crowned his struggle against the overwhelming armies which were poured into France; but an honourable and advantageous capitulation, with a safe and free asylum in the United States, might have been secured by armed negotiation. These favourable probabilities were sacrificed by his impolitic decision; his troops and generals were left to make their own terms, and he deliberately surrendered himself into the hands of his enemies.

Among the details of the earlier portion of the voyage to St. Helena, a number of particulars are inserted, many of them previously known, respecting the youthful career of Napoleon. It is affirmed, in opposition to the current anecdotes of his violent behaviour when at the military school, that he was 'mild, quiet, and susceptible.' On the other hand, it is given as his own description of himself, that he was 'morose and reserved; his passion for reading was carried to excess; and he eagerly devoured the contents of every book that fell in his way.' The celebrated Pichegru, at that time destined to the ecclesiastical profession, was his master of arithmetic. Father Patrault, the professor of mathematics, was extremely partial to young Bonaparte, who made rapid progress in that department of science. This man afterwards became the grand vicar of M. de Brienne, the celebrated Archbishop of Sens, who figured as minister of state at an early period of the Re-

volution. When that prelate was destined by the ruling party to the guillotine, 'it is supposed,' said Napoleon, 'that Pa-trault, after the manner of the Ancients, rendered him the service of procuring for him a poisoned draught to save him from the scaffold.' This worthy father seems to have been a thoroughly unprincipled person. He entered into the spirit of the Revolution, and having contrived to escape its hazards, attached himself to his former pupil, then commanding the army of Italy, and secured a profitable appointment at Milan. For the perils of the field he did not manifest any particular partiality. At Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego, he evinced the most puerile cowardice. His poltroonery was balanced by a convenient laxity of conscience in pecuniary concerns. He amassed a large fortune; and when Bonaparte returned from Egypt, had become a 'corpulent financier.' Two years after that event, the First Consul was one day, when at Malmaison surprised by the appearance of his old mathematical master, in a rusty garb, and with a wo-begone countenance, complaining of unmerited misfortune and complete destitution. He had turned usurer, and, tempted by extravagant interest, had risked his capital on worthless securities. Having ascertained this by private inquiries, the Consul, at their next interview, intimated, that he was not the dupe of his specious tale. 'I have already paid my debt,' said he, 'I can do no more for you; I cannot make a man's fortune twice.' He settled on him, however, a small pension.

The youth of Napoleon was distinguished by the promise of future excellence in his profession, though his masters differed in their estimates of his powers. M. Bauer, the heavy German master, set him down as a blockhead on account of his slow progress in that language; M. Domaïron, the teacher of belles-lettres, described his eloquence as resembling '*flaming granites poured from a volcano*;' and M. de l'Eguille, the professor of history, would, after the advancement of his pupil, frequently dwell with much complacency, on the sagacity with which he had foreseen the future greatness of the young engineer. At the age of eighteen, Bonaparte made acquaintance with the Abbé Raynal, and Paoli is cited as saying of his countryman, 'This young man is formed on the ancient model. He is one of Plutarch's men.' He formed an early and innocent attachment to a Mademoiselle du Colombier, who afterwards married M. de Bressieux. When, in 1805, the Emperor passed through Lyons, the lady, though with some difficulty, obtained an audience, and when recognised by her old admirer, met with a kind reception. He ad-

vanced her husband, and gave her the post of *dame d'honneur* to one of his sisters.

' At an early age he gained anonymously a prize at the Academy of Lyons, on the following question proposed by Raynal :—*What are the principles and institutions calculated to advance mankind to the highest possible degree of happiness?*" The anonymous memorial excited great attention : it was perfectly in unison with the ideas of the age. It began by inquiring in what happiness consisted ; and the answer was, In the perfect enjoyment of life in the manner most conformable with our moral and physical organization. After he became Emperor, Napoleon was one day conversing on this subject with M. de Talleyrand : the latter, like a skilful courtier, shortly after presented to him the famous memorial, which he had procured from the archives of the Academy of Lyons. The Emperor took it, and, after reading a few pages, threw into the fire this first production of his youth, saying, " One can never observe every thing." M. de Talleyrand had not had an opportunity of transcribing it."

Las Cases. Part I. pp. 129, 130.

A considerable portion of the anecdotes collected by Count Las Cases, are of but little importance ; several of them, however, are characteristic, and all of them occupy an appropriate station in a work which professes to supply only the materials of regular history. It would not, however, consist with compression, to detail the tricks played by the students of the Military School on each other and on their governors ; or to tell, with due gravity, how they were detected by Napoleon when they spiked the cannon which he was to command when reviewed by the Prince de Condé ;—how they were put under arrest by the old dim-sighted commandant for firing at a mark without ball ;—how they sent an obnoxious individual to Coventry ;—how young Bonaparte quarrelled with a comrade who annoyed him by practising on the French horn ;—how he afterwards met the horn-player, and made him his aide-de-camp, not forgetting that the name of the noisy musician was Bussy ;—and how he intended to write a sentimental journey from Valence to Montcenis, '*after the manner of Sterne.*' We prefer passing on, at once, to the brilliant opening of his military career at the siege of Toulon, in 1793. That important naval arsenal had surrendered to the English. The army sent to retake it, was first commanded by Cartaux, originally a painter, subsequently an officer in the national guards, and ultimately general of division. Though patronised by the Jacobins, he does not seem to have been an ill-disposed man ; but his ignorance was excessive, and he had not the smallest talent for military command. The " *Memoirs*" commence with a sketch of the preliminary operations of the French

armies on the frontiers of Italy, preparatory to a description of the efficient siege of Toulon under the direction of Bonaparte as commandant of artillery. Soon after his arrival on the scene of action, he went with the general in chief to visit the batteries; and, to his utter astonishment, found the twenty-four pounders which were destined to destroy the English fleet, placed in battery at the distance of three gun-shots from the object at which they were to be levelled, while the soldiers were very comfortably employed in heating red-hot balls in the stoves and kitchen-ranges of the neighbouring residences. The description of this visit is given in the Journal with some effect. When Bonaparte waited on Cartaux, he found a haughty whiskered personage, glittering in gold lace and epaulettes, who loftily intimated that the preparations were all made, and that the services of the young officer would be confined to witnessing the capture of the town. An invitation to supper was given and accepted.

‘ A party of thirty sat down to table; the general alone was served like a prince, while every one else was dying of hunger; a circumstance which, in those days of equality, strangely shocked the new guest. The next morning, at break of day, the general took him out in his cabriolet, to admire, as he said, the preparations for attack. As soon as he had crossed the height, and come within sight of the road and harbour, they got out of the carriage, and threw themselves down among some vines. The commandant of artillery then perceived some pieces of ordnance, and some digging, for which it was literally impossible for him in the slightest degree to account. “ Dupas,” said the general haughtily, turning to his aide-de-camp, his confidential man, “ are those our batteries ? ” — “ Yes, general.” — “ And our park ? ” — “ There, close at hand.” — “ And our red-hot balls ? ” — “ In yonder houses, where two companies have been employed all the morning in heating them.” — “ But how shall we be able to carry these red-hot balls ? ” — This consideration seemed to puzzle them both completely, and they turned to the officer of artillery, and begged to know whether, through his scientific knowledge, he could not explain how the thing was to be managed. Napoleon, who would have been very much tempted to take the whole for a hoax, had his interrogators evinced less simplicity, for they were more than a league and a half from the object of attack, summoned to his aid all the gravity he was master of, and endeavoured to persuade them, before they troubled themselves about red-hot balls, to try the range of the shot with cold ones. After a great deal of trouble, he at length prevailed on them to follow his advice, but not till he had very luckily made use of the technical term *coup d’épreuve*, which took their fancy, and brought them over to his opinion. They then made the experiment, but the shot did not reach to a third of the distance required, and the general and Dupas began to abuse the Marseillais and the Aristocrats, who had, they said, maliciously spoiled the

powder. In the mean time, the representative of the people came up on horseback: this was Gasparin, an intelligent man, who had served in the army. Napoleon, perceiving how things were going on, and boldly deciding on the course he should pursue, immediately assumed great confidence of manner, and urged the representative to intrust him with the whole direction of the affair. He exposed, without hesitation, the unparalleled ignorance of all who were about him, and from that moment took upon himself the entire direction of the siege.' *Las Cases*, Part I. pp. 140—42.

The incredible absurdities of Cartaux occasioned his recall, and he was succeeded by Doppet, who had been a Savoyard physician, and was alike destitute of courage and resources. At length, the veteran Dugommier, an officer of great experience, singular intrepidity, and honourable character, assumed the command, and supported the commandant of artillery in all his measures. Little Gibraltar, the key of the most important positions, was taken by storm, the English fleet was compelled to withdraw out of cannon-shot, and the conflagration of the arsenal, with the evacuation of the town, speedily took place. When Dugommier, who at one period despaired of the result, had been three hours in the captured redoubt, the Conventional representatives came up with drawn swords, and afterwards modestly took to themselves the credit of having led the attacking columns.

In connexion with these operations, and with particular reference to the same and the neighbouring localities, occurs a series of clear and important suggestions, respecting the most simple and effective methods of fortifying exposed coasts. The plans here described, were carried into execution along the shores of the Mediterranean from Toulon to Nice, under the inspection of Bonaparte. The attempts which have been made to identify him with the barbarities practised in the provinces of the South, seem to rest on no substantial evidence; and the signature of *Brutus* which has been ascribed to him, is peremptorily denied. That part of his eventful life which occurred between his success at Toulon and the celebrated days of *Vendémiaire*, is not distinctly accounted for. It has been usually described as mainly spent in vain solicitations for employment. In the "Journal," a different statement is given. He is there said to have been transferred from the army of Italy to that of la Vendée; and it is affirmed that, on his remonstrating with Aubry, who had the direction of the war-committee, high words passed between them, and Bonaparte tendered his resignation. It is somewhat at variance with this, that he is said in the same paragraph, to have been immediately after employed in the Topographical Committee, whence he

was taken to supersede Menou in the command of the Conventional army, when the sections organised their formidable insurrection of the 13th *Vendémiaire*. (Oct. 4, 1795.) Much reproach has been lavished on the French general for his conduct on this occasion, and particularly for his unsparing use of cannon. Of this event, some interesting elucidations occur in the Journal of Las Cases, extracted from fragments of the Emperor's dictation. In these papers, the misconduct of the Convention is freely blamed, and Napoleon describes himself as hesitating between '*prudence*' and the necessity for supporting the ruling power, with all its errors, against the counter-revolutionary principles *supposed* to actuate a large proportion of the National Guard. In all this, we put no great faith. The General of the Convention was a military adventurer seeking for advancement; and, if he wavered, we suspect that high principle had but little share in producing his irresolution, especially as he decided for the party which was best able to promote his interests. But be all this as it might, we see no reason whatever for imputing to him unnecessary cruelty in the execution of his orders. His troops consisted only of 5 or 6000 regulars, aided by about 1500 wretches, armed by the Convention, under the imposing designation of the *Patriots of 1789*, but in reality comprising the remainder of the ruffians who had figured in all the atrocious scenes which had taken place in Paris since the massacre of Versailles. With these he had to encounter 40,000 national guards, well armed and disciplined, but without cannon. If he had waited the close attack of these men, or if he had commenced a system of mere street-fighting, he would have put all to the hazard. The nature of the ground which he occupied about the Tuileries, was extremely well adapted for the employment of artillery; he was able to sweep with his grape the open quays on both sides of the river, and to enfilade the Pont Neuf by which the columns of the sections, gallantly led on by a 'man named 'Lafond,' advanced to the attack. The dispositions made by Bonaparte were admirable, and their success complete;—though we do not believe that it was so easily or so cheaply obtained as he endeavours to make it appear. Nor do we feel quite satisfied with his assertion, that, when the tide was once turned, his cannon were loaded with powder only. The fairest account on the whole, that we have seen of this transaction, is contained in the *Essais Historiques sur la Révolution de France*, by Beaulieu. His account, though it in general corroborates the statements of Napoleon, very clearly proves, that the latter has given a favourable colouring to his share in the business.

The success of Bonaparte in this conflict obtained for him the command of the army of Italy. Availing himself of his local knowledge, he determined on turning the Alps, and entering Piedmont by way of Savona. Without deeming it necessary to credit the statement, that the Austro-Sardinian army exceeded that of the French in the proportion of 90,000 to 30,000 men, we have no doubt of the great numerical superiority of the former. The Austrian general Beaulieu, however, deprived himself of this advantage, by making a disposition of his troops, which, though skilful in other respects, separated his divisions so as to make their direct communication impracticable. The consequence of this error was a series of rapid movements and almost magical successes on the part of the French Commander. The victories of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi, compelled the King of Sardinia to a separate peace, purchased by the surrender of his strongest fortresses.

The first article in the Historical Miscellanies which form one of the volumes of the "Memoirs," consists of 'seven notes' on the Baron de Jomini's "Treatise on grand Military Operations," and supplies some corrections of the preceding details, besides continuing in part the narrative of the Italian campaign to the battle of Rivoli. The Austrian and Piedmontese armies are here reduced to 80,000 men, and the numbers of the French are carried to 31,000 troops of all arms. The action of Lodi is defended from the imputation of an unnecessary sacrifice of life, but not with entire success. Napoleon himself remarked of that engagement, that his former victories had not induced him to look upon himself as a man of a superior class. 'It was not,' said he, 'till after Lodi, that I was struck with the possibility of my becoming a decided actor on the scene of political events. It was then that the first spark of my ambition was kindled.'

The expedition to Egypt is only incidentally noticed; but the Revolution of the 18th of *Brumaire* (November 9th, 1799), is the subject of a long and interesting paper. It is, of course, an *ex parte* statement, and bears evident marks of suppression and palliation. Stripped of all the parade and profession which are thrown out by way of tub to the whale, this document presents to us, in slight but spirited outline, the successful enterprise of a bold and artful adventurer, mingling himself in the confusion of adverse parties, while affecting to stand aloof from all; intriguing deeply, while appearing to be merely drifted along by the stream of events; cautiously calculating the chances offered by different sides; rejecting one party because too powerful, another because too weak; and, at last,

connecting himself with the faction which, while giving him the most efficient means of influencing public opinion, was the least likely to interfere with his ultimate designs. The military power turned the scale; a bloodless revolution was effected by the *pas de charge*, and an apparently strong legislative body dissolved, under the most ridiculous circumstances, by that grand *menstruum*, the bayonet. France, however, gained by the change. Misgovernment was at its height. The finances were shattered; forced loans oppressed the population; the armies were mere wrecks; domestic factions were eagerly waiting the signal for mutual assault; and, worst of all, the Jacobins were on the alert, and threatening to regain the ascendancy. The intervention of Napoleon put an end to all this, and a vigorous government re-established order and tranquillity. He admits that he had deeper designs; that he submitted for a while to the necessity for cautious and repressed measures, as gradual preparations for the higher objects of his ambition.

‘The ideas of Napoleon were fixed; but the aid of time and events were necessary for their realization. The organization of the Consulate had presented nothing in contradiction to them: it taught unanimity, and that was the first step. This point gained, Napoleon was quite indifferent as to the forms and denominations of the several constituted bodies. He was a stranger to the Revolution: it was natural that the will of those men who had followed it through all its phases, should prevail in questions as difficult as they were abstract. The wisest plan was to go on from day to day without deviating from one fixed point, the polar star by which Napoleon meant to guide the Revolution to the haven he desired.’ *Memoirs*. p. 158.

The incidental specifications of individual character are valuable as the opinions, not always indeed unprejudiced, of so shrewd an observer of men and things. Rœderer is eulogised for his probity, Lucien Bonaparte for his powerful eloquence, Roger Ducos for good intentions and sound common sense. Maret, afterwards Duke of Bassano, is described as ‘a man of great abilities, mild temper, great propriety of manners, and unshaken integrity.’ Gaudin, Duke of Gaëta, seems to have possessed the complete confidence of his master, and to have justified it by his honourable character and his talents as a minister of finance. The geometrician Laplace was appointed minister of the interior, but made a strange *imbroglio* of his new occupation: he was for ever at his old trade of dividing and subdividing, and carrying the doctrine *des infiniment petits* into the business of administration. When Fouché was proposed for office, Sieyès objected to him as

completely unworthy of trust ; but Napoleon, though perfectly aware of his unprincipled character, overruled the objection. Of the great Archimage with whom this revolution was supposed to have originated, and whose sagacity had singled out the Hero of Vendemiaire and of Lodi, as the only agent capable of effecting it, the following description is given.

‘ Sieyes had long been known to Napoleon. He was born at Frejus, in Provence. His reputation commenced with the Revolution. He had been called to the Constituent Assembly by the electors of the third-estate, at Paris, after having been repulsed by the assembly of the clergy at Chartres. He was the author of the pamphlet intituled, ‘ What is the Third Estate* ? ’ which made so much noise. He was not a man of business : knowing but little of men, he knew not how they might be made to act. All his studies having been directed to metaphysics, he had the fault of metaphysicians, that of too often despising positive notions ; but he was capable of giving useful and luminous advice on matters of importance, or at any momentous crisis. To him France is indebted for the division into departments, which destroyed all provincial prejudices ; and though he was never distinguished as an orator, he greatly contributed to the success of the Revolution by his advice in the committees. He was nominated as director, when the Directory was first established ; but he refused the distinction at that time, and Lareveill  re was appointed instead of him. He was afterwards sent ambassador to Berlin, and imbibed a great mistrust of the politics of Prussia in the course of his mission. He had taken a seat in the Directory not long before this time ; but he had already been of great service in checking the progress of the *Soci  t   du Mand  ge*, which he saw was ready to seize the helm of the state. He was abhorred by that faction ; and fearless of bringing upon himself the enmity of so powerful a party, he courageously resisted the machinations of these men of blood, in order to avert from the Republic the evil with which it was threatened.

‘ At the period of the 13th of Vendemiaire, the following occurrence had enabled Napoleon to form a correct judgement of him. At the most critical moment of that day, when the Committee of the Forty seemed quite distracted, Sieyes came to Napoleon, and took him into the recess of a window, while the Committee was deliberating upon the answer to be given to the summons of the sections. “ You hear them, General,” said he, “ they talk while they should be acting. Bodies of men are wholly unfit to direct armies, for they know not the value of time or opportunity. You have nothing to do here. Go, General, consult your genius and the situation of the country : the hope of the Republic rests on you alone.” ’

Memoirs. pp. 61—3.

The details of the deliberations held, under the superintendence of the First-Consul, by the Legislative Committees, are extremely interesting. The object was, the definitive settlement of the Constitution ; and the opening of the portfolio

* ‘ Qu’est ce que le Tiers Etat ? ’

of the Abbé Sieyès was looked for with the utmost eagerness.

‘ The confidence of the assembly fully rested upon the reputation and experience of Sieyès. The constitution that he had by him, in his port-folio, had long been extolled. He had given some hints respecting it, which were eagerly caught at by his numerous admirers, and from them they found their way to the public, and carried to its height the reputation which Mirabeau was pleased to compliment him on, when he said in the tribunal, “ *The silence of Sieyès is a national calamity.*” He had, indeed, made himself known by many publications, which evinced profound thought. He it was, who originally suggested to the Chamber of the Third Estate, the grand idea of declaring itself a National Assembly; he likewise proposed the oath of the *jeu de paume*,* the suppression of the provinces, and the division of the republican territory into departments. He professed to have composed a theory respecting the representative government and the sovereignty of the people, full of luminous ideas, which were laid down as fundamental principles.’ *Memoirs.* pp. 141, 142.

These luminous fundamentalities, which, after a little coquetting, the celebrated Abbé produced from his ‘portfolio,’ turned out to be a minute and complicated scheme, neatly and plausibly compacted for the closet, but utterly unfit for the rough day and night work of actual administration. His gradationary lists of Notables, his Constitutional Jury, his dumb Legislators, his wrangling Tribunate, and his Council of State, which was alone to possess the right of framing and proposing the laws, were adopted with certain necessary modifications; but when his crowning proposition was brought forward, Napoleon, though exhausted with ‘these nightly sittings and long discussions, in which he was forced to listen to so much nonsense,’ roused himself, and extinguished it at once.

‘ At last the time arrived when Siéyès explained the organization of his government; this was the capital, the most important part of that beautiful piece of architecture, and the influence of which was to be most felt by the people. He proposed a Grand Elector for life, to be chosen by the Conservative Senate, to possess a revenue of six millions of livres, and a guard of 3000 men, and to reside in the palace of Versailles. Foreign ambassadors were to be accredited to him; and he was to furnish credentials to the French ambassadors and ministers at foreign courts. All acts of government, all laws, and all judicial proceedings, were to be in his name. He was to be

* So called from the Tennis Court, in the *Rue de vieux Versailles*, where the National Assembly first met, and where the deputies took an oath never to separate until the constitution should be formed, and the regeneration of France completed. *Editor.*

the sole representative of the national glory, power, and dignity: he was to nominate two consuls, one for peace, and the other for war. But to these points his influence upon affairs was to be limited. It is true, he was to have the power of removing the consuls, and of replacing them by others; but at the same time the senate was to be allowed, whenever it should deem such an exercise of power arbitrary and opposed to the national interest, to *merge the grand elector*. The effect of this merger was to be equivalent to a removal; the post was to become vacant, but the grand elector was to have a seat in the senate for the rest of his life.' *Memoirs*, pp. 150, 151.

Napoleon had taken little share in the preceding deliberations; but this was a matter that touched him too closely to admit of neutrality. 'The government,' he says very frankly, 'was a matter that concerned himself; he therefore rose to oppose such strange plans.' He pointed out very forcibly the inefficiency of the Grand Elector, as well as the want of a principle of co-operation between the two Consuls; and, after an ineffectual attempt to defend his scheme, Siéyes was reduced to silence. 'Was he,' it is significantly asked, 'concealing some deep design? or was he the dupe of his own theory?' It seems not improbable, that when first Siéyes fixed on Napoleon, he had a decided view to the supreme administrative power, probably expecting to satisfy his co-adjutor by affording the means of gratifying, to the full, his military ambition. Siéyes, Grand Elector, would have sought to confirm his power by securing a paramount influence in the Conservative Senate; or, as Civil Consul, would probably have contrived by his intrigues, to 'merge' the higher authority. He had, however, linked his destinies with those of a master-spirit, and the more powerful and decided genius prevailed without difficulty.

The section entitled 'Ulm-Moreau,' is written with the evident design of depreciating that distinguished officer, whose reputation seems to have been extremely annoying to Napoleon. The latter even permits himself to assert, that the Hero of Hohenlinden was 'less esteemed' than Massena or Brune. The same feeling breaks out in other parts of the work, and serves no purpose except that of betraying the petty and contemptible jealousy which he cherished towards Moreau. Every manœuvre of the latter is criticised and condemned; the numbers and the quality of his troops are exaggerated, while the force of his opponents is diminished; and this is the more remarkable, since, in every other instance, an opposite practice is observed. In short, without entering further into particulars, we shall dismiss this chapter with the single remark, that its effect can be injurious only to the memory of its author.

The remainder of this volume consists of military details respecting the defence of Genoa by Massena, and the campaign of Marengo under the First Consul. Nearly a hundred pages are occupied with an 'Appendix' of proclamations, decrees, and other official papers, which have previously appeared in the public journals. The other volume of the "Memoirs," is classed as "Historical Miscellanies," and contains, in the form of detached 'notes,' corrective or corroborative comments on different publications. All these are so many fragments of Napoleon's general defence of his conduct, and are to be taken with such deductions as may be necessary to reduce them to a fair estimate. There is too much of peremptory assertion, and too much of palpable partiality, to entitle them to be relied on as historical documents, though they are exceedingly valuable as collateral evidence. They are written with great spirit and decision, and contain much incidental illustration of military affairs in general. An appendix of seventy pages, contains official papers principally relating to the Concordat and the negotiations with the Pope. Some small index maps are added, and a fac-simile of Napoleon's hand-writing is prefixed to the work. We now return to the journal of Count Las Cases.

It is stated by the Count, that Bonaparte received at Toulon, a bayonet wound in the thigh from an English soldier, which, for a short time, appeared to render amputation necessary. One day, visiting a battery where an artillery-man was killed by his side, he seized the ramrod, and repeatedly loaded the gun. From this contact, he caught 'a violent cutaneous disease,' with which the dead gunner had been infected. This apparently yielded to slight remedies.

'But the poison had only entered the deeper into his system; it long affected his health, and well-nigh cost him his life. From this disorder proceeded the thinness, the feebleness of body, and sickly complexion, which characterized the general-in-chief of the army of Italy, and of the army of Egypt. It was not till a much later period that Corvissart succeeded, by the application of numerous blisters on his chest, in restoring him to perfect health; and it was then that he acquired the corpulency for which he has since been remarked.'

Among the atrocities practised by the representatives of the republic at Marseilles, was the execution of a merchant named Hugues, eighty-four years of age, deaf and nearly blind. He was guilty of the unpardonable crime of possessing immense wealth; and though he offered to surrender it, reserving a mere maintenance for the remainder of his days, he was guillotined. 'At this sight,' said Napoleon, 'I thought the world was at an end;' an expression usual with him when he wished to speak strongly. At Toulon, a trait of cool intrepidity first brought

Jannot, then a subaltern, afterwards Duke of Abrantes, under his favourable notice. Here, too, he formed that intimacy with Duroc, which continued unbroken until the death of the latter. In a subsequent part of the Journal, the Emperor speaks of this officer in the highest terms. His calm and excellent temper, with his thorough knowledge of his master, were of the greatest use in cases where the violent passions of Napoleon might have inflicted irreparable injury. It was remarked that both Duroc and Bessieres Duke of Istria, fell from unnecessary and unprofitable exposure. After the skirmish of Reichenbach, when the firing had entirely ceased, Duroc was standing on an eminence with General Kirchener, a distinguished officer of engineers, when a piece was levelled expressly at them, and the ball struck them both fatally. Bessieres, on the eve of the battle of Lutzen, mingled with the skirmishers in some insignificant affair, and was killed by a musket bullet.

The Egyptian army is described by Napoleon as having been thrown into despair by the sufferings of the Desert. He one day saw two dragoons throw themselves into the Nile; and Bertrand is said to have seen Lannes and Murat, in ungovernable rage, trampling on their gold-laced hats in the presence of the soldiers. 'The faction of the *Sentimentalists*' gave the General the most trouble: 'their minds were diseased; they spent the night in gazing on the moon for the reflected image of the idols they had left in Europe.' It is a singular instance of coincidence, if correctly stated, that Kleber and Desaix, who both held the highest command under Bonaparte in Egypt, died on the same day and hour. The first was assassinated at Cairo, the latter fell in the field of Marengo.

In one of their conversations, the Imperial Exile gave Las Cases an account of the curious contents of the papers which, on his return from Elba, he found in the king's apartment at the Tuileries. In those memorable documents, men who were then lavish in their professions of delight and devotedness, had expressed themselves in the strongest language of contempt and hatred; and, little aware that the evidences of their perfidy were in the hands of him whom they were attempting to cajole, were congratulating themselves on the success of their dissimulation. Several anecdotes are introduced to prove that the freedom of discussion in the Council of State was not fettered by the presence of the Emperor. In one instance, not however of any political importance, he was reminded, that he had given up his opinion to that of others, accompanying his concession with the observation, that in that place every thing went by the majority.

• So little was the nature of the Council of State understood by

people in general, that it was believed no one dared utter a word in that assembly in opposition to the Emperor's opinion. Thus I very much surprised many persons when I related the fact, that one day, during a very animated debate, the Emperor, having been interrupted three times in giving his opinion, turned towards the individual who had rather rudely cut him short, and said in a sharp tone: "I have not yet done; I beg you will allow me to continue. I believe every one here has a right to deliver his opinion." The smartness of this reply, notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion, excited a general laugh, in which the Emperor himself joined. "Yet," said I to him, "the speakers evidently sought to discover what might be your Majesty's opinion: they seemed to congratulate themselves when their views coincided with yours, and to be embarrassed on finding themselves maintaining opposite sentiments. You were accused too, of laying snares for us, in order to discover our real opinion?" However, when the question was once started, self-love and the warmth of argument contributed, along with the freedom of discussion which the Emperor encouraged, to induce every one to maintain his own opinion. "I do not mind being contradicted," said the Emperor; "I seek to be informed. Speak boldly," he would repeat, whenever the speaker expressed himself equivocally, or the subject was a delicate one; "tell me all that you think; we are alone here; we are all *en famille*."

"I have been informed, that, under the Consulate, or at the commencement of the Empire, the Emperor opposed an opinion of one of the members, and through the warmth and obstinacy of the latter, the affair at length amounted absolutely to a personal misunderstanding. Napoleon commanded his temper, and was silent; but a few days after, seeing his antagonist at one of the public audiences, he said to him in a half-earnest manner, "You are extremely obstinate; and what if I were equally so! At all events you are in the wrong to put power to the trial! You should not be unmindful of human weakness!" On another occasion, he said in private to one of the members who had likewise driven him to the utmost extreme, "You must take a little more care to manage my temper. You were lately very much out: you obliged me to have recourse to scratching my forehead. That is a very ominous sign with me: you had better not urge me so far for the future." *Las Cases*, Part I. pp. 280—282.

Napoleon spoke of Robespierre, though not from personal knowledge, as a man destitute of talent, energy, or system. But, as stated by Mr. O'Meara, he was disposed to think, that, in the tragedy of the Revolution, he was not the arch-villain, but had been made the scape-goat of others guiltier than himself. With the younger Robespierre, when at Toulon, the Commandant of artillery had been a great favourite, and had some difficulty in evading an urgent invitation to Paris.

"Had I followed young Robespierre," said the Emperor, "how different might have been my career! On what trivial circumstances does human fate depend! Some office would doubtless have been as-

signed to me; and I might at that moment have been destined to attempt a sort of Vendemiaire. But I was then very young; my ideas were not yet fixed. It is probable, indeed, that I should not have undertaken any task that might have been allotted to me; but supposing the contrary case, and even admitting that I had been successful, what results could I have hoped for?"—*Las Cases*. Part I. p. 348.

The health of Napoleon soon began to be affected by his miserable accommodations at St. Helena, and by his change of climate. This gives Count Las Cases an opportunity of mentioning the following particulars.

‘Contrary to the general opinion, in which I myself once participated, the Emperor is far from possessing a strong constitution. His limbs are large, but his fibres are relaxed. With a very expanded chest, he is constantly labouring under the effects of cold. His body is subject to the influence of the slightest accidents. The smell of paint is sufficient to make him ill; certain dishes, or the slightest degree of damp, immediately take a severe effect on him. His body is far from being a body of iron, as is generally supposed: all his strength is in his mind. His prodigious exertions abroad, and his incessant labours at home, are known to every one. No sovereign ever underwent so much bodily fatigue. The most remarkable instance of the Emperor’s activity and exertion, was his ride without stirrups from Valladolid to Burgos, (a distance of thirty-five Spanish leagues in five hours and a half; that is to say, upwards of seven leagues an hour)* The Emperor had set out accompanied by a numerous escort, in case of danger from the Guerillas; but at every yard he left some of his company behind him, and he arrived at Burgos with but few followers. His ride from Vienna to the Simmering, a distance of eighteen or twenty leagues, is also frequently talked of. The Emperor rode to breakfast at the Simmering, and returned to Vienna immediately after. Napoleon often hunted to the distance of thirty-eight leagues, and never less than fifteen. One day a Russian officer, who had come as a courier from St. Petersburg in the space of twelve or thirteen days, arrived at Fontainebleau at the moment when the Emperor was about to set out on a hunt. The officer had the honour to be invited to join the hunting party. He of course accepted the invitation; but he dropped down in the forest, overcome by fatigue, and was not found until after considerable search had been made for him.

‘I have known the Emperor to be engaged in business in the Council of State for eight or nine hours successively, and afterwards

* ‘This may appear incredible. Indeed I myself feel doubts now when I read the statement. But I know, that when the subject was spoken of one day at dinner at Longwood, it underwent much discussion, and I noted down on paper what was then admitted to be the correct account. Besides, many individuals who accompanied the Emperor are still living; and the fact may be ascertained.’

rise with his ideas as clear as when he sat down. I have seen him at St. Helena peruse books for ten or twelve hours in succession, on the most abstruse subjects, without appearing in the least fatigued. He has suffered, unmoved, the greatest shocks that ever man experienced. On his return from Moscow or Leipsic, after he had communicated the disastrous event in the Council of State, he said, "It has been reported in Paris, that this misfortune turned my hair grey; but you see it is not so; (pointing to his head;) and I hope I shall be able to support many other reverses." But these prodigious exertions are made only, as it were, in despite of his physical powers, which never appear less susceptible than when his mind is in full activity.'

Las Cases. Part I. 366, 367, 368.

We are not quite sure that the following anecdote has not been touched up by Count Las Cases, who is very decidedly one of 'the faction of the Sentimentalists.'

'Napoleon used to relate, that, after one of his great actions in Italy, he passed over the field of battle before the dead bodies had been interred. "In the deep silence of a moonlight night," said the Emperor, "a dog, leaping suddenly from beneath the clothes of his dead master, rushed upon us, and then immediately returned to his hiding place, howling piteously. He alternately licked his master's hand, and ran towards us; thus, at once soliciting and seeking revenge. Whether owing to my own particular turn of mind at the moment," continued the Emperor, "the time, the place, or the action itself, I know not; but certainly, no incident on any field of battle ever produced so deep an impression on me. I involuntarily stopped to contemplate the scene. This man, thought I, perhaps has friends in the camp or in his company; and here he lies forsaken by all except his dog! What a lesson Nature here presents through the medium of an animal! What a strange being is man! and how mysterious are his impressions! I had, without emotion, ordered battles which were to decide the fate of the army; I had beheld, with tearless eyes, the execution of those operations, by which numbers of my countrymen were sacrificed; and here my feelings were roused by the mournful howling of a dog! Certainly at that moment I should have been easily moved by a suppliant enemy. I could very well imagine Achilles surrendering up the body of Hector at the sight of Priam's tears."—*Las Cases. Part II. pp. 3, 4.*

Conversing on the different species of courage, he remarked, that he had 'very rarely met with the *two o'clock in the morning* kind;' meaning that prompt and ready spirit which, unembarrassed by events, however adverse or unexpected, is always at its master's will, enabling him to act with coolness and decision. He claimed for himself the highest degree of this character of self-possession. He denied, on another occasion, that he had ordered the removal of the Pope to France. One of these gossiping conversations had for its object the *Nouvelle Heloise* and love.

'We discussed,' says Las Cases, 'the subject deeply; we were very prolix in our remarks; and we at length agreed, that perfect love is like ideal happiness; that both are equally airy, fugitive, mysterious, and inexplicable; and that, finally, love is the business of the idle man, the recreation of the warrior, and the ruin of the sovereign.'

It must have been exquisitely edifying to see and hear the sentimental Count and the Man of Moscow and Waterloo, entangling themselves and each other in profound discussions of this whimsical subject.

Dictation, readings, excursions in the neighbourhood, occupied Napoleon and his associates after their removal to Longwood. He behaved with the utmost kindness to Las Cases, and seems to have paid all possible attention to his comforts. The Count, as before, kept memoranda of their conversations, and appears to have made, on the whole, a very tolerable sort of Boswell. Alluding to works suppressed by the police, Napoleon observed, that having had much leisure while at Elba, he had taken the opportunity of reading some of the obnoxious publications, and that in frequent instances he had been unable to divine the reasons of their suppression. He professed himself favourable to an unlimited freedom of the press, and proved himself, to the satisfaction of his Biographer, 'the type, the standard, and the prince of liberal opinions.' Madame de Staël is introduced for the unmanly purpose of depreciating her character, by representations for which we must have better authority before we can accept them as having any foundation in fact. She is said to have pestered Bonaparte, when commanding the army of Italy, with long and clever letters; and, in the course of her correspondence, to have given him the broad and coarse hint, that 'it was an error arising only from human institutions, that could have united him with the meek, the tranquil Madame Bonaparte; it was a soul of fire like hers (Madame de Staël's), that nature had undoubtedly destined to be the companion of a hero like him.' The Journal goes on to repeat the story which makes the same lady reply to an intimation that the First Consul could not receive her visit, as he was not yet dressed,—'Genius is of no sex.' There is a vulgar-mindedness in this sort of recrimination, which stains the character, and affects the testimony of Napoleon. Particular individuals seem to have excited in his mind a feeling of petty malice, at variance with every principle of greatness. Moreau and Madame de Staël were his personal enemies; and even if the things which he has said respecting them had been true, a wise man would not—a man of high feeling could not—have stooped to give them

utterance. Napoleon appears to more advantage in his intercourse with his friends. He seems to have thoroughly entered into the sentimental, garrulous character of Las Cases, and to have derived amusement from it, while he behaved with the greatest kindness to the companion of his exile. He took lessons from him in English, paid the greatest attention to his health and comfort, and often encouraged him to mount his hobby, and enter into dissertations on musty subjects. It would be unfair to the worthy Journalist, to omit the following conversation. Referring to the attentions paid to the Count by Governor Wilks, Napoleon inquired :—

“ Is he aware of your relationship to the venerable Las Cases ? ” I answered that I knew nothing of the matter ; but General Gourgaud, who was on the other side of the Emperor, replied in the affirmative. “ And how do you know it yourself ? ” said the Emperor to me ; “ are you not romancing with us ? ” “ The following, Sire, are my proofs. Our family had been two hundred years in France, when Barthelemi de Las Cases flourished in Spain ; but the Spanish historians all describe him as a native of the same city from which we ourselves came, that is to say, Seville. They all mention him as of an ancient family of French origin, and state his ancestors to have passed into Spain precisely at the time when our family went there.” “ What, then, you are not Spanish ? He was French as well as you ! ” “ Yes, Sire.” “ Let us hear all about it : come, Sir Castellan, Sir Knight-errant, Sir Paladin—let us see you in your glory ; unroll your old parchments ; come, enjoy yourself.” “ Sire, one of my ancestors followed Henry, Count of Burgundy, who, at the head of a few crusaders, achieved the conquest of Portugal, about the year 1100. He was his standard-bearer at the famous battle of Ourique, which founded the Portuguese monarchy. Afterwards we returned to France with Queen Blanche, when she came to be married to the father of Saint Louis. Sire, this is the whole.”

Las Cases. Part II. pp. 135, 136.

When Napoleon had acquired English enough to write a short letter, his first use of his new accomplishment was, quizzing his master. One day Las Cases received a note on which was written *very urgent*, but which contained little more than a hint that his work wanted correction. At first, he says, he took it as an insult ; but, on detecting the handwriting, was wonderfully tickled with the joke ; while Napoleon was so delighted with the success of his hoax, as to laugh ‘ till tears came ‘ in his eyes.’ The Indian Cottage and Paul and Virginia were great favourites with the ex-Emperor ; but he expressed a thorough contempt for their author, St. Pierre, as a mean and rapacious beggar, a man of despicable character, and of no science, though he undertook to give a novel explanation of the system of Nature. Vertot was a favourite author, though

he was censured as too declamatory; and it was recommended, that a thorough pruning of 'the principal works' in the French language should be undertaken. 'I know nobody but Montesquieu,' said Napoleon, 'that would escape these curtailments.' Rollin was pronounced diffuse and credulous; Crevier, his continuator, detestable.

'The Emperor was still more dissatisfied with our French historians; he could not bear to read any of them. "Velly is rich in words, and poor in meaning; his continuators are still worse." "Our history," said the Emperor, "should either be in four or five volumes, or in a hundred." He had been acquainted with Garnier, who continued Velly and Villaret; he lived in the basement of Malmaison. He was an old man of eighty, and lodged in a small set of apartments on the ground-floor, with a little gallery. Struck with the officious attention which this good old man always evinced whenever the First Consul was passing, the latter enquired who he was. On learning that it was Garnier, he comprehended his motives. "He, no doubt, imagined," said the Emperor pleasantly, "that a First Consul was his property, as historian. I dare say, however, he was astonished to find Consuls where he had been accustomed to see Kings." Napoleon told him so himself, laughing, when he called him one day, and settled a good pension on him. "From that time," said the Emperor, "the poor man, in the warmth of his gratitude, would gladly have written any thing I pleased, with all his heart."'

Las Cases. Part II. pp 140, 1.

In the course of an after-dinner conversation in January 1816, the personal dangers to which the Emperor had been exposed, were referred to, when he mentioned an instance in which he had, on a night reconnoitring, been fired at by the *vedettes* of his own army, and only escaped by throwing himself flat on his face. The battle of Austerlitz, he said, would have been lost if he had attacked six hours sooner. The Russians on that day 'shewed themselves such excellent troops as they have never appeared since: the Russian army of Austerlitz would not have lost the battle of the Moskwa.' The Austrians fought best at Marengo: 'that was the grave of their valour.' The Prussians made less resistance at Jena than had been expected from their high character. 'As to the multitudes of 1814 and 1815, they were mere rabble compared to the real soldiers of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena.' At Waterloo, Murat, he said, would have been of the greatest service; 'he would have broken three or four English squares.' We must find room in this place for the character given by Napoleon of the three great members of the Holy Alliance.

' "As to the Emperor Francis, his good-nature is well known, and

makes him constantly the dupe of the designing. His son will be like him.

“The King of Prussia, as a private character, is an honourable, good, and worthy man; but, in his political capacity, he is naturally disposed to yield to necessity; he is always commanded by whosoever has power on his side, and seems about to strike.

“As to the Emperor of Russia, he is a man infinitely superior to these: he possesses wit, grace, information, is fascinating; but he is not to be trusted; he is devoid of candour, a true *Greek of the lower Empire*. At the same time, he is not without ideology, real or assumed:—after all, it may only be a smattering derived from his education and his preceptor. “Would you believe,” said the Emperor, “what I had to discuss with him? He maintained, that inheritance was an abuse in monarchy; and I had to spend more than an hour, and to employ all my eloquence and logic, in proving to him that this right constituted the peace and happiness of the people. It may be, too, that he was mystifying; for he is cunning, false and expert..... He can go a great length. If I die here, he will be my real heir in Europe. I alone was able to stop him with his deluge of Tartars. The crisis is great, and will have lasting effects upon the Continent of Europe, especially upon Constantinople: he was solicitous with me for the possession of it. I have had much coaxing on this subject; but I constantly turned a deaf ear to it. That empire, shattered as it appeared, would constantly have remained a point of separation between us: it was the marsh that prevented my right being turned. As to Greece, it is another matter!” *Las Cases*. Part 11. pp 300, 1.

We have thus given a fair representation of the varied contents of these volumes, and we must now revert to the question which we proposed at the commencement, What is the historical value of these publications? To determine this point satisfactorily, a range of examination and comparison would be requisite, into which we cannot at present enter. On a general review we should say, that something has been gained in the way of elucidation, but not much. The conversation and the composition of Napoleon are spirited and instructive; but he is by no means on a level, as an historian, with Cæsar and Frederic the Great. Still, it is impossible not to distinguish in these collections, the traces of a master-mind. The intense activity of intellect, the acute and comprehensive view of men and things, the rapid and tenacious seizure of strong points, which were the undoubted characteristics of ‘the man of thousand thrones,’ will all be instantly recognised in these pages. How far they may be relied on as genuine expressions of feeling and intention, is a matter too problematical for us to solve. There is a singular speech ascribed to him by *Las Cases*, which has, in our view, much the air of a fabrication, but which, if correctly cited, can only be considered as a finished specimen of deceptive statement. He is made to affirm, that

if he had been successful in his invasion of England, he would have maintained the character of a disinterested liberator: 'not a contribution would have been exacted;' and a regeneration of Europe, on principles strictly *republican*, would have resulted from the cordial fraternization of England and France. Had this been held out by way of political bait, it might have passed as a piece of venial finesse; but, in the circumstance under which it was spoken, it can be considered only as the effect either of habitual disingenuousness, or of unaccountable self-delusion. He is elsewhere cited as stating, that 'his republican faith had vanished on the violation of the choice of the people, by the Directory, at the time of the battle of Aboukir;' and the extract from his own *Memoirs* which we have previously given, evidently proves that his intentions had been directed, not to republican, but to imperial 'regeneration.'

The translation is respectably executed, but betrays frequent marks of haste.

Art. III. 1. *Don Carlos; or Persecution.* A Tragedy, in Five Acts. By Lord John Russell. Fourth Edition. 8vo. pp. xvi, 120. Price 4s. 6d. London. 1822.

2. *Werner.* A Tragedy. By Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. viii, 188. Price 5s. 6d. London. 1823.

WE have included these two poems under one head, not for the purpose of contrasting their merits, which are very distinct, nor with any intention to indulge in that comparative criticism which is the easiest, but the shallowest and least satisfactory mode of deciding upon the fair claims of an author. The whole amount of difference between any two writers who may afford points for comparison, is often mistaken for inferiority in one of them, because the specific qualities are overlooked, which do not fall under the terms of the parallel; and yet, these may constitute the proper merit of the production which is judged the inferior. We have placed these two dramatic poems together, simply for the convenience of disposing of them both in one article, and because, being published nearly at the same moment, they have naturally come to be talked of together, and are found on every bookseller's table in each other's company.

But, having the names of these two noblemen placed in juxtaposition before us, we cannot avoid noticing the moral contrast which they actually present. We speak of them both, of course, in their public character—of the Biographer of Lord

William Russell, as compared with the Author of *Don Juan*; of the patriotic senator, as compared with the self-expatriated absentee; of the constitutional champion of a nation's rights, in contrast with the anti-social 'liberal' who has snapped asunder every relation that bound him to his country. It is impossible to open a new production coming from the pen of either of the two, with indifference; but the respective feelings of interest are widely different. In the case of Lord John Russell, the reader's expectation is less highly excited; we confess that our prevailing feeling was, an anxiety that he should be found not to have committed his judgement by the publication. For, as to the precise rank which the noble Author may be able to claim among his contemporaries as a poet, it may well be to him an inferior consideration. He may dispense with a poet's fame, and still feel secure of a lofty reputation. But Lord Byron is a poet or nothing. He has staked every thing on his literary fame. His genius is all that stands between him and infamy. And so pre-eminent is his genius, and so notorious his abuse of it, that by no new publication is he likely ever to raise higher the admiration of his talents, or to sink himself lower as a man in the estimation of the good.

Don Carlos has not disappointed us. It is far from being a faultless tragedy, nor does it possess the highest degree of dramatic interest. The characters are ably conceived, and the subject is well chosen; but a want of dramatic skill is discovered in the management of the plot. The whole story and its issue are too soon anticipated by the reader. There is also a want of that dramatic eloquence which constitutes the main charm of this most difficult species of composition. Such are the faults of the poem, which has nevertheless redeeming qualities. It contains much genuine poetry, several very fine scenes, is full of noble sentiments, and has an excellent moral tendency.

The facts on which the drama is founded, are briefly these. About the year 1555, several Spanish Lutherans having got printed, out of Spain, copies of the Bible in Spanish, which were introduced into that country, the Inquisition took alarm at the progress made in reading the Scriptures, arrested many Lutherans, and in 1559, celebrated two *autos-da-fé* at Valladolid. At the former of these, the prince, Don Carlos, then a boy, presided; and it is affirmed by Llorente, that he conceived from that time a violent hatred against the Inquisition. About six years after, he first formed a project of secretly withdrawing himself to Flanders; for the purpose, it is supposed, of assuming the sovereignty of the Low Countries, and of establishing there religious liberty. His designs were, however,

discovered ; he was charged with high treason and the intention of parricide, and found guilty by a special commission named by the King, who, when his council recommended the Heir to the throne to the royal clemency, pleaded his conscience as forbidding him to spare his son. Don Carlos died by poison, administered to him by command of the Prince of Evoli, apparently with the connivance of the King. His attachment to the Protestant faith is supposed to have been the real occasion of his death. To these circumstances, Lord John Russell has added the slenderly supported fact of an attachment on the part of Don Carlos to the Queen his mother-in-law, who had been at first betrothed to him ; and he makes the Inquisition interfere in the trial of the Prince. The character of Don Carlos also is imaginary.

The whole of the above circumstances—the design of the Prince, its discovery, his heretical leaning, his attachment to the Queen, are disclosed in the first scene, in a conversation between two of the Inquisitors. He is brought to trial in the third act ; he escapes from his cell at the end of the fourth ; and being betrayed and brought back, is poisoned, and dies in the fifth. The worst scene in the drama is that in which Don Carlos is wounded, and in which a long, formal confession is extorted from him in the article of death by his unnatural father. Instead of any further analysis of the drama, we shall give a few extracts in support of the commendation which it justly merits.

The following is part of the King's soliloquy on first receiving a mysterious intimation of his son's criminal designs.

The boy !
 How have I tended him from infancy
 To be my age's staff ; thinking to rest
 On him my heavier cares, and curtailed schemes
 Big with the glories of a future age :
 And now he is a vulture, hovering o'er me,
 Watching my death to feed on my remains.
 The people cry : " There is the prince shall reign
 When Philip is no more : " old nurses bless
 His beardless face, and silly children toss
 Their tiny caps into the air ; while I
 Am met by frigid reverence, passive awe,
 That fears, yet dares not own itself for fear ;
 As though the public hangman stalked behind me.
 And this it is to reign—to gain men's hate.
 Thus for the future monarch, Fancy weaves
 A spotless robe, entwines his sceptre round
 With flow'ry garlands, places on his head
 A crown of laurels, while the weary present,

Like a stale riddle or a last-year's fashion,
 Carries no grace with it. Base, vulgar world !
 'Tis thus that men for ever live in hope,
 And he that has done nothing, is held forth
 As capable of all things. Poor weak herd !
 Heaven save me from the breath of their applause !

In the subsequent scene, he questions a lady attending on the Queen, as to her majesty's deportment in the prince's presence.

' *Leonora.* Then, sire, behold the truth.
 Her usual air appears as if she mocked
 The state she wears ; the jewels of the crown
 But shade her lustre ; all the royal pomp
 Makes her not proud, but sad : the dignity
 That doth befit Castile, she casts aside,
 As if it soiled her purity of heart :
 But if Don Carlos in her presence stands,
 Then like a statue starting into life,
 Her cheeks blush deep with rosy streams ; her eyes
 Glow with unusual fires ; her arm, her hand,
 No longer move with languor : all her frame
 In animated gesture speaks the soul ;
 Though still her timid modesty of mind
 Tempers with grace the beauty of her mien.

' *Philp.* She welcomes him ?

' *Leonora.* Yes, sire, such welcome gives
 As when upon the dark blank world the sun
 Pours forth his beams ; when undistinguished space
 Grows rich with meaning ; hill, and lake, and plain
 Glitter in new-born light, and hail the day :—
 Such is the queen, when to our quiet hours
 Don Carlos gives his leisure.

' *Philp.* It is well ;
 She should rejoice to see our royal son :
 Say, does he ever speak to her alone ?

' *Leonora.* Nay, gracious sire, that were to my reproach :
 My office here is to attend the queen ;
 Never to leave her presence ; and to break
 That rule, so long as I can hold my station,
 Were to betray my duty, soil my race.
 None ever yet, of countrymen, or friends,
 Or childish playmates of her infancy,
 Or near relations of your royal blood,
 Have ever spoken to the queen alone ;
 Nor have I missed a gesture or a word,
 Or failed, when reason was, to bear the tale
 Unto your majesty.

‘ *Philip.*

’Tis well; ’tis well :

Say now—I would no more—I fain would know ;—
Not that these things which you have told to me
Excite a thought unworthy of the queen,
Or can the least unhinge my stedfast love
And anchored trust in her fidelity.—
Far from us all suspicion ! but ’tis well
That I, the king, should know the slightest sign,
The breath of air, or creaking of a door,
That passes in my court.—

The lines we have marked in italics, are exquisitely picturesque : nothing can be more elegant than the simile, and a poet might envy the Author the felicitous expression in this passage. The harsh, proud, unfeeling character of King Philip is well sustained. In the following scene, Valdéz, the chief inquisitor, has solicited an audience for the purpose of giving information against the Prince.

‘ *Philip.* Good father, speak ; I am not weak of mind.

Say, have I ruled in the two hemispheres
For twenty years, and never met reverse ?
Great as our victories, high as our name,
Proud as our empire stands above the rest,
Heaven has not yet forgotten to chastise,
To save our soul from overweening pride ;
But never were we so puffed up with fame,
As not to bear the rod with humbleness.—
Remember you when our great armament
Sailed from our shore to conquer and convert
England, rebellious to its God ?

‘ *Valdéz.*

I do.

A time of cruel memory ; our ships
Collected in our ports by years of toil,
The mighty preparations of our realm,
Our implements of battle, all the pomp
Of naval war which vainly had been deemed
Invincible, were scattered to the winds ;
Our lofty expectations sunk for ever,
And, worst of all, our bravest chivalry,
The hopes of Christendom, the strength of Spain,
Shrouded in waves or chained in English dungeons.

‘ *Philip.* Yet when this bitter draught, this killing potion
Was all distilled into one dreadful word,
And poured at once into my ear—that word
No less than Ruin,—showed I then, Valdéz,
A weakness unbecoming of a man,
A christian, and a king ?

• *Valdez.*

No—sovereign lord,

I do remember well on that sad day,
When all Madrid was tears, and your whole people
Seemed like a widowed queen ; the messenger
Came to your majesty when, in the church,
You still prayed heaven for good success ; the tale
Was dreadful, but your royal countenance
Took not the print of woe ; your voice august
Nor fell nor falter'd when, in brief reply,
Calmly you said ; “ I did not send my troops
To combat with the elements.” Such proof
Of pious resignation swift was known,
And half the anguish of the wound was saved
By iron constancy ; for fortitude
Rewards itself, and dries the stream of grief
In its own source, the mind.

• *Philip.*

In fortitude

Our nation ever was pre-eminent.
But most of all it doth become a king,
To stand aloof from common sympathies.
We have a separate life ; the place we hold,
We hold from heaven ; we should free ourselves
From cumbrous trammels of humanity
That bind men down to earth : we stand on high,
As Muley Hassan, that o'erlooks the plain
Of fair Grenada, or those mightier hills
Our soldiers speak of, hiding half the sky
Of Indian Peru, which view unchanged
The change of seasons, while the vale below
Shows all vicissitude : speak on.

In the conclusion of the interview, the King, striving to master and conceal the feelings of agonizing suspicion which agitate him, thanks the Inquisitor for his zeal.

• *Philip.*

You have our thanks

For all the love and wakeful vigilance
You shew in our behalf : but if 'tis false,
As by my royal crown I deem it is,
You go not free from blame ; and mark my words :
There are some busy spirits in the world,
Whose tempers in the natural food of life
Lack aliment, as ships whose sails in calm
Flap to and fro, and waste their action ; souls
Whose order is disturbance ; they must find
Or make a plot, and should they fail to raise
The subject 'gainst the prince, they move the prince
To vex the subject : black unnatural treasons
Rise at their bidding : spirits, dark as hell,
Foul murders, sacrilege, conspiracy

Wait at their beck, and instant on their call,
 People the earth with horrors : there are others,
 Chapmen of human life, whose trade is blood,
 Who like the vampire live, and suck their breath
 From the stern scaffold, where their comrades' heads
 Lie bathed in gore—oh, think on this and doubt !—
 But say the queen—what said you of the queen ?

• *Valdéz.* Nothing, my liege ; nothing has been deposed
 That may affect the queen.

• *Philip.* 'Tis well, Valdéz :
 For if there had, the villain should have died,
 Who dared to aim his arrows at a star
 Pure as the heaven she's made for ; it is well.

• *Valdéz.* But for the prince, sire.—

• *Philip.* For the prince, Valdéz,
 I will myself take instant cognizance
 Whence the report has risen ; if there be
 In this grave charge ever so little truth,
 We need your counsel : but if some vile slave
 Has coined the calumny to gain our ear,
 The utmost rigour of the extremest rack
 Shall tear his limbs : his joints shall agonize
 Quite to the verge of life ; he shall repay
 The torture that his barbarous treachery
 Already has inflicted upon me.

[*Exit.*

• *Valdéz.* Farewell
 Thou great example of serenity !
 The hill whose top beholds without a change
 The change of season ; thou, whose mind is free
 From cumbrous trammels of humanity.
 These great men of the earth affect a wisdom
 Their closer life belies ; sit wrapt in clouds
 Of mystery that cheat the distant eye,
 But cannot blunt the near observer's glance.
 Destroy their people ; steadfast as the oak,
 They bear the tempest : but if touched themselves,
 In their least joint, by a slight breath of air,
 They tremble like the reed—oh, magnanimity !

In an interview between the King and Don Carlos, previous
 to his apprehension, a description is given by the Prince, of the
auto-da-fé at Valladolid.

• *Carlos.* The tale is long to tell,
 But with your pleasure, my whole mind and soul,
 As it affects your state, shall be unrolled.

• *Philip.* Give me your utmost confidence—proceed !

• *Carlos.* I do remember well—too well, alas,
 My age but scarce fourteen, your royal self

Absent in Flanders, I was bid preside
 At the great Act of Faith to be performed
 In fair Valládolid : at that green age
 Quite new to life, nor yet aware of death,
 The solemn pomp amused my careless mind.
 But when the dismal tragedy began,
 How were my feelings changed and clouded ! first
 Came there a skeleton, upon its head
 A cap with painted flames ; this thing had been
 A lady who throughout her life had borne
 A name unsullied ; twenty years had past
 Since her remains had rested in the ground,
 And now by sentence of the Holy Office,
 The dull disgusting mass of whitened bone
 That once had been her garment, was dug up
 To clear some flaw in her theology.
 Then came a learned priest, his name Cazalla ;
 With countenance serene, and calm devotion,
 He walked to death, and as he passed me by,
 With earnest manner he entreated me
 For his poor sister's offspring ; she condemned
 To prison for her life, and loss of goods,
 While twelve unhappy children were bereft
 Of parents and of food ; I wept, and thought
 Of the poor orphans.

Philip. You should have rejoiced
To think so many infant souls were saved
Perversion.

Carlos. How ? rejoice ! not to have wept
Were then impossible ; I sobbed for pity.
But soon a sterner sight braced up my nerves,
Rigid with horror, for the murderous pile
Was lighted for the sacrifice : unmoved,
The Great Inquisitor beheld his victims.
Cazalla too was undisturbed : the mind
Might fairly doubt which of the two were judge,
And which the culprit, save that gleams of joy
Like one who sees his haven, spread their light
Upon Cazalla's face. The flames burst forth,
And with slow torture singed the limbs of him,
Who seemed alone amid the multitude
To be unconscious of this earthly hell.
But as we looked amazed, sudden he rushed
From forth the flames, and while by-standers fled
In sudden panic, bore from off a heap
Fresh store of wood, upbraiding the weak wretch
Who stood beside it ; this he flung amain
Upon the pile, and raising high his voice,
Exclaimed, " Farewell ! thou sinful world, farewell !

Ye earth, and sun, and moon, and stars, farewell!
Welcome my God! welcome eternal life!"

• *Philip.* Blasphemous error!—could this heretic
Have hope of heaven?

• *Carlos.* Such was his belief;
Perhaps mistaken.

• *Philip.* Prince, did I hear you right?
Perhaps mistaken?

• *Carlos.* Patience a little while;
You shall know all my thoughts. Cazalla, he
That stood so tall before me in the strength
Of a high soul, was now a cinder, tost
And scattered by the air: but there was more
Of this too dreadful pageant. I beheld
Fourteen of our poor brethren suffer death
From Cain's descendants.

• *Philip.* Peace, prince!

• *Carlos.* I have done
My narrative, but that I should have told,
That ere the hecatomb began, Valdéz,
As Great Inquisitor, tendered an oath
Which I unwilling took. I thereby swore
If ever I should see, or hear, or know,
By any means, of aught concerned the faith,
Of friend or stranger, parent, brother, son,
I should reveal the same without delay
Unto the Holy Office; that dark oath
I took, but thanks to heaven, I broke.

• *Philip.* You broke!

• *Carlos.* More than a thousand times: the horrid glare
Of that dread sacrifice fell on my mind,
And drove the senses from my brain; my thought
Hung on the place where virtue had been slain,
Where I had been a chief of murderers.
Long while I suffered; still by day and night
The features of Cazalla, old and grey,
With mildness mingling somewhat of reproach,
Haunted my couch, nor could I gain relief
Till I sought out the wretched seats of those
Who err in faith, and feel themselves impelled
To seek for heaven by martyrdom on earth.

• *Philip.* You sought them out! you should have hated them.

• *Carlos.* Many of these I have assisted, bade
Them fly this perilous air of Spain, conversed
With several of their leaders, viewed their lives
Pure as the light; their faith still stedfast worshipped
Christ and the book of life. Forgive me, father,
I could not, can not, will not hate these men.

‘ *Philip.* You hate them not—you, prince of Spain!

‘ *Carlos.* Alas!

I know how scruples of this hue offend
The eyes of Spanish rulers; I have weighed
Each separate argument, conned one by one
The reasons that our church puts forth to spur
Her sons to persecution.

‘ *Philip.* Call it not

By that unworthy name, nor is it fit
A child like you should mount the judgment-seat
To censure policy which Spain has deemed
The way of health, by sages pointed out
To Ferdinand the Catholic—approved
By counsellors grown grey in the state’s service,
By saints and martyrs of our holy church,
By the pope’s wise decree infallible,
In fine by God himself.

‘ *Carlos.* That I deny.

‘ *Philip.* Don Carlos, hold your peace.

‘ *Carlos.* King, I have drunk

The stream of revelation at its source:
That book, to common eyes denied, to me
By Osma’s reverend bishop, my preceptor,
Was early given; best and dearest gift
That man can give to man, becoming thus
The minister of God, and angel-like
Carrying glad tidings to the immortal soul:
There have I read, assisted by the lore
Of my dear master; there too have I read
Alone and unassisted, late at night,
And early in the morning, words of peace,
Forgiveness ev’n for sin; brotherly love,
And charity that beareth, hopeth all;
I found and wept with joy; but to this hour
Find I no precept that commissions man
To slay his erring brother.

‘ *Philip.* Prince, beware!

Dread my displeasure.

‘ *Carlos.* I dread heaven’s much more;

And strongly armed with truth, I dare proclaim
The Inquisition murderous tyrant.

‘ *Philip.* Peace,

Thou bold blasphemer! most unworthy thou
To fill the throne, or even to tread the soil
Of Christian Spain.’

pp. 36—42.

We must make room for one more extract: it is a conversation between the Chief Inquisitor and another of the Holy Office.

- ' *Lucero.* Is this the plan
You mean to act on?
- ' *Valdéz.* Yes! why look you pale?
- ' *Lucero.* I wonder much how you can forge a scheme
So deadly, so perfidious!—how I shudder!
Have you no feeling for a father's pangs?
A son so young?
- ' *Valdéz.* Feelings! No, none!—why should I?
Is not each warmer motion of the blood,
Nay, all the innocent and pure affections,
Conjugal tenderness, parental love,
The great command of nature that encircles,
In one dear nest a brood of infant loves,
Beneath a mother's wing; the cherished bonds
That turn mere habitation into home,
To us prohibited? Is it not thus,
And can you hesitate?
- ' *Lucero.* 'Tis so, indeed;
Yet we are human.
- ' *Valdéz.* List awhile, *Lucero*;
I once was human; had a heart as soft
To sensible impressions, tears as quick
To flow for misery, and a spirit as high
To right the injured as a man can have:
My parents chained me to the church; but yet
No oath within my power could bar the way
To natural affections; and I loved—
Spare me the rest. I triumphed o'er a passion,
As pure, as fervent, and as well returned,
As e'er bound heart to heart: I triumphed—yes,
I triumphed; but the fire burnt inwards, till
My soul grew hard with suffering: I became
A being but half human; sense and reason,
Ambition too remained, but kindlier feelings,
Filial, fraternal, friendly, all were dead:
I woke from agony, and found my breast
Of marble.
- ' *Lucero.* Your young feelings raged too wildly:
We have our precept, but we have our practice;
And few indeed of our most saintly men
Renounce all worldly pleasures; it is well
If we preserve the outward show of strictness.
- ' *Valdéz.* And think ye then that I could bear to be
A slave dependant on the idle tongue
Of bawds and chamberwomen? Could I creep
Like a low felon at the dead of night,
Belying by my steps the garb I wore?
Did I not see that our least frailties

Were by the world permitted but to bring
Ourselves in disrepute, and weak subjection
To those who hold the rod in terror o'er us?
If in our body some frail vessel err,
The world declares it suits not with our cloth,
Does not become our holy garb and office:
While this same generous world absolves itself,
As if a sword and cloak might plead in bar
To all impeachment of morality,
And 'twere a strange unnatural circumstance
For priest to sin, or layman to be pure.

* *Lucero.* It is indeed their custom, yet our brethren
Suffer the raillery, and seek the sin.

* *Valdéz.* That would not I! mine was a soul sent forth
To soar or burst: I could not trail along
A thing for Scorn to buffet with his foot,
Or Pride to glance at with his withering eye:
But since I wore the cowl, it was my care
To make it honoured: every exercise
Of harsh injunction, fasts beyond the rule
Of the fantastic saint who built his school
Of stoic wisdom 'mid the rocks and wilds,
Perpetual meditation, fervent prayer,
Self-chastisement, all that a man can do
To make himself a spirit, I have done.

* *Lucero.* I know it well: your fame of holiness
Was bruited through all Spain.

* *Valdéz.* It was my aim,
And I obtained it: not for empty glory;
For as I rooted out the weeds of passion,
One still remained, and grew till its tall plant
Struck root in every fibre of my heart.
It was ambition; not the mean desire
Of rank or title, but great glorious sway
O'er multitudes of minds.

* *Lucero.* That you have gained.

* *Valdéz.* I have indeed, and why? I'll tell thee why.
The feebleness of common man proceeds
From hosts of appetites that tear the soul
With mingled purpose: his resolves are weak,
His vision clouded: but my appetites
Were in one potent essence concentrate;
I neither loved, nor feasted, nor played dice:
Power was my feast, my mistress, and my game.
Thus have I acted with a will entire,
And wreathed the passions that distracted others
Into a sceptre for myself.

- ' *Lucero.* All Spain
Desires you long may keep it, to preserve
Our faith entire.
- ' *Valdés.* Aye ; and I will long keep it.
But if Don Carlos reigns, who shall preserve
The faith of Spain ? and shall we stand to weigh
Each grain and scruple of morality,
When our great temple shakes ! Shall we not rush
And slay the sacrilegious enemy
With his own firebrand ? Trust the charge to me ;
Be mine the guilt ; I feel not for the pangs
Of those who made me wretched. I can bear
To see the affections blasted ; so were mine.
Men bid us be of stone ; now let them find
We are so.'

These extracts, and we do not give them as the finest passages, will amply substantiate the opinion expressed as to the talent displayed in this poem. We abstain from minor criticism. Lord John Russell terms it 'an attempt at a play.' If it is his first attempt, it must be considered as affording a brilliant promise of future excellence. In the mean time, it will certainly not detract from his Lordship's literary reputation ; while both the choice and the treatment of the subject well become this worthy scion of the House of Russell, the hereditary defenders of our religious liberties.

Werner is by far the least dull of all Lord Byron's tragedies : the story is extremely interesting, and the characters highly dramatic. But neither the story nor the characters are his own. His Lordship frankly avows, that the drama is taken entirely from a tale by Miss Harriet Lee, which appeared many years ago in a work entitled "Canterbury Tales." And not only the plan, but the language of many parts of the story has been adopted in the poem. All the merit, therefore, to which Lord Byron can lay claim, is that of having dramatised the story, and turned it into a tolerable play. As his Lordship is an idle man, he might have been worse employed ; and he deserves the thanks of at least one individual for this exercise of his ingenuity. It has raised to life a defunct copyright, and put a forgotten novel again into circulation. *Kruitzner* is certainly an extraordinary production. It is between sixteen and twenty years since we read it ; and it left a very strong impression of the Writer's superior faculties and reach of thought. The spell which enchains the reader is very powerful ; but the talent displayed in the narrative, is less remarkable than the power of conception which appears in the characters, and the almost

philosophical cast of thought which pervades the tale. A very short extract will illustrate the expression we have used.

‘ He therefore acceded to a reserve he had never till lately practised towards Josephine ; and with a generous, though half sullen tenderness, strove to confine to himself feelings he yet found it would be impossible ever to silence ;—the aching consciousness of a sullied mind—a sort of accessory guilt—and an indefinite remorse ! Nor was this, alas ! the only cankerous speck upon the apparent prosperity of Siegendorf ! A sort of secret foreknowledge, which is, in fact, only a nice calculation made by the feelings, before we permit it to become an operation of the judgement, already corroded that distinguished lot which fortune seemed to have prepared for him.’

Mde. de Stael has no passage that we recollect finer than this, either in thought or in expression. But all these more ethereal qualities of the composition, escape in the process of dramatisation ; and thus, the poem is not merely less pleasing but less instructive than the tale.

Werner is the discarded son of Count Siegendorf. He has married Josephine under a feigned name ; and she has only learned his real rank, to feel that, instead of having ‘ given her hand to a man gifted, as she believed, beyond his fortunes, she had, on the contrary, united herself to one who ‘ had debased them.’ Her affections, however, remain unchanged. Their only son had been adopted by the Count as his heir, but he had mysteriously disappeared from the Castle, and his parents have been unable to hear any tidings of him. At the time at which the drama opens, the Count is dead ; and Werner, already broken down with poverty and mental suffering, is proceeding to put in his rightful claim to the inheritance, when he is arrested by disease in an obscure town on the northern frontier of Silesia. The following dialogue is one of the most pleasing scenes in the drama.

‘ *Josephine.*

But think

How many in this hour of tempest shiver
Beneath the biting wind and heavy rain,
Whose every drop hows them down nearer earth,
Which hath no chamber for them, save beneath
Her surface.

‘ *Werner.*

And that’s not the worst : who cares
For chambers ? rest is all. The wretches whom
Thou namest—ay, the wind howls round them, and
The dull and dropping rain saps in their bones
The creeping marrow. I have been a soldier,
A hunter, and a traveller, and am
A beggar, and should know the thing thou talk’st of.

‘ *Josephine.* And art thou not now sheltered from them all ?

‘ *Werner.* Yes. And from these alone.

‘ *Josephine.* And that is something.

‘ *Werner.* True—to a peasant.

‘ *Josephine.* Should the nobly born
Be thankless for that refuge which their habits
Of early delicacy render more
Needful than to the peasant, when the ebb
Of fortune leaves them on the shoals of life ?

‘ *Werner.* It is not that, thou know’st it is not : we
Have borne all this, I’ll not say patiently,
Except in thee—but we have borne it.

‘ *Josephine.* Well ?

‘ *Werner.* Something beyond our outward sufferings (though
These were enough to gnaw into our souls)
Hath stung me oft, and more than ever now.
When, but for this untoward sickness, which
Seized me upon this desolate frontier, and
Hath wasted not alone my strength, but means,
And leaves us—no ! this is beyond me !—but
For this I had been happy—*thou* been happy—
The splendour of my rank sustain’d—my name—
My father’s name—been still upheld ; and, more
Than those—

‘ *Josephine.* (*abruptly.*) My son—our son—our Ulric,
Been clasp’d again in these long empty arms,
And all a mother’s hunger satisfied.
Twelve years ! he was but eight then :—beautiful
He was, and beautiful he must be now,
My Ulric ! my adored !

‘ *Werner.* I have been full oft
The chase of fortune ; now she hath o’ertaken
My spirit where it cannot turn at bay,—
Sick, poor, and lonely.

‘ *Josephine.* Lonely ! my dear husband ?

‘ *Werner.* Or worse—involving all I love, in this
Far worse than solitude. *Alone*, I had died,
And all been over in a nameless grave.

‘ *Josephine.* And I had not outlived thee ; but pray take
Comfort ! We have struggled long ; and they who strive
With fortune, win or weary her at last,
So that they find the goal, or cease to feel
Further. Take comfort,—we shall find our boy.

‘ *Werner.* We were in sight of him, of every thing

Which could bring compensation for past sorrow—
And to be baffled thus !

‘ *Josephine.* We are not baffled.

‘ *Werner.* Are we not pennyless ?

‘ *Josephine.* We ne’er were wealthy.

‘ *Werner.* But I was born to wealth, and rank, and power ;
Enjoyed them, loved them, and alas ! abused them,
And forfeited them by my father’s wrath,
In my o’er-fervent youth. But for the abuse
Long sufferings have atoned. My father’s death
Left the path open, yet not without snares.
This cold and creeping kinsman, who so long
Kept his eye on me, as the snake upon
The fluttering bird, hath ere this time outstept me,
Become the master of my rights, and lord
Of that which lifts him up to princes in
Dominion and domain.

* * * * *

Who would read in this form
The high soul of the son of a long line ?
Who, in this garb the heir of princely lands ?
Who, in this sunken, sickly eye, the pride
Of rank and ancestry ? in this worn cheek
And famine-hollowed brow, the lord of halls,
Which daily feast a thousand vassals ?

‘ *Josephine.* You
Pondered not thus upon these worldly things,
My Werner ! when you deign’d to choose for bride
The foreign daughter of a wandering exile.

‘ *Werner.* An exile’s daughter with an outcast son
Were a fit marriage ; but I still had hopes
To lift thee to the state we both were born for,
Your father’s house was noble though decayed,
And worthy by its birth to match with ours.

‘ *Josephine.* Your father did not think so, though ’twas noble ;
But had my birth been all my claim to match
With thee, I should have deemed it what it is.

‘ *Werner.* And what is that in thine eyes ?

‘ *Josephine.* All which it .
Has done in our behalf,—nothing.

‘ *Werner.* How,—nothing ?

‘ *Josephine.* Or worse ; for it has been a canker in
Thy heart from the beginning : but for this,
We had not felt our poverty, but as
Millions of myriads feel it, cheerfully.
But for these phantoms of thy feudal fathers,

Thou might'st have earned thy bread, as thousands earn it;
Or, if that seem too humble, tried by commerce,
Or other civic means, to amend thy fortunes.

' *Werner.* And been an Hanseatic burgher? Excellent.

' *Josephine.* Whate'er thou might'st have been, to me thou art,
What no state high or low can ever change,
My heart's first choice; which chose thee, knowing neither
Thy birth, thy hopes, thy pride; nought, save thy sorrows.
While they last, let me comfort or divide them,
When they end, let mine end with them, or thee.'

By one of those very usual occurrences with which dramatic life abounds, Ulric, the lost son, and Stralenheim, whose emissaries have long been in pursuit of Werner, are assembled in the same mansion. The parties are all personally unknown to each other; but Ulric discovers himself to his parents, to the joy of his mother. Werner can feel none. Pressed to desperation by his necessities, he has stolen a *rouleau* from Stralenheim while asleep, and is writhing under a sense of self-degradation. A stir is made to discover the thief, and suspicion falls on a Hungarian, named Gabor, who had assisted Conrad in saving Stralenheim from drowning. Gabor disappears, and the nobleman is found to have been assassinated. Circumstantial evidence is strong against the fugitive, for only Werner and his son know that he was not the thief, and Ulric alone knows that he was not the murderer.

Time passes on. Werner is now Count Siegendorf, and Ulric is on the point of being married to Ida Stralenheim, the only daughter of the murdered nobleman, whom the Count has generously adopted. But there is something very mysterious about Ulric's whole character and conduct. Though he behaves very dutifully to his father, there is no cordiality between them. Siegendorf is all parental anxiety; his son all coldness and reserve. Gabor suddenly reappears most disastrously, recognises Werner in the Count, denounces Ulric to the unhappy father as the murderer of Stralenheim and a leader of banditti, and Siegendorf and his son part for ever.

' All is over

For me! Now open wide, my sire, thy grave.
Thy curse hath dug it deeper for thy son
In mine! The race of Siegendorf is past.'

Some faults the poem has only in common with the original. Gabor is a most inexplicable personage: he is always on the point of turning out something more than he proves to be. A sort of mysterious horror is thrown around his impalpability in

the tale; but, in the drama, he is only a sentimental, moody, high-mettled soldier of fortune, whose appearances and disappearances are alike singularly inopportune, and who ends in a mere mercenary. His character is, we think, decidedly a failure. Werner—we mean Kruitznér—is admirably drawn. Who does not recognise in him the portrait of too common a character? The man of shining talents, ardent mind, powerful connexions, brilliant prospects, who, after squandering away all in wanton self-indulgence, having lived only for himself, finds himself bankrupt in fortune and character, the prey of bitter regret, yet unrepentant, as selfish in his remorse as in his gayety. 'It is,' remarks Miss Lee,

'among the great evils of misconduct to harden the heart; and it had hardened that of the Count. Misery, inevitable, intolerable misery, seemed to threaten him on every side. But there was a point in his character at which it ever repelled the arrow from himself, though at the expense of all around. Even now, in the very crisis of self-condemnation and shame, concentrating, as it were, to that point all the harsher and more stubborn feelings of his nature, he prepared to meet Josephine and her father with a firmness that should alike exclude expostulation or reproach, by shewing that his decision, whatever it might prove, would be irrevocable, and that he would be responsible for his conduct to no being but himself.'

We think that it is rather a slip of the pen in the Author of "Kruitznér," to make this man capable of pouring out his heart, on a subsequent occasion, 'with manly and inartificial magnanimity.' That is the last attribute which would seem to belong to 'the slave of passion,' the victim of every temptation, who had sacrificed 'every thing by turns, either to false calculations, or ungoverned passions,—his father, his wife, even his honour; at least that pure and secret sense which seemed to Josephine its essence.' Such a man may be capable of noble and generous impulses, may have his softer and better moments; but a mind essentially selfish, and habitually infirm, can scarcely be at any moment magnanimous.

All that is inconsistent in the character of Kruitznér, is rendered still more so in the Werner of the drama. If he is made somewhat less criminal, he appears only the more weak, and his conduct is as wayward as his fate. His remorse at taking the *rouleau* from the man who was about to usurp his domains, and throw him into prison, is somewhat overcharged; and though his horror at hearing of Stralenheim's death is natural, it seems unaccountably to absorb his joy at finding himself delivered from his enemy, and restored to affluence. Kruitznér is the victim of his passions. 'If his misfortune should appear to exceed his errors, let it be remembered,' says his

biographer, "how easily both might have been avoided; since 'an adherence to his duties at almost any one period of his life, 'would have spared him more than half its sufferings.' This is the moral of the tale, but it is but feebly illustrated in the drama: Werner is more the victim of what would be called fate. Lord Byron has not felt the real force of the character.

Other faults are chargeable more especially on the Poet. Ulric behaves far too hopefully and too dutifully for an assassin and a brigand. He is of the Giaour and the Lara order—a *Westall* ruffian. Ida Stralenheim is a mere child, too young by a great deal to be married. The most amusing fellow in the drama, is Monsieur Idenstein, who makes the finest speech too beyond comparison of any of the personages,—though we wonder whence he got it. The drama is exceedingly barren of either poetical passages, or of that philosophic declamation in which the Author of *Sardanapalus* is so wont to indulge. But the following apostrophe is admirable.

Idenstein. But is it real? let me look on it;
Diamond, by all that's glorious!

Oh, thou sweet sparkler!
Thou more than stone of the philosopher!
Thou touchstone of Philosophy herself!
Thou bright eye of the Mine! thou load-star of
The soul! the true magnetic Pole to which
All hearts point duly north, like trembling needles.
Thou flaming Spirit of the Earth! which sitting
High on the monarch's diadem, attractest
More worship than the Majesty who sweats
Beneath the crown which makes his head ache, like
Millions of hearts which bleed to lend it lustre!
Shalt thou be mine? I am, methinks, already
A little king, a lucky alchymist!—
A wise magician, who has bound the devil
Without the forfeit of his soul. But come,
Werner, or what else?

Werner. Call me Werner still,
You yet may know me by a loftier title.

Idenstein. I do believe in thee! thou art the Spirit,
Of whom I long have dream'd, in a low garb.—
But come, I'll serve thee; thou shalt be us free
As air, despite the waters; let us hence,
I'll shew thee I am honest—oh, thou jewel!
Thou shalt be furnished, Werner, with such means
Of flight, that if thou wert a snail, not birds
Should overtake thee.—Let me gaze again!

I have a foster-brother in the mart
Of Hamburg, skill'd in precious stones—how many
Carats may it weigh?—Come, Werner, I will wing thee.'

On the whole, this is a better play and a worse poem than any which has hitherto appeared under his Lordship's name. But as all that is dramatic in the piece, except the arrangement, is borrowed, it has not shaken the opinion we have constantly expressed, that the drama is not his Lordship's forte,—that he has not the power of conception requisite to produce an historical character,—that with all his great talents, he wants the transcendent faculty of dramatic or epic invention. As much as this is almost tacitly admitted by the Author of *Werner*, when, having failed in his original dramas, he becomes, in this, a copyist, aspiring to no higher merit than that of an ingenious play-wright.

Art. IV. *A Journey to Two of the Oases of Upper Egypt.* By Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart. 8vo. pp. xvi, 152. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1822.

IT is a pity that such slight yet not unimportant contributions to geographical science as are put forth from time to time in the too ambitious shape of volumes, though, in substance, mere pamphlets, are not rather incorporated in a well edited collection. Mr. Walpole has set an excellent example in his two interesting volumes of *Memoirs* relating to Turkey and the adjacent countries. It would not be difficult, we imagine, to collect matter for a volume of similar character and dimensions, relating exclusively to Egypt and Northern Africa; and the sacrifice made by the contributors, of the pride and pleasure of independent authorship, would be compensated by the permanent value which would attach to such a record; whereas these fugitive narratives cannot hope to survive a perusal.

Sir Archibald Edmonstone claims the merit of having discovered a *fourth* Oasis, in the Great Desert of Upper Egypt; the existence of which, if suspected, had never been previously ascertained. He was, it seems, the first European who had reached the district in modern times. The Shekh assured him, that there was no record of any Frank ever having visited that Oasis before, although the fame of the English had penetrated even to that insulated region. Sir Archibald was, however, but just in time to secure for himself and his country this proud distinction of being the first modern visitant. Not far from the last spring, on their return, the party met M. Drovetti, who, having visited the nearer Oasis,

was then on his way to the further one which they were leaving, and at which they had arrived more directly by traversing the Desert in a south-western direction from Siout. It seems to have been a sort of mail-coach race between the English and the French explorer. On his arrival at Siout, Sir Archibald learned that M. Drovetti had set out for the Oases three days before; the only way, therefore, of being beforehand with him, was, to abandon the intended route by way of Esne, recommended by Belzoni, and to lose no time in getting across the Desert. The Frenchman, however, being determined not to be outwitted if he was outrun, has prudently got the start of his rival in publication; and by a slight change of date, has contrived to usurp the honour of his rival. The slip of memory in which this representation is supposed to have originated, our Author thus endeavours to rectify.

‘ M. Drovetti left Egypt at Siout, and proceeded to El Cargé by the regular caravan road; discovered there the two temples* mentioned above, omitted by M. Cailliaud, and then followed the same route by which we returned, by En Amour to Bellata. I cannot, however, but observe, that though he professes to have made this journey the latter end of the year 1818, it was in fact in the month of February, 1819; and whereas he announces himself as the first European who had visited the farther Oasis, or Valley of Dakel, in modern times, it escaped his memory, that on the 21st of February, about three or four in the afternoon, he, on his way to Bellata, about half a day's journey from it, met, and had some conversation with us, who were on our return. On his way back to the Nile, he followed the same course as we had taken in setting out.’ pp. 147, 8.

Leaving these tricks of travellers—we have often heard of tricks upon travellers—we proceed to give our readers an account of the information contained in the present volume.

The Western Oasis, as Sir Archibald distinguishes the newly discovered one, is divided from the Great Oasis by a low chain of mountains. The distance from Bellata to El Cargé, the principal town of the latter, is calculated to be 105 miles. A communication between the two Oases appears to have been regularly maintained. Heaps of broken pots and tiles presented themselves at stated intervals through the whole route, which our Author considers as indicating the spots formerly occupied by the Roman stations; and the same Cacheff is governor of the two districts. The silence both of ancient authors, with one exception, and of Arabic writers, respecting the further region, would seem best accounted for by the supposition, that it was considered as forming part of the Great Oasis.

* Those of Cazar el Goetta, and Cazar el Zian.

But the distance at which they lie from each other, and the ridge of mountain which forms a natural barrier between them, militate against this supposition; and Olympiodorus, though he states the Oases to be only three in number, gives an explicit description of the two larger ones as lying opposite to one another, a hundred miles apart; which corresponds to the situation of the Great Oasis and the Western. The more northerly Oasis, that of Siwah, the site of the ancient Ammon, has been explored by Messrs. Browne and Horneman, and more recently by the agents of Mr. Bankes. The Oasis Parva, (El Ouah El Cazar,) the one visited by Belzoni, lies at the distance of four or five days' journey to the S. E. of Siwah; it consists, like the Great Oasis, of a series of inhabited spots. The Western Oasis, Sir Archibald was assured, is the last inhabited tract in that direction—a complete *no-thoroughfare*. It extends from East to West, whereas the Great Oasis runs North and South; and is composed of twelve villages, ten of which are within five or six miles of each other: the remaining two are much further off at the entrance of the plain, and are scarcely looked upon as belonging to the district.

‘ Besides these, there are several enclosures well wooded with palm trees, containing springs, but the cultivators and proprietors reside in the neighbouring villages. The climate is extremely variable in winter. Sometimes the rains are very abundant and fall in torrents, as appears from the furrows in the rocks; but this season there had been none at all, and the total want of dew at this period proves the excessive dryness of the atmosphere. Violent winds are very prevalent, and the kamsin, (S.W.) which is with justice called the scourge of the desert, frequently blows in the months of May and June. The plague is quite unknown; but during the summer, when the heat is intense, fevers and agues are very general, which the Shekh attributed to the immoderate use of dates. This may be one of the causes, but what I should imagine conduces also to the insalubrity of that season, is, that the springs are all strongly impregnated with iron and sulphur, and hot at their sources; nor indeed can the water be used until it has been left to cool in an earthen jar, when it becomes more palatable. These springs never fail or vary at any season of the year, which is most fortunate for the natives, as their very existence depends upon them, there being no wells that I could observe. The soil is a very light red earth, fertilized entirely by irrigation, the water being conducted in small channels through the arable land. The principal produce is corn, chiefly barley and rice. Dates are an article of commerce with Egypt, and we often met caravans conveying them; lemons and citrons are also very plentiful in the gardens. The inhabitants are Bedouins.

A manufacture of indigo is carried on at Bellata. The commodity is the property of the richer inhabitants of the

villages, and is stated to be one of the very few articles of trade or manufacture which the Pasha, 'probably from ignorance of its existence here,' has not monopolized. This remote and insulated region, hitherto unknown to Europeans, has not eluded the notice, or escaped from the yoke of the present sovereign of Egypt. They pay an annual tribute, varying in amount according to the caprice of their Master; yet, though brought under this wholesome subordination, they appear not to share in the efficient protection of his government.

'The people are much exposed to the incursions of the Mograbin or Barbary Arabs, and occasionally suffer much from their depredations. Three years ago, a band of four hundred made an irruption, and after a severe contest, in which many lives were lost, retired, carrying off much booty. It is thirty days' march to Tripoli, reckoning ten hours to each.'

Alas! that man cannot, in the remotest oasis of the Desert, escape from the avarice and violence of his fellows, but is liable to the visitations of both in the shape of war and taxation; the scourge of uncivilized, and the drawback on civilized society. Add to this, that lions and tigers, though less dreaded than the men of prey, are not uncommon in the district. How this disturbs all one's associations with the word, to have an oasis, the very symbol of luxuriance, seclusion, and repose, the *adyta* of Nature, triple-guarded, one has been accustomed to think, like an enchanted castle, by being invisible, belted round with trackless sands, in the centre of which these *Μακρὰν νῆσον*, *islands of the blest*, flourish as by miracle—to have such a region unveiled to us as the scene of the common every day doings of mankind, the struggle of the weak with the strong, and, in common with every other part of Egypt, the cemetery of a mightier race! Temples and sepulchres, of a more modern date, indeed, than the gigantic monuments of old Egypt, yet, the restoration of which dates as far back as the Roman Emperors of the second century, impart to these districts the general character of this wonderful region, that of awful desolation and majestic ruin. Every where there are traces of the gigantic destroyer having succeeded to the giant architect; but both have passed away. The present race, thinly scattered over depopulated tracks, exhibits a physical decrepitude in strong contrast with all the monuments of the former possessors of the soil. And this impression follows the traveller even to the remotest point to which he can penetrate. At El Cargé, an object of high interest presented itself in a

spacious Necropolis, containing apparently not fewer than two or three hundred buildings of unburnt brick. They are

' ranged without attention to regularity, and of various sizes and shapes. The greater number of them, however, are square, surmounted by a dome, similar to the small mosques erected over Shekhs' tombs, having for the most part a corridor running round, which produces an ornamental effect very striking at a distance, and gives them a nearer resemblance to Roman, than to any existing specimen of Greek or Egyptian architecture. Some few are larger than the rest; one, in particular, is divided into aisles, like our churches; and that it had been used as such, by the early Christians, is clearly evinced by the traces of saints painted on the walls. Many have Coptic or perhaps Greek inscriptions, but written in a hand not legible, and a few Arabic. In all we entered, there is the Greek cross, and the celebrated Egyptian hieroglyphic, the *Crux Ansata*, which originally signifying life, would appear to be adopted as a Christian emblem, either from its similarity to the shape of the cross, or from its being considered the symbol of a state of future existence. But the great peculiarity is a large square hole in the centre of each, evidently for the purpose of containing a mummy, and which, from the scattered fragments and wrappings that lay scattered about, had probably been ransacked for the sake of plunder. It is therefore obvious, that these buildings formed a cemetery to the town which stood near or about the temple of El Cargé, and were subsequently used for sacred purposes by the Christian inhabitants, or, at a later period, as places of retreat to them when persecuted by the Mohammedans.

' I should imagine these sepulchres to be of Roman construction at an early period, since it is generally believed that the practice of embalming was gradually discontinued in Egypt after the extension of Christianity; but, among the various receptacles for the remains of the dead, from the stupendous pyramid to the rudest cavern, I know of none existing or recorded, at all corresponding with them in shape or appearance. Considering them, therefore, as highly curious from their structure, as well as unique of their kind, I sincerely hope that any future traveller who may come here, will particularly direct his attention to them; and that moreover he will be able to do what we could not, make faithful transcripts of the inscriptions.' pp. 108—10.

The representation of these sepulchres, given in M. Jomard's "*Voyage à l'Oasis de Thebes*," on the authority of M. Drovetti, conveys by no means, our Author says, a correct idea of them.

These Oases are connected with Christian history by the circumstance of their having been made the Patmos or the Siberia of the persecuted. Our Author cites St. Athanasius as complaining that the Arians had 'exceeded the Emperor's' orders, in exiling old men and bishops to places unfrequented 'and inspiring horror; for some were sent from Lybia to the

'Great Oasis, and others from the Thebaid to that of Jupiter 'Ammon.' To an exile, these 'happy islands,' though they had been thrice as luxuriant as they are, must have appeared a horrible solitude. The paradise of a hermit would be a desert to a prisoner. But had we any details relating to these Christian exiles, the recollections connected with them would give a higher interest to the region and the existing monuments, than any other circumstance in their history.

With regard to the formation of these spots of cultivable soil in the midst of barren sands, Sir Archibald decidedly agrees in opinion with Major Rennell, 'that the foundations of these islands were first laid by vegetation occasioned by springs, the decay of which vegetation produced soil, until it increased to the state in which we behold them. They appear universally surrounded by high lands, which will account for these springs.'

Art. V. *Songs of Zion*; being Imitations of Psalms. By James Montgomery, pp. 154. Price 5s. London. 1822.

IF it shall be found,' says Mr. Montgomery, 'that the Author has added a little to the small national stock of "psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs," in which piety speaks the language of poetry, and poetry the language of inspiration, he trusts that he will be humbly contented, and unfeignedly thankful.' This, Mr. Montgomery could not attempt to do, and fail. He is here, as a poet, on his own ground; for, in the treatment of religious subjects and the metrical adaptation of Scripture, he is unrivalled. As a lyric poet, Campbell may dispute the palm with him. As a devotional poet, he stands in the present day alone. Cowper is not always equally successful; nor does Charles Wesley, who, perhaps, comes the nearest to Mr. Montgomery in poetical spirit and devotional fire, display the same uniform good taste. These "*Songs of Zion*" are sixty-seven in number. They are, for the most part, close imitations of the Psalms; and the Author has evidently aimed chiefly at terseness and fidelity. Sometimes he has been eminently successful in giving an original character to the composition, and there is almost always great beauty in Mr. Montgomery's rhythm; but chasteness, simplicity of expression, and a certain energetic pithiness, are, we think, the prevailing characteristics. The execution is not, of course, in every instance equally successful; but, as a whole, the volume will be a highly acceptable addition to our sacred literature.

The CXXII Psalm has never before been rendered with

so happy a combination of strict fidelity and appropriate feeling.

- ' Glad was my heart to hear
My old companions say,
Come—in the house of God appear,
For 'tis an holy day.
- ' Our willing feet shall stand
Within the temple-door,
While young and old, in many a band,
Shall throng the sacred floor.
- ' Thither the tribes repair,
Where all are wont to meet,
And, joyful in the house of prayer,
Bend at the mercy-seat.
- ' Pray for Jerusalem,
The city of our God;
The Lord from heaven be kind to them
That love the dear abode.
- ' Within these walls may peace
And harmony be found;
Zion, in all thy palaces,
Prosperity abound!
- ' For friends and brethren dear,
Our prayer shall never cease;
Oft as they meet for worship here,
God send his people peace.'

In Psalms xc and xciii, the stanza is, in our judgement, much disfigured by the want of rhyme in the seventh line: it were otherwise a noble measure. The anapaestic is the least skilfully managed. There is a magnificent Psalm civ. But we have met with nothing in the volume, that has pleased us better than the following version of Luther's favourite, Psalm xli. It would afford a fine theme for Latrobe's musical science.

- ' God is our refuge and defence,
In trouble our unfailing aid;
Secure in his omnipotence,
What foe can make our soul afraid?
- ' Yea, though the earth's foundations rock,
And mountains down the gulf be hurl'd,
His people smile amid the shock,
They look beyond this transient world.
- ' There is a river pure and bright,
Whose streams make glad the heavenly plains;

Where, in eternity of light,
The city of our God remains.

• Built by the word of his command,
With his unclouded presence blest,
Firm as his throne the bulwarks stand ;
There is our home, our hope, our rest.

• Thither let fervent faith aspire ;
Our treasure and our heart be there ;
O for a seraph's wing of fire !
No,—on the mightier wings of prayer,—

• We reach at once that last retreat,
And, ranged among the ransom'd throng,
Fall with the Elders at *his* feet,
Whose name alone inspires their song.

• Ah, soon ; how soon ! our spirits droop ;
Unwont the air of heaven to breathe :
Yet God in very deed will stoop,
And dwell Himself with men beneath.

• Come to thy living temples, then,
As in the ancient times appear ;
Let earth be paradise again,
And man, O God, thine image here.

• Come and behold the works of God,
What desolations He will make ;
In vengeance when He wields his rod,
The heathen rage, their kingdoms quake :
He utters forth his voice ; —'tis felt ;
Like wax the world's foundations melt ;
The Lord of hosts is in the field,
The God of Jacob is our shield.

• Again he maketh wars to cease,
He breaks the bow, unpoints the spear,
And burns the chariot ;—joy and peace
In all his glorious march appear :
Silence, O earth ! thy Maker own ;
Ye gentiles, He is God alone ;
The Lord of hosts is in the field,
The God of Jacob is our shield.

We hope that Mr. Montgomery will supply at least some of the *hiatus*'s he has left in the series. How could he pass over Psalms xxxiv and cxlv, unless he intends to give another set ?

Art. VI. *The Village Lecturer ; a Series of Original Discourses adapted for Village Congregations and Families.* 12mo. pp. 232. Price 4s. 6d. London. 1822.

A "Village Lecturer," in all respects qualified for his duty, is a personage very rarely to be met with. Even where the moral pre-requisites for such a task, have been vouchsafed, it not unfrequently happens that the intellectual discretion necessary is wanting. That perpetual condescension of thought and language, which the conscientious village teacher will feel himself bound to practise, may, if sufficient care is not exercised, degenerate into what is colloquial and utterly below the gravity of scriptural ministrations. A discourse adapted to rouse and interest an auditory exclusively rustic, must, if it be not from first to last an offence against sound taste, derive its success, in a great measure, from the degree in which its language, imagery, and various turns of thought, are brought down to their mental habits and prevailing occupations. The accomplished instructor of Villagers, must, indeed, be any thing rather than an uninteresting preacher. The real cause of his success, is not the vulgarity of his conceptions, but the command which he has over them, and the skill with which he employs them as instruments in elevating the conceptions of his hearers. He might preach in Surry Chapel, or St. Paul's Cathedral, and whatever might be the intellect, or polish, or fashion of his auditory, the same ingenuity which suggested and gave effect to the lucubrations of the village, would render him the growing favourite of the city. A more fatal blow cannot be struck at the credit of the Gospel ministry or of Dissent, than by employing men as teachers in our villages, whose minds are altogether uninformed, and whose thoughts and habits approximate, as nearly as possible, to those of the people whom they affect to instruct. If such men will, in the superabundance of their vanity, venture to prophesy, let them do it; and let no law of man be sanctioned that would check their liberty; but let public bodies, as well as private individuals, be very careful of sanctioning an evil the consequences of which may be perpetuated throughout a series of generations. We do not, indeed, deem it necessary in all cases, that a "Village Lecturer" should have been bred in colleges or academies; much less do we think, that his character should invariably be clerical. But we do think that assurance must have reached a little beyond the points of modesty, when any man assumes the high character of a Christian instructor, who, in addition to partial and confused notions of Divine truth, is ignorant of his own mother tongue, and who, by his situation

in life, not less than by his tastes, is precluded the possibility of improvement. There are individuals in the walks even of laborious callings, who, although uneducated, are nevertheless distinguished by such a measure of good sense and discreet feeling, that village teaching could not fail, by the Divine blessing, to prosper in their hands. The number, however, of such individuals is so small, in comparison with those who are animated more by an itch of teaching than by the love of souls, that the safest method for the ordinary run of village teachers to pursue, is that of reading the discourses of others.

It has long been a matter of regret with us, that the instruction of our villages, exclusive of parish instruction, which is, too often worse than useless, is as generally abandoned to the illiterate, as if a law existed on the subject. How will our Dissenting squires answer their Lord another day, for thinking it enough that they gave their money to the support of itinerant labours? Is there any thing in the act of expounding the Scriptures to poor people in a cottage or in a barn, which could prove fatal to their rank in life? Would not their stepping forward in this good work, with hearts full of love to Christ, tend to rescue village itineracy from the obloquy to which it has so long, and, in some cases, so justly been exposed? Why do the intelligent and wealthy portion of the Dissenting world complain of the deficiency of our village labourers, while they hide their own talents in a napkin, and leave the work to others less fitted than themselves to discharge its duties? Could our voice be heard, we would lay this matter on the consciences of men of independence and reading; and should there be any thing in the idea of preaching to terrify them, we would conjure them to sanction the instruction of the poor, by the reading of suitable sermons to them.

A difficulty may arise, as to where a sufficient supply of Discourses suited to village purposes, may be found. It is true, there are not a great number of such Discourses. It cannot be denied, that good Village Lectures are nearly as scarce as Village Lecturers; yet, in the wide range of printed sermons, a few appropriate ones might be found; and the dead preacher has this advantage over the living one, that he may officiate in every village of England, at one and the same time.

Without venturing on the very delicate task of characterizing the village sermons of the day, a large proportion of which we consider as utterly unsuited to their professed object, we cannot forbear expressing our high sense of the merits of the unassuming volume before us. The Sermons which it contains, were, it appears, 'composed for a rustic audience in an obscure village;' and if remarkable simplicity of style, uniform

adherence to scriptural sentiment, impressive, though familiar imagery, a becoming regard to principles of sound taste, pointed appeal to the conscience, the total absence of all technical theology, and withal a running, enlightened exposition of the sacred oracles,—if these be the highest qualities of Discourses intended chiefly for the benefit of the labouring classes of the community, the “Village Lecturer” may be safely ranked with the first compositions of its kind.

Thirteen discourses on the following texts compose the volume. Sermon I. Death. Jer. xxviii. 16. II. The Gospel preached to the Poor. Matt. xi. 5. III. Winter. Psa. cxlvii. 17. IV. Sacrilege. Mal. iii. 8. V. The Advent of Christ. John, iii. 17, VI. The Christian’s Adversary. I John, iv. 8. VII. The Difficulty of Salvation. Mark, x. 27. VIII. Faith. Heb. xi. 1. IX. The same subject. Heb. ix. 1. X. God Grieved by Sin, Eph. iv. 30. XI. The Great Harvest. Matt. xiii. 29. XII. The End of Time, the End of Change. Rev. xxii. 10. XIII. The Redemption of the Body. Phil. iii. 30.

A careful examination of these Lectures will, as might be expected, discover them to be of various merit; but even the least interesting of them is very far from being dull or insipid. There is in them all, a lively play of ingenious thought, a rich vein of sound doctrine, and a Christian unction, which prevent them, as read, from palling upon the ear. We cannot conceive of the “Village Lecturer’s” audience being a sleepy one; or if it is, it must be from some fatal imperfection in the preacher’s manner. The first, second, fourth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth discourses, will, we think, be found to possess peculiar excellence. If we were to fix on any single quality in these Lectures as entitling them to public approbation, we should pronounce it to be that nice discrimination of character which they every where exhibit. There is in them no light dealing with the consciences of men. Their Author, in whatever part of the vineyard he may labour, is a student of the human heart, and doubtless knows his own.

As there are no brilliant attempts in the “Village Lecturer,” it would be impossible to do justice to it by mere quotation: it must be judged of as a whole. Yet, a few extracts will illustrate the peculiar qualifications of the Author for village instruction.

We shall take for our first extract the conclusion of the second sermon, on Matt. xi. 5. “The poor have the gospel “preached unto them.”

‘ 4. Once more. The gospel’s being preached to the poor, proved that our Lord was the promised Saviour, as it shewed the Divine freeness of the salvation he came to bestow;—that it was indeed the

gift of God, "without money and without price." This Isaiah particularly dwells upon as characterizing the gospel. "Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk without money and without price." And our Lord, probably in allusion to these very words, says, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." Thus was the scripture fulfilled in the freeness of his invitations. He asked no fees of his patients, no money of his scholars; and thus he was more especially the poor man's physician, the poor man's teacher, the poor man's friend. And he lays great stress upon this himself. He compares the kingdom of heaven, or the gospel, to a great supper, to which the rich and the noble who were invited, refused to come. "Then the master of the house said to his servants, Go out quickly into the lanes and streets of the city, and bring in hither the poor and the maimed, and the halt and the blind." And when there was still room—"Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."

The salvation of the gospel is without price, because it is above all price. Woe to those who, like Simon Magus, think to purchase the gift of God with money; or, which argues almost equal ignorance, would market for this salvation by alms-deeds, going to church, or any such heartless performances and fancied good works! Heaven is not to be bought, for God is infinitely too rich to sell his creatures happiness, and they are infinitely too poor to buy it, if it could be sold. Yet, in every age of the world, men have thought to earn or purchase heaven of their idols, their priests, or of Christ himself, either by penances and pilgrimages, or by some sort of fancied merit. This is a shocking mistake. The gospel was preached to the poor, to teach us, that it is as far above all price as above our deservings; that it is the gift of God to those who have nothing wherewith to pay. Had the blind, and the deaf, and the maimed, instead of applying to the Saviour to heal them, staid to try how far they could cure themselves, or how far they could keep up with Christ's other disciples in following him, as they were, that so they might deserve to be healed; or had they waited till they could offer payment,—had they even stopped to wash themselves, and make themselves more fit to appear before him,—the Saviour would have been gone, the opportunity passed. No, we must be healed first, and then follow Christ afterwards, who alone can give us strength of grace to follow him.

"The poor have the gospel preached unto them." How then say some persons now-a-days, that we are not to give the Bible to the poor,—that they cannot understand it? What is the Bible but this very gospel, which was first preached to the poor by Christ himself? When did it cease to be fit for them? The New Testament was written by plain though inspired men, and they wrote it for plain people; for of such were the first Christian churches chiefly composed. It is the rich, not the poor, who stumble at the hard sayings of the gospel. It is the learned, not the unlearned, who find difficulties in the Scriptures. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the

Spirit of God ; for they are foolishness unto him : neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." But to say that an unlearned poor man, who reads the Bible with prayer to God for the teaching of his Holy Spirit, shall be unable to understand it, is casting a reflection upon the wisdom of the Divine Author of the Bible.

' But if this be the case, how do some of the poor themselves think to be excused for neglecting the gospel altogether, because they are poor ? What do they mean by leaving religion, as they say, to their betters ; pretending that, as they have not had an education, they cannot understand these things, or that having to work hard for their bread, they have not time, and may surely be excused ? It cannot be that it requires learning to understand the gospel, because it was first preached to the unlearned. It cannot be that your poverty can excuse your neglect of it, for it was first preached to the poor.

' There seems to be a higher degree of ingratitude on the part of the poor in rejecting the gospel. It was first sent to them : it is, as it were, directed to them. Now, if to return a letter unopened to the person who sent it, is considered as one of the greatest affronts we can offer to a fellow creature, what less than an impious affront to the Divine Author of the gospel must it be, for a poor man to send it back unread, when it is thus declared to have been expressly meant for the poor ? Is your poverty to be an excuse for your ingratitude ? Do you imagine that God will surely not be angry for your treating his best gift and his message of mercy with contempt,—for your turning away from Christ, when in his gospel he speaks to you almost by name ?

' Or do you despise the gift, and esteem the offer mockery ? Do you think of God as a hard master, an unkind father, who, when you ask for bread, would give you a stone ? Such was not the character of the Saviour, who died for you. If the gospel was preached to the poor, then it must be what the poor, poor as they may be, chiefly want ; nay, in a sense, all that they want, to make them rich for ever. " For ye know," says St. Paul, " the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ ; that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." St. James speaks of those who were among " the poor of this world," but " rich in faith, and heirs of that kingdom which God hath promised to them that love him." And our Lord, in addressing the church at Smyrna, says, " I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty ; but thou art rich." Oh, he is the rich man, and only he, who has God for his friend, and heaven for his inheritance. But to be poor in this world, and yet have no well-grounded hope of happiness in the world to come ; this is to be poor indeed.

' " The poor have the gospel preached unto them." And unless we, in the Scripture sense of the word, become poor, we cannot enter into the kingdom of God. There is no merit in poverty. The poor have no claim on the mercy of God, which the rich have not. " There is no respect of persons with God." What makes it hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God, is, the deceitfulness of riches, and the love of this world. But by the same grace are the rich and

the poor alike saved, "through faith," and that not of themselves; "it is the gift of God," with whom all things are possible. Where this grace is given, it cannot fail to produce that self-abasement before God which was expressed by the poor publican, when, not daring to advance beyond the threshold of the temple, or to lift up his face to Heaven, he exclaimed, "God be merciful to me a sinner." It will teach us, that, rich as we may be, we must go to God as beggars, and as criminals, having nothing, and deserving nothing, yet expecting all things. O happy poverty, if it makes us thus poor in spirit! Blessed losses and afflictions, that strip us of our earthly dependencies, if they drive us to God as a refuge, and lead us to set our affections on the true riches, and wean us from the world! "Because thou sayest, I am rich," says our Lord in rebuking the Laodicean church, "and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich, and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see. As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten; be zealous, therefore, and repent." This is the fatal delusion which keeps men back from Christ: they say they are rich; they fancy they have need of nothing. And thus the gospel is still welcomed only by those who are in spirit, whatever they may be in circumstances, poor. "Blessed are the poor in spirit." The world may despise them, but "theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst after righteousness." They shall be "filled with good things," while "the rich," or those who fancy themselves such, are "sent empty away."

We can make room for only one more extract, and perhaps we cannot do better than give the close of the eleventh sermon, entitled, "The Great Harvest."

3. The end of the world will be a season of great joy. Harvest is all over the world accounted a season for rejoicing. O what a harvest home will that be!

It will bring joy to the reapers. "The reapers are the angels;" and those blessed servants of the Lord delight in their great Master's work. They rejoice now over one sinner that repenteth. They rejoice to bear the saint to Abraham's bosom, into the presence of Christ. They gladly "minister to the heirs of salvation." How great will then be their joy, when those things they desire to look into will all be made known, and all the company of redeemed sinners shall be brought home! What joy will be theirs in witnessing the triumph of the only-begotten of the Father, whom, at his coming into the world, they worshipped; no longer a man of sorrows and in the form of a servant, but clothed in the glory of his power! And with what joy will they proceed to gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, to execute his command on the tares, to bind Satan, to cast death and hell into the lake of fire! With what joy will they behold the burning of this world of sin, in which their Lord and ours was

crucified! In the vision which St. John saw, after the harvest of the earth had been reaped, "another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle. And another angel came out from the altar, who had power over fire: and cried with a loud voice to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth, for her grapes are fully ripe. And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God."

'That day will be a day of joy not only to his servants, but to the great Lord of the harvest. For then will be fulfilled that declaration, and never completely till then, (Isa. lxiii. 11.) "He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied." He shall behold the whole number of his spiritual offspring, the thousands, and tens of thousands, and thousands of thousands whom he has redeemed by his blood, out of every nation, and kindred, and people, and tongue, and shall be satisfied. He shall see, if we may so speak, the amount of his purchase, the extent of his conquests, and shall be satisfied. He "shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe." "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory." The Scriptures abound with the most magnificent descriptions of that glory, compared with which, all the sights that have ever been witnessed on this earth, all the grandeur of all the kingdoms of the world, vanish into nothingness. And then shall be sung a new song, in which not only the reapers at that great harvest shall join, but "every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, shall be heard taking part, saying, "Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever."

'O my friends, do we hope to take part in that song? We must, then, learn it here. Ask your own hearts whether that chorus is now echoed back from within you, and whether you really desire that the Saviour should come and reign, reign over you, and reign over the universe, as he will then reign. That Saviour must now be loved, and worshipped, and obeyed, if you would wish to be admitted into the glorious company of his saints and servants then.

'You and this Saviour must meet, eye to eye, and face to face. For "every eye shall see him, and they also who pierced him." Whether you shall meet him as your Saviour, whom, not having seen, you loved, depends on the reception you now give to his gospel. But meet him as your judge you must.

'It is awful to think, that there are many among us to whom that glorious harvest will not be a season of joy. Oh, if sinners would but believe, that, as surely as harvest follows seed-time, that day will come; could they then remain utterly careless whether they are growing up for heaven or for hell? This day the Son of Man is, by his word, going forth to sow. Shall it be all in vain? Will you disappoint your Saviour, disappoint the angels of heaven, by refusing to come to Christ, and so remaining as tares, as mere weeds in the

midst of the field of God? This may be the last time that the voice of mercy shall be addressed to some of you. Though the end of the world be even a thousand years distant, death is not distant from any of us; and in that sense, how soon may the end of the world be to you, when the language of the prophet shall describe your unhappy case: "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved." pp. 187—190.

The Author has prefixed to every sermon, 'lessons' appropriate to the subject; one from the Old Testament, and one from the New. This is an excellent plan. In the event of a second volume, we think that the Writer will do well uniformly to adhere to the analytical method. The objections to a formal division are more than counterbalanced by its advantages; especially by its enabling the preacher to take firmer hold of the memory. We take a cordial farewell of the Village Lecturer, hoping that his labours, both in the pulpit and from the press, will be long continued, and extensively blessed.

Art. VII. *Oriental Literature, applied to the Illustration of the sacred Scriptures*; especially with Reference to Antiquities, Tradition, and Manners; collected from the most celebrated Writers and Travellers, Ancient and Modern. Designed as a Sequel to *Oriental Customs*. By the Rev. Samuel Burder, A. M. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xii, 1184. Price 1l. 10s. London. 1822.

THE work to which these volumes are designed to form a sequel, has obtained so extensive a circulation, that it cannot be necessary for us to describe very particularly the nature of their contents, or to point out the value of such a compilation. The passages of Scripture selected for illustration in the present work, are, with very few exceptions, different from those which had before been taken. Most of the important Voyages and Travels published since the appearance of the "*Oriental Customs*," have been consulted and made use of; and the Author has also availed himself of much original matter introduced by Professor Rosenmüller into a German translation of that work. Upon the whole, this second collection does no small credit to Mr. Burder's diligence and extent of information.

We cannot be supposed to have examined very minutely the whole of the sixteen hundred articles of which the work consists. We have, however, carefully inspected the volumes; and the passages are very few which would furnish matter for serious objection. The chief fault is one into which the zeal of modern commentators has too frequently betrayed them; that of mistaking mere coincidence or apparent resemblance in

pagan customs for Scriptural illustration; and sometimes a sort of classic disguise is thrown over the simplicity of the original, which is almost buried beneath the redundant learning heaped upon it. This is particularly the case in many of the notes supplied by Rosenmüller. Of this description are most of the extracts from the Zendavesta, which, though sometimes curious, are, as respects the illustration of Scripture, for the most part worthless. Such is the character, too, of the style of illustration adopted in Nos. 56, 57, 185, 595, 759, 1518, &c. The supposed parallels from classic authors are often little better than learned trifling. For example, to illustrate the expression, Job iv. 5., "the hair of my flesh stood up," which one would think to be pretty plain English, we have from Homer,

‘ His hairs stood upright on his bending limbs,’

and Virgil's ‘ *Obstupui, steruntque comæ*,’ two citations from Ovid, one from Persius, together with some other references. Again, the words, "they that plough iniquity, and sow wickedness, reap the same," Job iv. 8. are illustrated from Æschylus, Persius, and a Persian adage. The mention of a "servant set over the reapers," Ruth ii. 5., gives occasion for the introduction of eleven lines from Homer, and fifteen of translation, not at all to the purpose. "As they sailed," Luke viii. 23., being in the original a metaphorical expression, affords a pretext for some trite citations from Homer and Virgil about 'ploughing the deep.' Our Lord's words, "one soweth and another reapeth," in like manner calls up the hackneyed lines, *sic vos non vobis*, with a translation. "Comfortless," John xiv. 18., suggests a long description of an orphan's condition, from Cowper's Homer, and an extract from Hanway's Travels in Persia, the pertinence of which we are utterly unable to discover. Apollonius Rhodius, and Nonnus, are cited in illustration of the words, John xx. 19, "when the doors were shut." And Paul's beckoning with his hand, Acts xxi. 40., reminds the worthy Illustrator of Virgil's saying of Turnus, ‘ *significat manu*.’ Now this is really very misjudged proceeding. With the help of Indexes and Lexicons, it were easy to go on at this rate furnishing Biblical illustrations almost *ad infinitum*. But what other conceivable end than that of eking out a volume most unprofitably, can such citations be thought to answer? The whole weight of this objection is, however, by no means intended to fall on Mr. Burder's shoulders, who has in this respect only followed in the steps of preceding commentators and illustrators. Adam Clarke's Notes on the Bible are sadly disfigured by inapposite and discordant citations

from heathen writers. Mason Good has pursued the same method of illustration to the most wearisome length. Verbal critics are generally bad commentators. But this quotation-hunting does not deserve the name of criticism. When a passage is very obscure, it may, indeed, have its use; otherwise it is mere boy's play, and quite below a Scripture commentator.

A more serious objection lies against the pernicious mode of illustration adapted in No. 1182; and though it has the name of Rosenmüller annexed to it, Mr. Burder should have known better than to give it insertion. The German critic would refer demoniacal possessions altogether into 'the modes and figures' of speech prevalent at that time.'

'When it is said in Matt. viii. 30., that the evil spirits of those possessed, had prayed Jesus to allow them to go into the swine, it is *without doubt meant*, that those lunatics had run full speed towards the swine, and driven them into the sea.'

This is not oriental illustration, and therefore it is foreign from the professed design of the work: it is German criticism of the worst kind; that which substitutes boldness of assertion for sound induction and Scriptural theology.

We have been surprised to detect a few palpable inaccuracies in the portions of the work furnished by the learned Professor. In No. 749, we are told, that 'Zion is the general name' of the mountain on whose irregular eminence the city of 'Jerusalem was built,' and that "the daughter of Zion" means Jerusalem. This is a strange blunder. Josephus might have taught the Professor better as to the first point, who expressly tells us, that Jerusalem, including Zion, was built on two separate mountains, to one of which only was the name of Zion ever applied. "The daughter of Zion," we apprehend, is an expression employed to denote the city, in contradistinction to the mountain of which it is figuratively represented as the daughter.

No. 764 contains the following comment on the words: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever." Psalm xlv. 6.

'The poet, in the above words, addresses the king by the title of god, because, according to the opinion of the ancients, kings were the representatives of the gods, and had their dignity from them, for which reason they were also called the sons of the gods. Hence it is said of princes, in Psalm lxxxii. 6., *Ye are Gods; and all of you are children of the Most High*. According to the testimony of several ancient writers, *god* was the common title of the king among the Assyrians and Persians.'

It is much to be regretted, that the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had not Dr. Rosenmüller at his elbow, when he

cited the passage referred to in proof of the Divinity of the Messiah. It is astonishing how much better acquainted some modern Biblical critics are with the true meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures, than the disciple of Gamaliel and the Jews of his day appear to have been. How many errors might the latter have avoided had they studied at Leipsig!

Nos. 1253, 1373, and 1424, are specimens of the absurd attempt to identify the holy places in defiance of history and topography. The residence of Pilate, 'il arco d'ecce homo,' the fissure in the rock, &c. are gravely particularized. It is high time that Protestant writers discarded these silly legends; and we would recommend Mr. Burder to exclude them from his next edition, which he may render much more valuable by consulting the recent publications of Dr. Richardson and Mr. Jowett. For the curious piece of Ethiopic history contained in No. 1395, the Author should have given us some authority. We regret to have objections to urge on the score of delicacy, to the very unnecessary details contained in Nos. 190; 872, 940, and a few others. We expect a severer regard to decency in illustrations of the Scriptures, than might be tolerated in notes on Juvenal or Catullus. These numbers might be expunged without any detriment to the work.

We have thus marked out some work for Mr. Burder in the event of a second edition. We should indeed earnestly recommend a very diligent revival of the volumes, and copious excisions. It is, however, but fair to remark, that the exceptions pointed out bear a very small proportion to the mass of interesting and valuable matter which the Author has brought together, and for which he deserves the thanks of Biblical students. The volumes are, we are sorry to notice, exorbitantly dear.

Art. VIII. *Munusculum Juventuti: Seu Phœdri Fabulæ Versibus Hexametris concinnatæ; necnon Specimina quædam Solutæ Oratiōis, non tam ad Sensum earundem Fabularum aperiendū, quam ad Regulas Lingvæ Latinæ illustrandis accommodatæ. Authore Daniel French, Armig. Jure-Consulto. Londini: In Ædibus Valpianis. 1821. 8vo. pp. 187. Price 2s.*

THIS work is replete with specimens of elegant Latinity, and is amply sufficient to procure for its Author the praise of erudite and accomplished scholarship. But beyond this, the *cul de sac* of the publication is not very apparent. The instructive Apologues of Æsop may perhaps be rendered more easy and pleasant to the young scholar, by being conveyed in Hexameter lines, as the Author suggests; but this circumstance will not, we apprehend, induce a judicious Master to supersede the use

of Phædrus's Iambics, by introducing in 'their place this modern version of the Fables in Hexameter verse. Nor can we offer to the learned Author any better encouragement in respect to another undertaking which he purposes, and of the execution of which several specimens are included in the "*Munusculum Juventuti*." We refer to a projected Translation of the papers of Addison and Johnson into Latin; a task which, laborious and difficult as it might be to perform, we have no doubt Mr. French would complete in a very able manner. But who would read the *Spectators* and the *Ramblers* in Latin, were it even of the highest excellence? We cannot flatter the Author with the hope of receiving from the *litteratissimi Viri* whose opinions he is so anxious to obtain in reference to his design, such approbation of his purpose, as will furnish him with any adequate inducement to proceed.

The morals which the Author has appended to the Fables, will sometimes surprise and amuse the reader. Napoleon and the Duke of Enghien find a place in that of the Wolf and the Lamb, *Lupus et Agnus*. The former personage figures again in the Dog and the Shadow, *Canis Natans*, and in some other instances; and the Republicans of France have not escaped the Author's notice. The Jackdaw, *Graculus Superbus*, suggests the following reflections in rebuke of certain learned ladies, who are, we think, rather hardly dealt with by the Author, in being made exclusively the objects of his *vituperative* sentences, while so many of the other sex are neither less pedantic nor less heedless of the maxim, *Suum cuique tributo*.

' Quoties hanc fabulam considero, toties mihi in mentem venire solet irridendarum istarum mulierum, quarum audacia eò processit, ut libros quos ipsæ intelligere vix possint, suos nominibus inscriptos ediderint. Nulla ferè scientia est, utcunque rerum abstrusarum referta, quin aliqua mulier impudentissima, hæc nostrâ ætate, eam hominibus explanandam susceperit. Quid autem si, ad exemplar tumentis Graculi, plumæ omnes alienæ, quibus opera eorum (*sermō*) splendescunt, avulsæ forent? Quanta appareret deformitas, si ornamentis illis quibus eas callidorum hominum exornavit industria, spoliarentur subito ac denudarentur? O temporum immutati mores! ex capitibus scilicet mulierum ad illuminandum humanum genus Minervæ prosiliunt!!'

We shall extract one of these fables as a specimen: we take the first in the book.

' LUPUS ET AGNUS.

FACILE EST OPPRIMERE INNOCENTUM.

' Ad rivum veniẽre Lupus simul Agnus eundem,
Compellente siti: steterat Lupus altior Agno,
Agnusque inferior longè; tunc fauce cruentâ

Latro commotus rixas et jurgia quærit ;
 Quidnam tu mihi turbasti sic sordibus undam ?
 Laniger huic contra timidus : Quod tu, Lupe, dicis
 Qui possit fieri ? à te decurrit mihi lympa.
 Vera fides inerat dictis ; quibus ille repulsus,
 Ante hos sex menses, inquit, mihi tu maledicis.
 Tunc Agnus : Non natus eram quo tempore dicis.
 Non à te, sed patre tuo, maledicta recepi,
 Respondet, captumque necat violentus et atrox.
 ' Propter eos homines parva est hæc fabula scripta,
 A quibus insontes vel vi vel fraude premuntur."

For the sake of ready comparison, we subjoin the original Fable from Phædrus.

* LUPUS ET AGNUS.

Ad rivum eundem upus et agnus venerant,
 Siti compulsi ; superior stabat lupo,
 Longèque inferior agnus : tunc fauce improba
 Latro incitatus, jurgii causam intulit.
 " Cur," inquit. " turbulentam mihi fecisti aquam
 Istam bibenti ?" Laniger contra timens,
 " Qui possum, quæso, facere, quod quereris, lupo ?
 A te decurrit ad meos haustus liquor."
 Repulsus ille veritatis viribus,
 " Ante hos sex menses malè," ait, " dixisti mihi."
 Respondit agnus, " Equidem natus non eram."
 " Pater, herculè, tuus," inquit, " maledixit mihi."
 Atque ita correptum lacerat, injustâ nece.
 ' Hæc propter illos scripta est homines fabula,
 Qui fictis causis innocentes opprimunt.'

Art. IX. *On the Means of obtaining Satisfaction with Regard to the Truth of Religious Sentiments* : a Sermon delivered at a Monthly Association of Ministers. By John Pye Smith, D.D. 8vo. pp. 30. Price 1s. London. 1822.

NO notion more pernicious in its influence, can be taken up by the young inquirer after truth, than that to which the differences of religious belief among real Christians have sometimes given rise, or afforded a pretext, namely, that satisfaction with regard to the truth of religious sentiments is unattainable. The adoption of this error is a first and fatal step in the labyrinth of sceptical sophistry ; and the mind having wandered thus far, is soon in its doubtful mazes lost. The individual must already have deserted the path of religious obedience, and parted with the docility of a learner, before he could embrace such a notion. Or else he must never have set out in earnest in the inquiry. Dr. Smith has ably exposed, in the first part

of this very valuable discourse, the common and principal sources of this error; and having shewn its fallacy, he proceeds to detail the means of arriving at such a moral assurance in the discrimination of religious truth and error as is compatible with the present imperfect state of our nature. His directions are brief, comprehensive, and axiomatic, well worthy of being transcribed into the common-place book of every theological student; and a simple-minded observance of them cannot fail, with the Divine blessing, to conduct the inquirer to assured satisfaction. We select the first direction, the first both in order and in importance.

‘ I. Our first, constant, and most watchful care should be, that our minds be *rightly affected* towards the Blessed Author and Revealer of all religious truth.

‘ Religious truth is but another name for *thinking justly* concerning God. But it is directly impossible to think justly in relation to any being, if the state of our feelings or affections towards that being are unjust. A wrong bias of the passions, or of that secret principle which determines our desires and aversions, the seat of mental taste, the spring of temper and character, what is usually called in scripture, “the heart;”—a wrong bias of this will infallibly impress a wrong direction on the exercises of the judgment; and, the further it moves in the wrong direction, the wider must be its distance from the line of truth. Now every possible perfection, all natural grandeur, all moral loveliness, belongs infinitely to God. “Who is like unto thee, O Lord; glorious in holiness? How great his goodness, and how great his beauty!” If the feelings of our hearts towards him are not those of sincere and fervid admiration, love, and reverence, we treat him with injustice, injustice gross and shameful in proportion to the degree of its contrariety to the fact; and that contrariety is infinite. It cannot but follow that our sentiments concerning God, his purposes, his commands, and his operations, will partake of this inward injustice, this practical falsehood. It is the dictate of sound philosophy, not less than of revelation; “They that forsake the law, praise the wicked: evil men understand not judgment; they love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.” There can be no *free inquiry*, till the mind is freed from the worst and strongest of prejudices, the prejudices of a sinful state.

‘ He, then, that would have a satisfactory assurance that he is holding the truth of God, must cherish all right affections towards God. He must “walk in the light,” and then “will he see light.” He must keep ever fresh and lively on his soul the impressions of veneration and love for all the perfections of the glorious Deity, joy and gratitude for his dominion, a cordial and delightful approbation of his government in all its acts, and of his will in all its expressions: O let it be the object of our perpetual desires and efforts, to be practically conformed to God’s approving will! Such communion with him is living in the very atmosphere of light, and it will shed a convincing brightness upon all the fields of nature and revelation. The value of religious

truth lies in its being the real expression of the counsels, acts, and decisions of the Blessed God. Devotedness to him will cause us to love truth for this very reason, and to study it, not as a barren theory or a refined speculation, but with that warmth of just feeling which is the same, in the matters of religion, as a correct taste and a noble enthusiasm are, in relation to the beauties of nature, or the exquisite labours of genius and art. A Michael Angelo differs not more from the most grovelling barbarian, than does a holy Christian from an unsanctified speculatist. "My doctrine," said the Lord Jesus, "is not mine, but His who sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God. Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." pp. 17—19.

We are anxious that this Sermon should not be considered as an ephemeral publication. It forms a most useful tract to be put into the hands of every student on his entrance upon theological inquiries.

Art. X. *Cursory Remarks on the Evil Tendency of unrestrained Cruelty; particularly on that practised in Smithfield Market.* 8vo. pp. 26. London. 1823.

'WE have heard much,' says the benevolent Writer of these Remarks, 'of the barbarities and horrors of slavery,—of the savage and brutalizing exhibitions which degrade and disgrace other ages and other countries—of the Spanish bull-fights—of the gladiatorial combats, and other barbarous shows of the Roman amphitheatre;—but, on no part of the globe, in no age of the world, can I imagine scenes of more atrocious cruelty, of more fiend-like depravity, than those exhibited in *Smithfield Market*.' We believe that this is not too strongly put. In the exhibitions alluded to, there was, for the most part, a display of strength or of courage,—with the exception, indeed, of the barbarities inflicted on slaves. But the atrocities to which this pamphlet refers, are characterized by unmixed, wanton, useless, dastardly cruelty. They are such as seem to leave a reflection on the very countenances of those who are inured to them. There is nothing in human nature so expressive of brutal callousness combined with worse than brutal ferocity, as the countenance of the Smithfield drover. It is impossible to meet one of those wretched beings without shuddering. They always recal to us the pike and the guillotine of the days of Robespierre. Or rather, the fiends who kindled the flames of martyrdom in the very spot still consecrated to cruelty, might seem to survive in these men.

Cruelty to a beast cannot be placed on a par, as an evil, with cruelty to a fellow being: it can scarcely, however, be

regarded as an inferior crime. 'The moral turpitude involved in either modification of cruelty, differs scarcely in degree. Our treatment of animals,' it is well remarked, 'may be regarded as an accurate criterion of our humanity towards our own species. Whoever, from motives of interest, vanity, passion, or caprice, subjects them to oppression or unnecessary suffering, will, from the same motives, oppress and afflict his own species, whenever he can do it with impunity.' This is the true light in which to view the subject. Human laws, having for their object the protection of human life and property, can take cognizance, in many cases, only of the amount of loss or injury incurred, even when the crime is of the blackest dye. But the scale of moral turpitude is regulated by other considerations: it is the disposition from which the act proceeds, that constitutes the essence of criminality. It is not what the brute suffers, but what the man becomes, that forms the most dreadful part of the effect of cruelty towards animals. The Writer judiciously seizes this point.

'It deducts nothing,' she remarks, 'from the barbarity of those fiend-like tormentors, to imagine that their patient victims have a less acute perception of bodily pain than themselves; that their sufferings, whatever they may be, will soon be over; for such considerations have no place in the mind of the brutal drover. He goads the patient animal in the most tender and sensitive parts of his body: he strikes it upon the head and the horns, not because he hopes it does *not*, but because he sees that it *does* feel acutely. The consideration that their sufferings will soon terminate, is, indeed, soothing to those who deeply sympathize with, but have no power to relieve them; but it does nothing to palliate the guilt of imbittering the concluding period of their short existence—of prolonging and aggravating the pains of dissolution. But it is the dreadful effects produced by the practices I have described upon our own species, upon the agents rather than the victims of cruelty, which demand the most serious consideration. On the sufferings of the animals, perhaps, I have dwelt too long; for, being as much as ourselves the creatures of God, we may be assured they cannot escape his observation. "His tender mercies are over *all* his works." "Not a sparrow falleth to the ground without his knowledge." Consequently, He will not suffer them to be abused and tormented with impunity.'

The subject demands the attention of every Christian philanthropist. It is connected with personal duties which cannot be devolved on the Legislature. The act recently passed for the prevention of cruelty to animals, on which the friends of humanity have been congratulating themselves, is important chiefly, perhaps, on account of the principle which it recognises. Its efficiency must depend on the state of public feeling,

in concurrence with the efficient vigilance of the magistracy. But there are numberless cases which legislative enactments cannot reach. The only effectual remedy of the evil is to be found in the most rational means of bringing about a change in the feelings of the lower classes themselves—by the humanizing effects of moral and religious instruction. The Writer earnestly advocates, as a most efficient exercise of benevolence, the visiting of the habitations of the poor.

‘The labours of Christian missionaries,’ she remarks, ‘are as much wanted among the poor heathen at home as abroad. The great storehouse of Christianity will furnish abundant means of softening and humanizing the hearts of these savage drovers. They themselves may never have experienced the genial influence of sympathy and kindness; their hard and rugged fate may have stilled the feelings of humanity, which Christian charity will easily find the means of re-kindling. To the fastidiousness of selfish refinement, such visits may appear offensive and revolting; but Christian refinement makes different estimates, and will shrink from no labour of love, by which a fellow-heir of immortality may be rescued from moral degradation and misery.’

Surely, Newgate or the crowded gaol is not a more promising or advantageous sphere for such a moral experiment, than the separate tenement of the individual who has not broken the laws of his country. The great example of Mrs. Fry will be more than half lost upon us, if it is not followed up without the walls, as well as within the gloomy precincts of our gaols,—in the alleys of our towns and the cottages of our hamlets, as well as in our prisons and penitentiaries. In the mean time, whilst the work of Christian instruction and civilization is gradually going forward, the exercise of *authority* ought to be immediately interposed. The barbarities almost peculiar to Smithfield market, might, as the Writer shews in detail, be greatly mitigated, if not wholly prevented. Other scenes of cruelty might be, to a great extent, put a stop to by the combined interference of a few active individuals of nerves strong enough to steel them against the ‘world’s dread laugh.’

The suggestion has, we believe, been thrown out, and it is a most valuable one, that an immense nuisance to society would be considerably abated, were Smithfield market-day to be changed from Monday to Tuesday. The scenes of cruelty and horror which are detailed in this pamphlet, commence on Sunday evening;—‘a shocking conclusion,’ it is remarked, ‘of the Christian sabbath.’ But the conclusion answers to the beginning as it is passed on *the Road*. These unhappy drovers are Sabbath-breakers by a sort of necessity, but it is a neces-

sity of man's creating. The extent to which the Lord's day is openly disregarded, owing to this single circumstance of Monday's being market day, is almost incalculable; while such is the state of the roads, that the opulent and the polite cannot travel on the Sunday without annoyance—a consideration which, we are not without hope, may have its use in leading to some redress of the evil.

Art. XI. *Journal of a Tour from Astrachan to Karass, North of the Mountains of Caucasus*; containing Remarks on the General Appearance of the Country, Manners of the Inhabitants, &c. with the Substance of many Conversations with Effendis, Molles, and other Mahommedans. By the Rev. William Glen, Missionary, Astrachan. 12mo. pp. 228. Price 4s. London. 1823.

THE Tour from Astrachan to Karass, the most attractive feature of the title page, is the least interesting part of the contents of this little volume. Till the Travellers came within sight of Beshtow, the first of the Caucasus chain which becomes visible on approaching Karass, a Tartar village, or Calmuc cavalcade, here and there occurring, was nearly all that broke the dead monotony of the route. Incidents in a desert are not to be looked for; at least, are not to be desired, as they are most likely to be of a kind for which the traveller would pay dearly. But the Author met with no worse assailants than moschitoes, and arrived in due time at the interesting missionary colony which has planted itself on the Northern confine of Caucasus. A description of the settlement is given by Mr. Glen, which will be found interesting. 'The climate in these valleys,' he says, 'differs not materially from that of the valleys among the hills in our native country.' The soil is a rich black loam, and the lands are exceedingly well watered with a great many excellent springs. A few Scotch farmers might, with 'a few thousands to begin improvements,' bring the Colony, says the Author, to a pitch of respectability which would be highly honourable to their country. The German settlers, it appears, with the exception of a few families, 'are ordered to leave the Colony, and settle elsewhere.' It would have been as well if Mr. Glen had explained the circumstances which have led to this apparently arbitrary and oppressive exercise of absolute authority. *During pleasure* is a very precarious tenure for settlers in the Russian dominions; and some security would require to be given to the Scotch colonist, that he should not, when he had sunk his 'few thousands,' be sent away after the Germans.

The larger and most valuable portion of the volume is occupied with missionary details. The Christian missionary is here brought into contact, not with the brutal stupidity of heathenism, but with the more subtle and specious infidelity of Mahommedanism. It is here that the best field would seem to present itself for commencing a direct attack on Islamism, under the shelter of a Christian power. This consideration gives peculiar importance to the Mission which has chosen for its sphere this remote mountain region. At the time of Mr. Glen's arrival at Karass, the chief thing that occupied the attention of the Cabardians and the other Mahommedans on the lines, was 'a kind of circular letter from Mecca, warning all good Mussulmans that the Day of Judgement was at hand, and solemnly exhorting them to repentance.' This document is described as altogether

'one of the most glaring impositions ever practised on the credulity of the ignorant, and absolutely below contempt, were it not that the interest which the ringleaders of Islamism take in promoting its circulation, serves to shew the idea which they have formed of the blindness of the common people; while the credit it met with, and the alarm it is said to have excited, go far to prove that their ideas on this point are not far from being correct. Among other methods prescribed for escaping the wrath to come, the following is worthy of notice;—paying fifty copelks to a writer for transcribing a copy of the circular for the use of the faithful. Of this part of it, Shorah himself seemed to be ashamed.'

Shorah was a Cabardian nobleman. The conversation with him is a fair specimen of the objections and reasonings of the acuter Moslems.

'Having disposed of preliminary topics, Mr. Galloway asked him whether he had been reading the New Testament he had received from the missionaries, and how he liked it? In reply, he had no faults to find with the morality of the gospel; but he could not believe that Jesus was the Son of God. It was impossible in the nature of things that it could be so. How could God have a son! The idea he could not comprehend; the doctrine he could not receive. After directing his attention to what the Scriptures teach respecting the constitution of our Saviour's person, as being "Immanuel, God with us," we told him, that though we firmly believed the union of the Divine and human nature in the person of Christ, on the authority of God's own word, we did not profess to comprehend the nature of the union, nor pretend to explain it; adding, at the same time, that the incomprehensibility of the doctrine furnished no more reason for refusing to embrace it, when plainly revealed, than our inability to comprehend the nature of the union of soul and body, did for denying the obvious fact, that the body which we know to be a material substance, is animated by a spiritual substance named the soul. He

answered, This does not apply to the case in hand. Man, from his nature is a changeable being, but God unchangeable; and if Christ had been God by nature, he never could have become man, because this implies mutability; according to this doctrine, his nature must have undergone a change when he became man. To obviate this objection, we told him, that though his assumption of human nature did imply the commencement of a new relation, which had no existence before, it did not imply, nor was it necessary it should imply, any change in his Divine nature. In illustration of this, we remarked, there was a time when there was no world. This he admitted, as also that God made the world and all which it contains, without sustaining any change in his nature. Here, then, we told him, is the case of the commencement of a relation which had no existence till the world was made; yet the Divine nature continued, and does continue, the same. No change of nature is implied: and neither is a change of nature implied in Christ's taking a human body and soul into union with his Divine person. Such reasonings, he rejoined, may satisfy Christians, who have been accustomed to hear them from infancy, and to whom a belief in this doctrine is a kind of second nature; but could never satisfy Mahommedans, who believe that *God is one*, and that he is eternally and unchangeably the same. We told him that there was one way in which even he might satisfy himself of the truth of the doctrine of the Bible respecting the character of the Messiah, and that Christ himself had pointed it out; "If any man will do his will, the same shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." In illustration of this interesting and highly encouraging promise, for such it must be to the humble inquirer, we recommended walking in the way which Messiah had pointed out, by reading in the scriptures of truth, the testimony which God had given concerning his Son, by ordering his conversation accordingly, and praying the Father of mercies to guide him into the knowledge of the truth for the sake of *Him* who is the only Mediator between God and man. When about to offer some additional remarks of a hortatory nature, a circumstance occurred, which interrupted the conversation. and the prosecution of the discussion was of course put off till a more convenient season.

The usual 'strong hold' of the Mahommedans, we are told, is, 'the supposed absurdity of the sonship of Christ.' It is remarkable how the extremes of human wisdom and ignorance sometimes meet, when religious truth is the stumbling-block. Infidelity is the same every where. Mr. Glen's reply was, that

'the term *Son*, when applied to the Messiah, is not to be understood literally, as suggesting the idea that he was begotten as men are; but in a spiritual or figurative sense, in which it may signify, that as a son has the same nature as his father, and stands in a peculiar relation to him, so the Messiah is a partaker of the Divine nature, and stands in a peculiar relation to God the Father.'

On this, it was acutely urged, that the human nature of Christ began to exist in time, and that the term Messiah must apply to him only from the time that he became man. This, of course, was admitted; and Mr. Glen read part of the first chapter of John in further illustration of the pre-existence and deity of the "Word" who "was made flesh." The ground of objection was now shifted: How could an unchangeable Word become man? How could an unchangeable being die? When the sophistry of these objections was exposed, the Effendi, with a degree of assurance which astonished the Writer, denied the matter of fact, that Christ did die, maintaining that the story of his crucifixion was altogether a deception. They are taught to believe, that

'The Messiah having been apprehended and confined in a small apartment or hole, from which there was no egress but one, the angel Gabriel came and asked him why he did not make his escape? He answered, that the opening was barely sufficient for his head, and far too small for his shoulders to pass. Gabriel told him to use the sign of the cross, and he would find the opening sufficient. He did so, and having thus effected his escape, *ascended to heaven far beyond the reach of his foes.*'

The belief given to this legend by these metaphysical objectors to the Sonship of our Lord, will serve to shew how very slight a portion of natural acuteness or of mental cultivation is requisite to make an accomplished sceptic or a philosophical Unitarian.' To disputes like these there would be no end. The appeal on either side lay to sacred books whose authority was respectively questioned by the contending parties; the New Testament and the Koran. The Mahomedans admit that the *Tourat*, (the Law) and the *Zabir* (the Psalms), and even the *Angile* (the Gospel), came from God; but, as to the latter, they contend, that the Scriptures now in the hands of Christians, have been corrupted, and are consequently not to be trusted. Here they substantially agree with certain English Unitarians, although they do not know so well how to go about expunging offensive chapters and alleged interpolations, and adapting the Angile, by an improved version, to their own notions. Mr. Glen, however, frankly informed them, that, 'centuries before Mahommed, there were Arians who, like Mahomedans, denied the Divinity of Christ; but they never called in question the authority of the New Testament, which they well knew was the same which had been put into the hands of the fathers of the Christian Church by the Apostles.' This is, indeed, an important part of the chain of external evidence which attests the authenticity of the New Testament; and the laborious efforts of Unitarian critics

to make the existing text speak in unison with their dogmas, is a forcible admission that its general purity is unimpeachable. But talk of the external evidences of Christianity to men who feel no want of a Saviour, who have no sense of guilt, who do not seek for consolation, and how can you hope to convince those whom you must fail to interest? This was the case with the mollahs and effendis with whom our Author was brought into contact. They felt for the honour of their faith, but attached no other interest to the subject of religion. One of these disputants put this intelligent question to the missionaries: 'How could Christ atone for the sins of others, when he was a sinner himself?' The answer may be anticipated; but the declaration that Christ knew no sin, was strengthened by the application of the *argumentum ad hominem* drawn from the doctrine of the effendis, that certain of the ancient prophets, and among others the Messiah, were altogether free from sin. This answer disconcerted the objector.

Policy restrained the Missionaries from making a direct attack on the Koran. 'Had we told them point blank,' says Mr. Glen, 'that we disbelieved the Koran, the first thought that occurred to them would in all probability have been, 'They are infidels, and speak blasphemy, why hear them further?' We do not, however, quite understand the necessity or propriety of treating the forgeries of the Arabian impostor with all the respect which our Author manifests towards the book. In a note to one of the conversations, in which an effendi, maintaining the unparalleled sublimity of the Koran, says, 'I refer to the sentiments and doctrines, as well as to the language,' Mr. Glen remarks: 'Even with this modification, how *unsatisfactory* the evidence of the Divine original of the Koran; admitting for the sake of argument, that its sublimity, if not unrivalled, has never been surpassed!' And again: 'How *improbable* that God, who is "merciful and wise," should have withheld from a prophet of Mahommed's pretensions, the proofs of his Divine legation with which his predecessors were furnished!' If it was requisite to adopt this subdued and diffident tone in encountering the prejudiced Moslem, surely, it cannot be advisable, nor is it appropriate or seemly, in addressing Christian readers. But we cannot but suspect that a direct though temperate attack upon the Koran itself, would be, in many instances, a *successful* mode of proceeding. The work, as a whole, cannot bear inspection; nor is it any proof of its authority having a strong hold on the effendis themselves, that they boast of the sublimity of its composition. This argument could have little force with the common people. The New Testament is the more interesting

book of the two; and when it is once introduced, the Koran will be unable to stand its ground. That 'the Moslem, when they begin to reason, will cease to believe,' is a position sanctioned by present appearances. The Missionaries resident at Karass state, that there is an obvious 'growth of a spirit of indifference' on the part of the natives 'in observing the rites of their own religion.' 'This fact,' they say, 'is notorious, and often deplored by their effendis, as a sign that religion is coming to an end.' This expectation is surely a symptom of conscious weakness. Many of the effendis themselves are probably little better already than concealed infidels. There are some fiery zealots among them; but this spirit seems dying away, although there is too little disposition to embrace the Gospel of Christ. And this superficial change may be rejoiced in as the probable prelude to the fall of Islamism, when, by means of education, the truths of Christianity shall have been brought to bear on the minds of the people.

Of the mountain tribes in the district bordering on Karass, we have the following account. From the north side of Al-burrows, the Cuban takes its rise; the banks of which, near its source, are peopled by the Caratchai, a tribe of about 300 families, speaking a dialect of the Tartar, interspersed with a number of words not in use upon the lines. Like the Cabardians, they are Mahommedans.

'Beyond the Caratchai, on the south-west line, live the Hashipsi, or, as the Cabardians name them, Abazas, who speak a language of their own, differing from the Tartar, the Cabardian, and that of the neighbouring tribes. They, too, are the followers of Mohammed. The rivulets by which their country is watered, run towards the Black Sea. At a still greater distance, is another people named the Sounas, who, like the Abazas, have a language of their own, which bears no resemblance to any which the Cabardians have had an opportunity of hearing. They call themselves Christians, and their books, or rather those of their forefathers, which none of them can read, are lodged in their churches, which are falling into decay. Of this people there are three tribes, one of which is only about thirty versts from the Abazas. The other two tribes are distant from the Abazas about two days journey on the other side of the mountain. Between the Abazas and Georgia, the mountains are impassable for persons on horseback, but may be crossed, though not without difficulty, by a few active young men on foot. On the north-east of Al-burrows, the Shegim river takes its rise, directing its course to the Caspian. On the banks of it, to a considerable distance from its source, live the Shegims. The number of families belonging to the tribe is from two to three hundred. They profess the Mohammedan religion, and speak a dialect of Tartar language. Farther down, however, the banks of the Shegim are peopled by the Cabardians,

whose border, on the south, extends from the Caratchai country, along the bottom of the snow mountains, as far as the eye can reach. Their northern frontier, in the neighbourhood of Beshtow, is the Podcuma, a few versts distant from the spot on which we took our observations. West of the Abazas, the mountains are inhabited by various tribes, the greater part of which speak dialects of the Cabardian, Abaza, and Tartar languages. East of the Shegima, they are inhabited by tribes, speaking dialects of a great many different languages, of which the most noted are the Tchitchian and Ossitinian.' pp. 103—105.

Of these and other Eastern tribes, they could obtain no minute information. The missionary settlement at Karass is known by report, more or less, among all these mountain tribes; and the opinion entertained of them is, that they are the best of the Giaours. Islam, a Cabardian nobleman, told Mr. Glen, that 'their ancestors in Cabardia were Christians; and he knew an old man who recollected the time when 'swine's flesh was in use among some of them.' In those times, he frankly avowed, the manners of his countrymen were much less depraved than now. 'Then, a man's bare word 'could be depended on: now, the most solemn engagements 'and promises were disregarded.' These are important facts. What sort of Christianity that was, which Islamism has displaced, does not appear.

An interesting account occurs of a visit to the hot-water springs which are about seven versts from the Colony. But, for this, we must refer our readers to the volume itself, which cannot fail to excite the attention which it deserves in the religious public at large.

Art. XII. *The Child's Scripture Examiner and Assistant*. Parts I. and II. Containing Questions on the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke, with practical and explanatory Observations, suited to the Capacity of Children. By J. G. Fuller. 18mo. Price 1s. each, or 11s. per dozen. Bristol. 1822.

THESE questions are constructed with much ingenuity and judgement, and will be found of great assistance to the Sunday School Teacher. They are short and simple, but care has been taken to put them in such a form as shall prevent the monosyllabic answers, Yes and No. In some cases, a given answer is required, which is inserted in *Italics*; but, for the most part, it is intended that the children shall be allowed to answer in their own words. The concise explanation which introduces the question, is a sort of brief running commentary

on the text, and does great credit to the Compiler. The sources from which he has derived the principal assistance, are stated to be, Doddridge's Family Expositor, and Scott's Commentary, together with the short-hand notes of his deceased parent, the Rev. A. Fuller. We take a specimen almost at random.

‘ LUKE XX.

‘ 1 ONE day, as Jesus was teaching and preaching in the temple, some who were present came and questioned him—who were they?

‘ 2 And they asked him two questions—what was the first? And what was the second?

‘ 3 Or, as we should say, they asked him what right he had to teach—but what did Jesus say, in reply?

‘ 4 What was the question which Jesus put to these men?

‘ 5 And reasoning among themselves, they found that it would not be prudent to say, *From heaven*—why not?

‘ 6 Nor dare they say, *Of men*—why not? Why would the people be likely to stone them, if they said the baptism of John was of men?

‘ 7 And so, rather than commit themselves, they consent to tell a downright lie, and at the expense of their own reputation for learning too—what answer did they make?

‘ 8 Jesus knew, however, that they *would* not tell—then what did he say to them, in answer to their questions?

‘ 9 Yet he would not leave off teaching, but immediately spake a parable to the people—what was it about?

‘ 10 And at the fruit-time, he sent his servant—for what purpose? And how did these husbandmen treat the servant?

‘ 11 And he sent another—how did they treat him?

‘ 12 Then he sent a third—how did they treat him?

‘ 13 This was very discouraging—then whom did the lord of the vineyard resolve to send? And, in sending his son, what might he reasonably expect?

‘ 14 True—but when the husbandmen saw the son, what did they propose to do? And what advantage did they think that would be to them?

‘ 15 And what did they do? Now let us attend to the meaning of this parable—can any one tell me whom Jesus meant, by the proprietor of the vineyard? And whom did he mean, by the husbandmen? And whom, by the servants? And whom, by the son? And having finished the parable, what did Jesus ask the people?

‘ 16 Then, answering the question himself, what did Jesus say? And when the people heard that, what did they say?

‘ 17 Then, looking earnestly upon them, Jesus asked them a question—what was it?

‘ 18 That is a prophecy of Christ, written in the 118th Psalm—having referred to that, what does Jesus tell the people, in the 18th verse? What may we learn from all this? Ans. *That if, like the Jews, we refuse to yield the service of our hearts to God, and despise the message of his prophets and apostles and ministers, and treat with contempt and*

opposition the gospel of his dear Son ; like them we shall be destroyed, as the objects of his just displeasure.

' 19 Having heard the parable, and its application, what did the priests and scribes and elders wish to do? To lay hands on whom? Then why did they not do it? But why did they wish to do it?

' 20 So they closely watched him—and what scheme did they adopt to ensnare him? And what end had they in view?

' 21 What did some of these spies say to Jesus, in the 21st verse?

' 22 What they said was quite true; but they meant it merely as flattery, and to conceal their wicked designs—then what question did they ask him?

' 23 But Jesus saw through the flimsy disguise of his enemies, and severely rebuked them, saying—what?

' 24 And calling for a penny, what did he ask them? And whose did they tell him it was?

' 25 That is, it had the impression of Cæsar's head upon it, and his name written above it—having obtained this answer, what, in the 26th verse, did Jesus say to them? Truly, never man spake as Jesus spake! This was the wisest answer that could have been given—why? *Ans. Because if he had told them not to render tribute to Cæsar, they would have accused him of sedition, as an enemy to the Roman government ; and if he had not told them to render to God the things that were God's, or spiritual things, they would have accused him to the priests, as an enemy of their religion. What should we learn from this? Ans. That in political things it is our bounden duty to obey the lawful commands of proper authorities ; but that in religious things, God and God only, is our rightful sovereign*' pp. 56—58.

Art. XIII. *The Bible Teacher's Manual* : being the Substance of Holy Scripture, in Questions on every Chapter thereof. By a Clergyman. Part I. Genesis. pp. 62. 24mo. Price 6d. or 5s. per dozen. London. 1823.

SINCE drawing up the preceding notice, we have had put into our hands, these Questions on the Book of Genesis. The accidental coincidence is not a little singular, through which the two works appear so nearly at the same time. ' The plan of this little work,' says the Author, in a postscript,

' is so exactly similar to that of one by Mr. Fuller of Bristol upon the New Testament, that it may seem to have been taken therefrom. But the fact is, that I had never seen or heard of Mr. Fuller's little book till my publisher sent it to me, after mine had gone to press. I truly rejoice that the most important parts of Scripture have been undertaken by such a hand.'

This is liberal and handsome. The Questions in the present Manual, have been compiled with Mr. Scott's most valuable notes and references continually at the Author's side. It cannot be necessary to give a specimen of the execution, as the

plan so nearly resembles that adopted by Mr. Fuller; but we would call the attention of our readers to the admirable remarks in the Preface, which convey a high idea of this 'Clergyman's' exemplary zeal, fidelity, and sound judgement.

'With schools established, as they now are, all over the country both for the Sabbath and week-day,—with Bibles moreover in almost every cottage,—you might expect, among the young and middle-aged, much of that knowledge of the Bible which human teaching can give. You might expect at least a good acquaintance with its histories, its precepts, its doctrines, and the plainer of its prophecies.

'And such a knowledge, though falling infinitely short of real conversion, is yet invaluable. It paves the way for conversion, prepares the mind for it, opens the understanding to understand exhortation conveyed in scriptural language and under scriptural allusion. Where this knowledge is not, you have every thing to do; the head to instruct as well as the heart to touch. The very allusion which would explain your meaning the most clearly, has itself to be explained. For instance, what plainer illustration of the end and means of the gospel, than that of our Lord himself, John iii. 14. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness?" But suppose a person knows nothing of the history referred to? I have myself, in reading this very chapter to a poor and, I believe, a very good woman, found that she was unacquainted with the whole account contained in Numb. xxi. 5—9. Here, then, you have first to relate the history, and then explain the doctrine: and, after all, for want of a familiarity with the history, the doctrine gains no light from it; nay, perhaps becomes confused and bewildering.

'A mere historical knowledge, then, of the Old and New Testaments, is, from the capabilities it lends the mind, exceedingly valuable. Nor have I said any thing here of what is, however, most worthy of consideration, the power which an acquaintance with the rich stores of the Bible has of opening and improving the mind itself. I believe that a child of five years old who had been merely taught from the Bible all that the Bible legitimately teaches, would be found very much forwarder in intellect, than another, upon whom all other kinds of instruction might have been tried.

'If this be so,—and I speak not without having tried the system which I recommend,—what enlightened men and women, as to all that is most valuable, ought we to send forth from our schools! Yet, I am afraid, that almost every country clergyman at least has to speak of the ignorance and sad stupidity of the people among whom he labours, young as well as old. How is it, then, that the fact is very different from what we might have anticipated?

'The reason, I believe, is simply this; that the Bible is not taught in our village-schools. It is read, and it is learned by heart, and catechisms that contain its doctrines are learned by heart. But little care is taken that it be understood, and, without this, though the reading and learning it may do a child some good, they likewise do some harm, in teaching him to be contented without exercising his understanding, and to look upon the whole as a mere *opus operatum*.'

ART. XIV. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

* * *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

In the press, a Narrative of the Operations of the Left Wing of the Allied Army, in the Western Pyrenees and South of France, in the years 1813-14, under Field Marshal the Marquess of Wellington. Comprising the passage of the rivers Bidassoa, Nivelle, Nive and Adour, the Blockade of Bayonne, &c. Illustrated by numerous plates. Drawn and etched by Captain Batty, of the Grenadier Guards, F.R.S. royal 4to.

In the press, State of the Cape of Good Hope in July, 1822. 8vo.

In the press, Description of an Antediluvian Den of Hymns, discovered at Kirkdale in Yorkshire, in 1821, and containing the remains of the Hyæna, Tiger, Bear, Elephant, Rhinoceros, Hippopotamus, and 16 other animals, all formerly natives in this Country. With a comparative view of many similar caverns and dens in England and Germany; and a summary account of the evidence of diluvial action afforded by the form of hills and valleys, and the general disposition of beds of gravel and loam, containing similar bones, over great part of the northern hemisphere. By the Rev. William Buckland, F.R.S. F.L.S. and Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in the University of Oxford. Illustrated by a map, views, and sections of the caves, and drawings of the animal remains. 4to.

Part I. of a Series of Views in Spain and Portugal; to illustrate the history of the late war in Spain and Portugal. By Robert Southey, Esq.; drawn on stone by W. Westall, A.R.A. (to consist of three parts, 4to.) will be published in a few days.

Mr. T. C. Croker has in the press, Researches in the South of Ireland, illustrative of the scenery, architectural remains, manners, and superstitions of the peasantry; from personal observations, ancient authorities, and original manuscripts. 4to.

In the press, the Orlando Furioso of

Ariosto. Translated by W. S. Rose. Cantos I. and II. fcap 8vo.

In the press, in one small volume, Sacred Fugitives, in prose and verse. By E. Dorrner. With a preface by J. Edmeston, Esq.

Preparing for the press, Martha; a memorial of a beloved and only Sister. By Andrew Reid, author of "No Fiction."

Mr. Greville Ewing of Glasgow, is preparing for the press, an Essay on Baptism, being an inquiry into the meaning, the form, and the extent of the administration of that ordinance: with an appendix, containing a vindication of the explanations in the Author's Greek Grammar and Lexicon on the same subject, in a letter to the Author, from a literary Christian friend.

In the press, The Disappointment, or Religion the only Source of true Happiness.

J. M. Duncan, A.B., of the University Press, Glasgow, author of "A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians," is preparing for publication an account of Travels through part of the United States and Canada, in 1818 and 1819, intended chiefly to illustrate subjects connected with the moral, literary, and religious condition of the country.

Publishing by subscription, a volume of Discourses by Ministers of the Congregational Churches in Scotland. The profits to be devoted to the Benevolent Fund for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Ministers connected with that body. Fow paper, 11. 1s. Common, 7s. 6d.

A new Poem, entitled, A Sabbath among the Mountains, is nearly ready for publication.

Shortly will be published, Collections and Recollections; or, historical, biographical, and miscellaneous anecdotes, notices, and sketches, from various sources; with occasional remarks. By John Stewart, Esq. post 8vo.

Mr. Horner is about to publish an il-

illustrated Prospectus of his Panoramic View of London from the Summit of St. Paul's; containing various engravings shewing the superior advantages of the Cathedral as a central point of view, including a geometrical section (50 inches by 30) of that edifice, with north and south sides of the Church-yard, and exhibiting the ascent from the base through the circular staircase, the dome and the scaffolding, to the Observatory erected above the ball and cross, from which the drawing was taken. It will also contain an account of the origin, progress, and completion of the undertaking, and of the extensive range of the Metropolis, its suburbs, and surrounding scenery, which form the subjects of the engravings intended to be published.

In the press, and shortly will be published, the substance of two Farewell Dis-

courses preached in the Parish Church of Debenham, Suffolk, previously to the resignation of the Living, and secession from the Establishment. By W. Hurn, Vicar of the Parish. The Discourses are formed into one continued work, with very considerable additions, and embracing topics of the first importance in theory and practice. They will be printed in 8vo., and it is hoped the price will not exceed 2s. 6d.

Mr. Bakewell, Author of an Introduction to Geology, &c. is preparing for publication, Observations made during a Residence in the Tarentine and various parts of the Grecian and Pennine Alps, in Savoy, and in Switzerland and Auvergne, in the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, with Comparative Views of the Geology of these countries with that of Great Britain. Illustrated with plates, &c.

Art. XV. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, &c. Including much historical anecdote, memoirs, and many hitherto unpublished documents, illustrative of the condition of the Irish Catholics during the eighteenth century. By the Rev. Thomas R. England. 8vo. 12s.

Memoirs of the Life of Mary, Queen of Scots. By Miss Benger. 2 vols. 8vo.

A Mother's Portrait. Sketched soon after her decease for the study of her children, by their surviving Parent. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

GEOLOGY.

A Succinct Account of the Lime Rocks of Plymouth, being the substance of several communications read before the Members of the Geological Society in London, and partly printed in their transactions; with ten lithographic plates of some of the most remarkable of the animal remains found in them. By the Rev. Richard Hennah, Chaplain to the Garrison of Plymouth. royal 8vo. 12s.

HISTORY.

The first volume of a History of the late War in Spain and Portugal. By Robert Southey, Esq. 4to. 2l. 10s.

A Memoir of the Operations of the Allied Armies under Prince Schwartz-

berg and Marshal Blucher, during the latter end of 1813 and the Year 1814. By a General Officer, Author of the Memoirs of the Early Campaigns of the Duke of Wellington. With numerous coloured maps, plans, &c. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

An Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution, from the Reign of Henry VII. to the present Time. By Lord John Russell. The second edition, greatly enlarged. 8vo. 14s.

A General and Historical View of Christianity; comprehending its origin and progress, the leading doctrines and forms of polity founded on it, and the effect which it has produced on the moral and political state of Europe. By George Cook, D.D. F.R.S.E. Author of the History of the Church of Scotland, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

MEDICINE.

Select Dissertations on several Subjects of Medical Science. By Sir Gilbert Blane, Bart. F.R.S. Physician to the King, &c. &c. 8vo. 12s.

A New View of the Infection of Scarlet Fever, illustrated by remarks on other Contagious Disorders. By William Macmichael, M.D. F.R.S. Fellow of the College of Physicians, &c. 8vo. 5s.

Illustrations of the Inquiry respecting Tuberculous Diseases. By John Baron,

M.D. Physician to the General Infirmary at Gloucester. With coloured plates. 8vo. 15s.

THEOLOGY.

Palæoromæica, or historical and philological disquisitions, inquiring whether the Hellenistic style is not Latin-Greek? whether the many new words in the Elzevir Greek Testament are not formed from the Latin? and whether the hypothesis, that the Greek text of many manuscripts of the New Testament is a translation or re-translation from the Latin, seems not to elucidate numerous passages; to account for the different recensions; and to explain many phenomena hitherto inexplicable to liblical Critics? 8vo. 16s.

Brief Memoirs of Remarkable Children. By a Clergyman of the Church of England. 18mo. bds. 1s. 6d.

Swiss Tracts. By the Rev. C. Malan, of Geneva. Fourth Edition. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

TRAVELS AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Journal of a Horticultural Tour through Flanders, Holland, and the North of France. By a Deputation of the Caledonian Horticultural Society. Illustrated by plates. 8vo. 16s.

A Journey to Two of the Oases of Upper Egypt. By Sir Archibald Edmonstone, bart. With engravings. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs, discoverable in modern Italy and Sicily. By the Rev. John James Blunt, fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, and late one of the travelling bachelors of that University. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar, under the command of his Excellency Ismael Pacha. By an American in the service of the Viceroy. Undertaken by order of his Highness Mehemmed Ali Pacha, viceroy of Egypt. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

Sir,

The Review of my Father's Life in your last Number could not but be highly gratifying to me in almost all points; but I beg not to be understood as bringing any charge of 'antinomianism' against the Dissenters in the neighbourhood of Aston, either in my own name, or in that of my father. I trust they do not deserve it.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

John Scott.

Hull, Dec. 5, 1822.

WE regret that an inadvertency on the part of the Reviewer, led him to name Aston in connexion with Olney, as supposed to be included in Mr. Scott's remarks. There is no Dissenting congregation at Aston; and no one acquainted with the Baptist Church at Had-denham, could, we are happy to think, suppose the reference intended to apply to them.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MARCH, 1823.

Art. I. *Views of Ireland*, moral, political, and religious. By John O'Driscoll, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xvi, 884. Price 11. 4s. London. 1823.

WE hope that we have not a reader in whose mind the very word Ireland does not waken an emotion of the liveliest interest. No subject of equal importance to our national welfare, can be presented to our attention; and though, unhappily, in some of its bearings, it may assume the complexion of a party question, and, in others, seem to address itself exclusively to the wisdom of our legislators, yet, there is not an individual in the country whom the subject does not touch at some point or other, or to whom it does not appeal for that portion of influence or exertion which he may be able to contribute to the cause. Irish tithes, Catholic Emancipation, and the other stormy questions of parliamentary debate, which are destined to bring into play the talents of honourable gentlemen during the ensuing session, will successively occupy the public mind for a day, and then, however disposed of, give place to other questions—to reform and retrenchment, the poor's laws, the corn laws, the criminal code, and the routine of financial business. In the bustle and hurry of legislation, it will be difficult for poor Ireland to obtain a hearing; and when her turn comes, there will take place a forensic struggle, an Olympic game of parties—possibly, a few beneficial measures may be agreed upon; but the core of the evil lies, it is to be feared, too deep for the feeble, temporizing medicaments of a divided Cabinet. Important as are the questions relating to penal disabilities and church property, they are but sections of the general subject which, in all its fearful extent, is indicated by the ominous word Ireland. It is but a partial view of the

VOL. XIX. N.S.

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matter which is taken by those who range themselves as controvertists or partisans on either side of those particular questions. Emancipation is a word of talismanic virtue; it calls up a host of delusive hopes on the one hand, and of fears as visionary on the other. But those who represent that measure as a panacea for the ills and wrongs of Ireland, must either be grossly deceived, or must be themselves deceivers; while those who resist that measure, imagining that the safety of the country and the interests of Protestantism are identified with the feeble stand made by bigotry on the remnants of a bloody and barbarous penal code, shew themselves utterly ignorant of the real sources of danger.

Catholic Emancipation has always appeared to us a subject interesting chiefly on account of the principles which it involves; for, in her present condition, Ireland could be but little the gainer by the boon. We have never been able to brace up our minds to that pitch of strenuous zeal on this subject, which should prompt us to mingle in the very angry strife which it has excited. We have therefore been exceedingly quiet about it; and if any thing connected with Ireland could make us smile, it would be the fidgetty, self-important zeal of that small phalanx of devout alarmists, who seem to have their whole soul in the question, whether a class of their fellow subjects should be admitted to the same civil privileges as themselves. Many of these good men we have had the pleasure of being acquainted with, and should have been sorry to risk our character as sound Protestants, and even orthodox Christians, by the very useless endeavour to allay their apprehensions. The cry of 'no popery' admits of no answer; nor is there any arguing against the smell of gunpowder, which these gentlemen have continually in their nostrils. Otherwise we might have attempted to point out, that the Church of Christ has had other enemies and conspirators to contend with, besides Guy Fawkes and the Pope, and that there are more ways than one of obviating the dangers of Popery. But such modest suggestion on our part, would have been set down to secret disaffection to the Protestant succession and the Church as by law established; and we should have run the risk of being charged, as Dissenters, with entering into an unnatural league with antichrist for our own private interests. Now, let us be permitted to say, that, as *Protestant Dissenters*, we consider ourselves as having nothing to do with the Catholic Question; absolutely nothing. We deprecate exceedingly mixing up the cause of the Protestant Dissenters of England with the Catholics of Ireland. They do not stand on the same ground, either in a political or a religious respect. The Dissenters of

this country are excluded from political eligibility purely and entirely on *religious* grounds. No other pretence can be alleged for the invidious distinction made between different denominations of Protestants. The Catholics of Ireland are professedly excluded on account of their *political* character,—the danger arising from their ecclesiastical subjection to a foreign jurisdiction, added to their peculiar situation as a conquered country. The religion of the Romish Church is a political religion, and its claims are in direct rivalry to those of the usurping hierarchy. Hence the alleged necessity of keeping it down by penal enactments. These are vindicated, not as abstractly just, but as expedient measures, resting on the principle of self-preservation; as precautions, not as punishments. Ireland is a popish nation, which England holds in vassalage; and with the jealousy of a conqueror, she withholds from these her foreign tributaries, the full privileges of subjects. Now, the proper way of meeting such arguments, therefore, is not to contend, that the Irish are hardly dealt by, that they are deprived of their natural rights, that their political condition is an anomalous, an unnatural one. All this is undeniable. But it must be further shewn, that there is no longer any necessity for treating the Irish as vassals and aliens, and for keeping up the distinctions introduced by a foreign conquest. The moment such necessity ceases, the policy becomes as unwise as it is palpably iniquitous.

But the case of the Protestant Dissenters has little or nothing in it that is analogous. Theirs is not a different religion from that which is by law established. In its very forms, ritual, and discipline, it exhibits a close affinity to that which is, in one part of the kingdom, the established Church, while it preserves a substantial agreement in doctrine with the formularies of the other establishment. The English Dissenters, so far from being chargeable, as a body, with any political tenets hostile to the Government, have been uniformly signalised by their loyalty to the Protestant dynasty. Their exclusion, so far from being a precautionary measure, is but the perpetuation of a punishment originally inflicted upon them purely for ecclesiastical nonconformity. They are punished for their religious practices, and for these only. They are debarred of the common rights of citizens, as *spiritual* offenders, being recognised; in a political view, as the most unoffending of loyal subjects. And they owe the continuance of this political exclusion to their misjudging magnanimity in co-operating with a Protestant Church against the Papists, at a time that the kingdom was threatened with a Popish successor. The Test-act, in its bearing on the Protestant Dissenters, had its origin in

mistake or in stratagem; it owes its existence at the present moment to a trick played upon the Legislature; and its perpetuation is a stain on the honour and the gratitude of the country. The Church of England is more concerned than the Dissenters in its repeal. To them it is only an injury: to the Establishment it is a foul disgrace. The members of Dissenting churches cannot, it is true, be excisemen; but then, all the perjury, profanation, and roguery legitimised and promoted by the Test-act, rest with the Church of England.

It was doubtless a very good argument used in the House of Lords, for the purpose of scaring the advocates of Catholic Emancipation, that, if penal disabilities should be done away as regards the Roman Catholics, no pretence could be made for continuing the restrictions on Protestant Dissenters. We say, as an argument *against* Catholic Emancipation, this would be likely to have its weight in certain quarters; and there was policy in employing it. Yet, let not the Dissenters flatter themselves, that such an act of consistency and justice must necessarily follow, as a consequence, upon the concessions to the Irish. If the Roman Catholics are relieved from the stigma of penal disabilities, it will be owing to a sort of state necessity,—a compromise of parties, dictated partly by fear, partly by the wish to conciliate popularity. It will be a reluctant concession to the formidable demands of six millions of people, withheld till the refusal touched on danger. But the Dissenters are an innocuous, peaceable, tractable, passive body of persons, whose long dormant claims the Government may indefinitely postpone without the least danger to the State. They assisted at first in putting the halter around their own necks, and they have as meekly worn it. And as to its being an act of justice, or a debt of honour, to take it off, it may naturally be deemed time enough to do it when they demand it for themselves. There are reasons, then, for relieving the Irish, which do not apply to the English Dissenters. The latter have no party in the Cabinet or in the Legislature plighted to their interests. They have scarcely an efficient representative in the House of Commons. Not an English peer now holds by the discipline of Geneva. Why, then, should the Dissenters have this boon conferred upon them?

Besides, supposing that the Irish should be emancipated, would it follow that what is right in Ireland, must be right in England? Does not every one know, that a Church of England man is a Dissenter the moment he crosses the Tweed, and that the Roman Catholic ceases to be a Dissenter in Canada? Because the Scotchman may be a Presbyterian, and the Irishman a Romanist, must it cease to be a crime in an Englishman to

be a Congregationalist or a Methodist? That would be to suppose that meridians and parallels make no difference in matters ecclesiastical, contrary to the general experience of mankind: it would be to obliterate or confound all geographical distinctions; to strike at the very foundation of geographical churches. The Dissenters of this country may be assured, that no such latitudinarian principle as this will be adopted by the Legislature as the basis of concessions to the Irish Catholics. They mistake if they imagine that Catholic Emancipation will be the triumph of the cause of religious liberty. The question will be determined solely by considerations of political expediency; and therefore, let Dissenters, as religious men, stand aloof from the war of parties, with neither of whom they have any natural alliance, lest their hatred of popery should seem to be subordinate to that with which it is in fact identified, their love of religious freedom.

It is time that we advert to the volumes before us. Mr. O'Driscol is an Irish barrister of considerable eminence, whose enlightened and liberal views on the subject of Education procured for his anonymous pamphlet* no small share of public attention. He has, we understand, lately embraced the Reformed faith. The volumes are energetically and eloquently written, with too large an infusion, perhaps, of that sparkling, antithetical, ambitious style which goes under the general denomination of Irish eloquence; but then it is the very subject which gave birth, and scope, and almost propriety to that style in the native orator: it is Ireland itself. The work contains some very splendid paragraphs, but it mainly consists of something much more tangible than mere declamation; and its general statements are substantiated by the documents and details thrown into the form of a copious appendix. Altogether, it is the best book we have yet seen on Ireland; the most comprehensive in its views, the most moderate in its spirit, and the soundest in its principles. We give it our most cordial recommendation, and earnestly hope that the Author's intentions in sending it forth, may be amply realised.

The work is divided into chapters, under the following heads: Ireland. National Character. Irish Women. Policy of England. Penal Laws. Religion. Tithe. Church of Rome. Presbyterians. Population. Mr. Owen's Plan. Manufactures. Dublin. University. Education. Benevolent Societies. Ecclesiastical History. Catholic Board. Orange Societies. Corporations and Grand Juries. Absentees. The Union. The Rebellion. The Gentry, &c. Little attention

has confessedly been paid to arrangement; our remarks and extracts will, therefore, partake of the desultory character of the work.

It is a singular circumstance in the history of Ireland, that England has twice, at distant intervals, interfered to change the established religion of that country; the first time, to reduce the ancient Church of Ireland to the yoke of the Papal supremacy; the second time, to compel her to be Protestant. For about seven hundred years, the Church of Ireland maintained her independence, during great part of which time she was the luminary of Western Europe, the asylum of letters, and the college of theology. She bowed her neck at the same time to an English conqueror and a Roman pontiff, and has ever since been held in this double bondage. But for England, Ireland might never have become a Roman Catholic country. And now, as if by a retributive dispensation, the danger which threatens her conqueror, arises from her being such. It was by the combined influence of England and of Rome, that Popery was made the religion of Ireland. But to reverse the spell, to change her again into anti-papal, has proved more than could be done by the separate force of one of these holy confederates. England has succeeded, indeed, in stripping naked the Church of Rome, which had been established in that country by her authority, and which was her creature and instrument there. 'She did so,' says Mr. O'Driscoll,

'not in justice to the people, nor in any spirit of liberality or compunction, but that she might clothe the new establishment she had set up with the gorgeous spoil; and having done this, she called upon the people of Ireland to fall down at its feet. They did not obey the mandate. But they suffered severely for their disobedience; and England, wholly regardless of the opinions and consciences of the people, and disdaining such considerations, went on to cast out the pastors from their churches and their congregations, and to put in their stead, foreigners and others, strangers to the people, and speaking an unknown language. The Church of Ireland now presented to the world the hitherto unheard of and monstrous exhibition, of a Christian clergy, chiefly foreigners, quartered upon the people. A host of religious instructors, not able to speak to their congregations in the language of the country: men, professing to be Christian pastors, in possession of large and rich benefices, without any duty to perform or any flock to lead. This is past, and the Protestant church of Ireland, of the present day, is not to be charged with these enormities.

'Perhaps, after a time, if the Church of England should take root, and become at length the religion of the Irish people, about that time England may have become tired of her establishment, and shaking off its weight, a future generation may see her come with the

sword and the fliggot, and with confiscation, to give to Ireland the benefit of a purer and improved Christianity.

' To such dangers are we exposed, from the supposed necessity of state establishments. All nations have paid in blood and in misery, for the unnatural and monstrous connexion between the governments of this world and the kingdom of the next; and no nation has paid more dearly than Ireland. Mankind must continue to pay this, the fixed price of such connexion, as long as they will persevere in violating the declared will of the great founder of Christianity: "My kingdom is not of this world." Vol. II. pp. 86—8.

The attempt to impose Episcopacy upon Scotland, after years of strife and suffering, failed. Yet, had it succeeded, the people would at least have had a liturgy in their own language; nor was it a new religion which the State wished to inflict upon them, but only a hierarchy and the surplice. But the English Church of Ireland addressed her new and unwilling subjects in an unknown tongue; and what she taught, was to them heresy. The justice and the wisdom of setting up a Protestant hierarchy there, deriving its revenues from a Catholic population, may be estimated by conceiving of some mighty Russian autocrat's overrunning the United States of America, and establishing a Greek Church and the tithing system in the New World. In Ireland, the Church of England has the tithes; the Church of Rome has the people. Out of nearly seven millions of people, five millions and a half are Roman Catholics; above a million are Presbyterians or Dissenters of other sects; and not half a million (400,000) is computed to be the *outside* of the numbers who adhere to the Protestant Establishment. To minister to these 400,000 hearers, there are no fewer than 1700 clergy, (of whom 587 are dignitaries,) with an income of £1,300,000. The number of hearers in France is computed at thirty millions, and the expenditure on the Establishment of that country is £1,050,000. So that the income of the Protestant Church of Ireland, drawn from a Catholic country, and numbering less than half a million of hearers, exceeds, by between two and three hundred thousand pounds annually, what is enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Establishment of the richest Roman Catholic country in the world, for the service of thirty millions of hearers!!!

' No church in the world,' remarks our Author, ' is so singularly placed as the Protestant Church of Ireland. A priesthood, but in many parts of the country no hearers. Churches built or building in numerous places, in which there is to be, perhaps, sometimes service, but never congregations; and where it has happened that a military force has been occasionally necessary to protect the builders from the assaults of the flock. Meek flock! Happy shepherds!'

And the manner in which the money is raised for this architectural evangelization of the country, will account for the opposition raised by these modern sons of Sanballat to such pious proceedings.

'Is a new church to be built—who is to determine whether the old one is insufficient, or a new one necessary? Perhaps there are no Protestants in the parish. Whosoever is to determine this point, the Catholics are to pay for building the church, if it is to be built. Funds are easily obtained from the Board of First Fruits; but the Board must be repaid: this is done by a tax levied on the parish for, perhaps, twenty years after. This is a heavy tax, without representation, and in which the people have no voice. What becomes in this case of the argument about notice? Did the farmer know, when he took his farm and calculated his rent, that he should have to pay this extravagant tax during, perhaps, the whole of this term? Is it right that a whole parish should be taxed to build a church for, possibly, two or three individuals?—that the poor should build places of worship for the rich, in order that these may pray commodiously and at free cost, while the impoverished peasantry worship in buildings resembling barns? Surely the established church of Ireland, the richest church in Europe, might afford to relieve the poor of the Roman Catholic persuasion from this infliction! It is not right that Catholics should be compelled to build churches for Protestants. It is not right that those who live upon potatoes and sour milk, should be called on to build elegant churches for those who fare sumptuously and drink wine every day.

'It is astonishing what fraud and imposition are practised by means of this power, which the few possess, of taxing the many at pleasure. A few Protestants, collected at vestry, have the power of voting the property of the Catholic parishioners to themselves or their friends, in the shape of money for repairs of the church, for music, for sextons, &c. &c. It is time to look into these abuses, by which the country has been impoverished, and the people made desperate, and the establishment rendered odious.' Vol. I. pp. 135—7.

It is not for want of churches, that the Irish people have not been brought within the English fold. There have been churches and resident ministers, too, in many parishes, time out of mind, where there are yet no Protestants. 'And to some of these churches,' remarks Mr. O'Driscol, 'there have even been spires;' on which a certain learned prelate has laid great stress. 'I am building spires to all my new churches,' writes his Lordship, 'which gives a *civilized* appearance to that wild country.' Admirable and efficient means of civilization and conversion!

But does the Established Church of Ireland, or do the rulers thereof, really desire to reclaim the population from the errors of Popery? Mr. O'Driscol considers this as doubtful. The

clergy, he says, seem generally to have preferred lumbering quietly upon their livings, to any exertion that should be likely to effect this object. 'Perhaps,' he adds, 'they despaired; but if they did so, they must have doubted that the truth was with them; or, what was more unpardonable, they must have doubted the power of the truth;—or, without doubting either, they must have regarded the thing as not desirable.' But is this possible? The Romish clergy oppose the reading of the Scriptures, telling the people, that the Bible is a book they must not look into: 'it would make them Protestants.' Can a similar policy actuate the Protestant clergy in conniving at the ignorance of the lower classes? Can it be, that it is feared, if Protestants, they would become Dissenters? We must again cite our Author.

'We know, it has been said, that if the people were converted to Protestantism, there were danger that they would join the ranks of the dissenters, rather than embrace the open arms of the establishment; and in this case, it is concluded, they are safer where they are. This, however, is a humiliating view of the predicament in which the establishment is placed, and we think too highly of its members to be content with it. Yet it is certain that the church, as a body, has not only done very little upon the ground of this first of her duties, but has resisted those measures which appeared necessary in order to open the way for her exertions.

'It is known that the Church of Rome in Ireland is powerfully sustained by legislative discouragements. Without giving any opinion here of the truth or purity of the doctrines of that church, we are safe in saying, that these discouragements are a strong support. So, the first churches of Christianity, whose doctrine was without blemish, and whose excellence was yet untarnished in the world, derived not a little aid from the cruel persecutions of the heathen. The first effort, therefore, of the Protestant establishment ought to be, to take away this support from their adversary, and this bar to their more successful and extensive ministration. This church should open for itself the field which is now closed against it, by acts of Catholic disqualification.

'But when we see this clergy opposing every attempt which is made to remove these disqualifications, and coming forward in all their dignities and ranks, and with the whole weight of their influence and power, to resist every effort made to give them free access to the people, and to remove those obstructions of prejudice and disgust, which have been heaped up against them; what can we think of their confidence in the truth of their doctrine, or their zeal in the sacred cause to which they stand pledged by sanctions sufficient to shake the nerves of the best and boldest of human kind?

'Those disqualifications because of religion, which deprive a large portion of the people of Ireland of valuable civil immunities, have necessarily accumulated upon the establishment a great mass of odium

and reproach. This church has been too much known to the people as a heavy and oppressive burden; a cause of disunion and discord, and of civil exclusion and grievous injury and injustice in the land. Those of the clergy who are sincerely devoted to their duties, struggle in vain against the obstacles which are thus opposed to them; and yet it is abundantly evident, that not all the piety, nor all the learning, which is to be found in the bosom of the establishment, will give it strength or security, unless it clothe itself with the affections and opinions of the people. Nothing can be enduring in this age, which is not supported by public opinion; still less can that continue to exist which shocks and wounds it. The established church of Ireland must clothe its bare bones with the flesh of the people; or though it were the crown of England upon its head, and wielded the sword of the Russian Autocrat, the day is at hand when rottenness and dissolution will claim it as their own, and lay it, without a struggle, in the grave.

* This church must remove from itself the double reproach of lending its weight to the civil exclusion of the people upon the one hand; and upon the other, grasping, as the people think and believe, their substance and the fruits of their labour, without equivalent or requital. This is too much; we know that the case can be argued with much ingenuity, and their right to tithe, and to political opinion of whatever kind, maintained with great plausibility. But after all the argument, we know how the thing is felt. The specious reasoning passes away, while the facts remain, and come home with all their strength and power to the feelings and the pockets of the people.

* Is there any body of men of whom so immense a majority have so steadily and perseveringly opposed the removal of civil disqualifications, on account of religion, as the clergy of the established church? Look at the divisions in the House of Lords. Compare the proportions on each side, amongst ministers and their adherents, and the Opposition and their friends, with the proportions amongst the Bishops. If the whole body of Irish Bishops were in the House, would the proportions be different? We fear not.

* The establishment, unhappily, incurs much odium, and casts away, too lightly, the sympathies of the people, or assists to bind these precious sympathies round the brows of their brethren of the Roman faith. Dearer and more glorious than all the wealth of the establishment are the hearts and the unpurchasable affections of the people. For these, what would not the devoted Apostle of the Gentiles give?—or the beloved Disciple? He whose bosom glowed with unconquerable zeal—he whose soul was love. But we are fallen upon other times, and have to deal with apostles and disciples of a different class and character.' Vol. I. pp. 106—110.

In this, then, consists the true reason that Catholic Emancipation is so desirable. Not to satisfy the claims of a faction, but to wipe off a foul reproach from the Protestant name, and to remove an immense barrier to the moral improvement and religious instruction of the Irish people. We talk against

Popery ; but Popery consists of two parts, idolatry and persecution, mummary and violence. Now it would be hard to say which imbodides more of the spirit of Popery, the creed and popular superstition of the Romish Church of Ireland, or the penal laws framed for the purpose of establishing the English Church. ' Christianity,' says Mr. O'Driscoll, ' disowns the penal code of ' Ireland.' We say, Protestantism disowns it. The Church of Ireland, if Protestant in her creed, has been hitherto Papal in her character. She has fostered ignorance, and persecuted all who differed from her.

' It was not Christianity which threw its shadow over the whole land, filling the hearts of the people with horror and fear of each other; in the darkness of which, crime walked abroad with an assured and authorized step, visiting with an impartial assiduity, the mansions of the rich and the cottages of the poor. It was not Christianity which, after invading and polluting the sanctity of private life, after tearing to pieces all the charities and obligations of kindred, went forth upon the highway to fill the measure of its brutal rapacity with the plunder of the passengers; that robbed the traveller of his horse, if its value exceeds five pounds, and made the robber its appraiser; that levied contributions upon the piety of the people, taxing them for worshipping God according to the custom of their fathers; that persecuted the priest as a felon, and made his ministration a crime, asserting that his religion had its root in ignorance, and nourishing that root with all the assiduity of legislation.

' It was made penal to keep school and to teach the rudiments of knowledge. Reading and writing were to be discouraged as incompatible with the Protestant religion. And while the people were racked by a ferocious persecution, because of the alleged errors of their faith, the light was anxiously withheld, in which alone those errors, if they existed, could be discerned.

' These laws disarmed the people, that they might not resist oppression; took away the means of instruction, that in their ignorance they might not know their rights; provided with a deep and anxious policy for the ruin of private families, by offering a bounty for ingratitude and crime, and for the destruction of private property, by regulating its descent with a view to its destruction; and having accomplished their purposes, in the poverty and the misery of the people, they made sure of their work by carefully guarding and blocking up every avenue by which property in land might be acquired. Having done this, they proceeded to slander and stigmatise the prostrate people for the very wretchedness, the deep and woeful ignorance, and the brutality which they sought with so much skill and earnestness to accomplish.'

' Looking into the penal laws as they were first enacted, we find such as it would be an indignity to our nature to suppose capable of defence or excuse, in any possible or imaginable concurrence of circumstances. They cannot be defended or excused; nor is there now

living any one interested in their justification. The Protestants of Ireland, of our day, are guiltless of the penal code; they are called upon for no defence of it; no one imputes to them its iniquity. All that was most intolerable and shocking to our nature has passed away long since; and that which still lingers on the Statute Book, though deriving its prolonged existence from the spirit of the ancient law, yet presents us with another, though not more sound, defence for its continuance.

'We say that the Protestants of Ireland are wholly guiltless of the penal code; but they are not, by reason of their innocency, set free from the obligation of atonement. Untainted, as we may be, with the guilt of our fathers—to satisfy for their errors, and make reparation for the wrongs they have done, is a duty which presses itself strongly upon the heart and feelings of every good man. It is a condition, descending with the blood and property of our ancestors, that we do all in our power to satisfy for their offences.

'We are not called upon to argue for the correctness of this view of our obligations. It is enough if it sustain itself in the common sense and common feelings of mankind. It is a principle acted upon every day when men pay debts of their fathers, which no legal process could enforce. It is a principle recognised by the law of the land, which makes obligations created by the ancestor to descend with the land, and attach upon his remote representative. It is a principle enforced by the Divine law, which calls upon the children for the penalty of offences committed by fathers far removed.

'We are heirs to the good and evil of our sires, and in some respects we stand in their places to answer for their doings. The good they leave to descend to us, whether character, constitution, form, or fortune, we use freely, and no one disputes our title. If we admit the reasonableness of this law, neither can we dispute that which loads us with the errors of our ancestors, and makes us to bear in our persons, the consequences of their transgressions. It seems to be a fixed law of Providence, that crime must be punished or atoned for; and though for a long series of years, the penalty may not be exacted, yet, will it surely not be remitted. Like some hereditary disease which disappears for a few generations, only to seize with greater and more sudden violence upon the persons of an innocent and unconscious posterity.' Vol. I. pp. 69—81.

Ireland is at this moment suffering from the operation of penal laws which are no longer in force. The serpent has been slain, but the venom exists: the wound has never been healed. The spirit of laws long repealed still survives, too, in the remnant of that penal code. It has contracted itself within narrower dimensions, but it is far from being annihilated. This is the proper light in which to view the Catholic Question. Concession after concession, say the opponents of the Roman Catholics, has been made to these disaffected subjects; and still, they renew their demands. It is certainly a concession in the man who is robbing us, to withdraw his hand from our neck, or

his pistol from our head; but it would not quite content us. What Ireland demands at our hands, is something more than a relaxation of oppression: it is not simple concession, but reparation. When the Catholic Question is carried, much will yet remain, almost every thing of a positive nature will remain, to be done for the safety and tranquillity of that country. Yet, the effects of such a measure would, doubtless, be eminently beneficial.

'After some time,' says Mr. O'Driscol, 'it will subdue the tone of insolence assumed by ignorant and vulgar Protestants, as a privileged party. It will, perhaps, induce the Catholic gentry to take a greater interest in public affairs. And alluring them by degrees to come forth out of the mire of mere personal indulgences, it may teach them, that there are higher enjoyments in life than luxurious living, and the quiet and safe sensualities which wealth affords. It may rouse them from their state of Epicurean carelessness and contempt for the general weal; and this morbid mass may yet blush with a new and healthful circulation.' Vol. I. p. 54.

But, he proceeds to say, 'it is to the poor and the peasantry, that a wise system of policy must direct its measures.' And he goes on to point out the leading features of such a system as must follow the repeal of the disqualifying laws, in order to give effect to that wise and necessary measure. For these we must refer our readers to the work itself. But all that legislative enactments can do to relieve and meliorate the condition of the Irish, must be regarded as subordinate to the means which it will remain to bring into full play, for the moral improvement of the population. By Education, the Bible, and the Press, Ireland may yet undergo a political and moral regeneration. Hitherto, the efforts of English Protestants have been almost entirely confined to keeping down the Papists, while the most marvellous indifference has been manifested to the spread of Popery itself. The war has been carried on against the people, not against the principles. It is high time, not merely for the interests of humanity, but for the national safety, that this barbarous policy were abandoned, and the system reversed. That we may the more effectually combat with the principles, let us begin by doing justice to the Roman Catholics themselves. Let the repeal of the penal statutes be the signal for bringing the whole moral force of the country to bear against the delusions and abominations of Popery. Who are, for the most part, the opponents of Catholic Emancipation? Those Protestants *par excellence*, who would evangelise by the laws, and convert by civil discouragements? Are they the friends of Education, the promoters of Bible Societies, the moral antagonists of Popery? No; and the reason is obvious: the two

methods are incompatible. The same hand cannot wield the weapon of violence and the sword of the Spirit. The reliance which has been placed on coercive measures, has precluded the adoption of a system which, disclaiming coercion, subdues men by enlightening them, and governs through the viceroyalty of the conscience. Humiliating as it may be to the lordly and privileged Protestant, to lay aside the tone of defiance, and to brace himself to a contest with Popery on equal terms, deprived of any other weapon than the Bible, of any better argument than sound reason or a holy life may supply; yet, it must come to this. And if Protestantism cannot abide the issue, the sooner we all turn Papists, the better. But, says *Mr. O'Driscoll*, and we cannot better express our own view of the subject,

'We do not think that we are extravagant or fanatical when we state our conviction, that a pure and genuine Christianity, if preached to the hearts and minds of the people, would correct a great proportion of the evils under which they labour. We know, also, that much of the fierce and evil character of the people is the natural result of an utter ignorance of their duties, and of those strange and wild imaginations which they entertain respecting the character of Deity, and of the Providence which presides over the world. If the God they worship be an idol of their own imagination, pardoning sins in consideration of the temptations and necessities of his creatures, and requiring no account of human frailties,—who is too good to be strict in his investigations, and too great to regard the every-day transactions of poor human beings; if he be a God delighting in revenge and retribution, or looking with indulgence upon a just and pious vengeance, and regarding not the ordinances of human laws, nor the arbitrary arrangements of property among men, but only the justice and necessity of the case;—if such be the God of the Irish peasant, how can he be other than the violator of the laws, and the victim of his passions?'

'The error of the Roman Catholic priesthood is, that they despise the people too much; they think the high and deep questions of Deity and Providence above their comprehension; they require an implicit submission to dogmas, and an observance of certain ceremonies. But the rudest of human beings are not without ideas respecting Providence, and the government of the world; and they will assent to the dogma, and observe the ceremonial, without this assent or observance having any influence whatever upon the leading ideas which influence their character. The church of Rome insists upon forms, and accumulates external observances, until the people are encumbered; and the priesthood oppressed with their variety and inutility; the approaches to the heart are blocked up with solemn lumber. By degrees, the people come to content themselves with these things, and the priest finds leisure to attend to little else. It is easier to go through the form of a ceremony, than to root out a vice.

It is in vain that you tell the people the ceremony is nothing; if you insist upon its performance, they will think it something, and you cannot tell how much. As soon as you have succeeded in substituting form for principle, you have destroyed all communion between God and his creature; you have blotted out the Gospel; and the rapid growth of depravity in the heart will speedily announce that the hand of the cultivator is withdrawn for ever.'

'The church proposes its ceremonies as an incitement to devotion; the people take them as a substitute: take away the ceremonial, and they can no longer shelter their depravity and deceive themselves. But while you give them this cover for their iniquities, it is in vain that you talk to them about it, and shew them that it was not intended to be so applied; they will listen to you, they will admit the reasonableness of your representations, and they will then quietly return to their vicious habits and their vain observances. This is human nature.

'In Ireland, the servant who will rob you without compunction, will rather be without food than eat flesh meat on fast days. The poor female outcast of the street, lost in vice and abandonment, is a punctual observer of the numerous festivals of her church. There are many who, if they were without these means of self-delusion, would still cling to their vices in open defiance of conviction, but a great number would abandon them in horror of their deformity, when dragged from every cover, and exhibited in the light of truth.'

Vol. I. pp. 142—6.

He is no real friend of the Roman Catholics, who would attempt to rest their claims upon a lie, by palliating or disguising the evils of Popery as it now is, in every country which the light of the Gospel has not thoroughly penetrated. But what is it in its grossest forms? We can call it nothing worse than Paganism, of which it is, in fact, but a modification. And over what were the first triumphs of Christianity achieved, but Paganism itself? What means of evangelization had the first preachers of the Gospel, which we do not possess, except that which contributed but indirectly to their success, and nothing to their security, the power of working miracles? To set against which, we have the all but miraculous powers of the press, the printed Scriptures, and a protecting government. And yet, we have suffered Popery to run wild and propagate itself at our very doors, under the fostering influence of penal enactments, with scarcely an attempt to check its progress; unless by chartered schools and grants for building useless churches. With truth, and the civil power, and conscience; and the Almighty on our side, we are afraid of Popery!

There are a number of important topics connected with the subject of these volumes yet untouched, but we must draw this article to a close. We cannot, however, altogether pass over

the Author's account of the present state of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. It should seem, that, in that ill-fated country, every thing has been doomed to stagnate. The Presbyterian Churches of Ireland are stated to have extensively lapsed into Socinianism. 'The synod of Antrim is said to be 'openly and professedly of this faith; and it is stated that 'there are few of its churches which are not so infected.* Into the causes of this apostacy, we are not at present called upon to enter. We have not before us a sufficiently specific and well authenticated statement of the fact. What has taken place in England, and at Geneva, would, however, lead us to receive such a representation with more regret than surprise. Not that there would seem to be any necessary or natural connexion between the discipline of Calvin and the creed of Servetus. There is, on the contrary, something portentous in the combination. But let endowments be substituted for the primitive mode of supporting and perpetuating the Christian ministry, and let the voice of the people, speaking their own moral wants, be disregarded in the appointment of Christian pastors, while the spirit of the world, generated by wealth and civil immunities, spreads like a leaven through the clergy;—such a state of things cannot long precede the declension of the Church, whatever be its professed creed, from all that is vital in Christianity. We must transcribe the following remarks without comment.

'We do not object to Socinian congregations, or to congregations of Deists or Atheists, if there are such; we would allow to all the most perfect freedom. But we object to this confusion of names, to this juggle of profession. We object to Socinians concealed under the name of Presbyterians; and to Deists professing to be Socinians. The public are deceived; and congregations are led away into error, without intending to expose themselves to the danger of false doctrine.

* The Author's remarks are, we presume, intended to apply only to the Irish Presbyterians in connexion with the Established Church of Scotland. To the Seceders from that Church, (as they are generally denominated,) the Presbyterians of the Associate Synod, who are a considerable and highly respectable body, the charge of apostacy does not, we believe, in any degree attach. Of this branch of the Presbyterian Church, there are no fewer than from 140 to 150 ministers in Ireland. They have, of late years, at the intervention of the late Marquis of Londonderry, been included in the distribution of the Regium Donum, although they have not been placed on a level, as to the amount of the exhibition, with the clergy of the Synod of Ulster. Probably, the public money could not be more beneficially applied.

' The public are deceived also in another way. Out of the public purse the Presbyterian congregations of Ireland receive considerable sums of money. We would ask, what for? Is not one "*established*" clergy enough to burden the people of Ireland with? Must the poor peasant pay his quota also to this wealthy church? The Presbyterians of the north are the wealthiest portion of the Irish people. They are in possession of the only flourishing manufacture of the country. And yet it is to the clergy of these rich manufacturers, that the impoverished peasant of the south is obliged to contribute; for the weight of taxation falls upon the poor, whom the general distress and impoverishment of the country deprive of employment.

' The "*Regium Donum*" is given to all congregations in Ireland assuming the name of Presbyterian, who choose to take it. In this way there may be a great Socinian and Deistical establishment in that country paid in part out of the public purse. The disciples of Hume and Voltaire, and the followers of Socinus, might tax the country, that their philosophers may moralise in their pulpits, and argue at leisure upon cause and effect, and all the phenomena of the moral and physical world.

' It is no way creditable to these Churches, in all respects so competent to their own support, that they should dip their hands in the exhausted purse of the public. But it is a greater reproach that they should be permitted to do so.

' We do not mean to say, that all the Presbyterian Churches of Ireland are Socinian; nor that all the Socinian Congregations are Deistical; but we mean to state that this is asserted of a great portion of both. Neither do we charge these opinions, nor any opinions as criminal; but we have found in some of these congregations, both in the ministers and members, a degree of equivocation and dissimulation, highly discreditable. A paltering between their half-avowed faith and half-advanced pretension, which may be prudent, but is far from being righteous or just. Righteousness wears the guise of no unreal seeming, and justice demands that we should shew ourselves to all in our true shape and proportions.

' We would not dwell upon this falling off of the Presbyterian Church, if we did not think it an evil of great magnitude. If this creed were widely spread amongst the middle and lower classes of society, it would produce, we are persuaded, a very evil effect. It would lead, in a short time, to deism in both; and this, when it had reached the inferior strata of mankind, would unfold its real character. It is at this level only, that we can try the truth of religion. Its effect upon the vulgar is the test of its purity or spuriousness. For here, its natural working is not counteracted by those numerous ingredients which correct or neutralise its operation on the middle or higher orders, such as competence, rank, taste, ambition, fortune. Those who would ascertain the truth of religion, must watch it as it works upon the mass of mankind.

' Socinianism cannot be the religion of the poor and the wretched; and the strong spirits, and the exalted in rank, disdain this ambiguous profession: it belongs to the timid unbeliever, or the prudent manager.

of this world's interests. This Christianised Deism involves itself in more difficulties than it seeks to avoid; but it attains its object, perhaps, in keeping well with the populace, by the semblance of Christian worship, while it sacrifices none of the corruptions of heart. The scheme of Socinus calls for no sacrifice which a prudent consideration of self-interest would not demand. The religion of Socinus is the religion of the prudent calculator, and the enlightened worldling. If it were general, it would be abominable; it would open wide the flood-gates of human depravity. But, checked and restrained as it is, it is almost harmless. We object only to the establishment it has obtained in Ireland.' Vol. I. pp. 168—175.

The whole of this chapter is most admirable. With regard, however, to the withdrawal of the Regium Donum from these churches, it would be an invidious measure; if suddenly put in execution, a harsh, impolitic, and unjust measure; and it is not at this point, assuredly, that retrenchment and reform should begin. Let particular abuses be inquired into; but nothing would be more likely to excite a movement of the public mind in favour of Socinianism, and to infuse life into its paralytic members, than any immediate invasion of long standing immunities. Against Popery and Socinianism we have but one legitimate way of proceeding, to set up the Ark, and see if Dagon will fall.

Art. II. *The Loves of the Angels*, a Poem. By Thomas Moore. 8vo. Third Edition. pp. 148. Price 9s. London, 1823.

OUR general opinion of Mr. Moore's talents, we expressed pretty freely in reviewing his *Lalla Rookh*. But if we had not done so, as it is a point on which our readers must long ago have made up their minds, it might be as well, in the present instance, to confine our remarks to his choice of a subject. At the first view, it seems a seductive one. It is of that mixed, semi-ethereal character which comports with the sentimental Magdalen muse of our Irish David. The Poet seems, as it were, to hover between Sacred Melodies and Anacreon; and his poetry reminds us of those solemn, languishing, pious airs which have of late become fashionable under the misnomer of sacred music, in which the opera and devotion seem to meet half-way. But, when we come to examine the subject chosen by Mr. Moore a little more closely, it appears by no means a happy one. He does right in stating, by way of defence, that, in point of fact, the subject is not Scriptural; the notion upon which it is founded (that of the love of Angels for women) having originated in an erroneous translation by the LXX. of that verse in the sixth chapter of

'Genesis upon which the sole authority for the fable rests.' We can by no means concede, however, that the subject has nothing to do with Holy Writ. Whatever property the Rabbins or the Mahomedans may claim in Angels, they belong, in fact, exclusively to Biblical Theology. Had Mr. Moore chosen to adapt his fable to the loves of Peris or any other order of genii, we should have made no objection to his proceedings. But with the word *angel* are associated ideas of a more sacred character, which refuse to blend with the light dreams of voluptuous fiction. In representing angels otherwise than as Scripture teaches us to conceive of them, there is a violation even of poetical propriety. The moral incongruity is still more glaring and palpable. The Christian reader cannot forget that these imaginary loves of the angels are, according to the fable, the illicit amours of apostate spirits. The Poet, by making every angel 'tell his tale,' has aggravated this impropriety to the utmost. Like the Rev. Mr. Macgowan of facetious memory, Mr. Moore has given us, in fact, under the disguise of a better title, 'Dialogues of Devils.' At least, if we have no authority for using that appellation in a plural form, these angels are, on the Poet's own shewing, fallen angels; and if fallen, they must be impure, evil, malignant intelligences. They are represented, however, in the poem as most amiable and interesting demons. The arch-tempter himself could not wish to have his portrait sketched by a more accommodating limner than Mr. Moore. The only offence of which one of these exiled angels appears to have been guilty, is that of having exceeded his furlough, and tarried too long upon the earth. The second is such a foolish spirit as to enact the part of Jove towards his Semele. Poor 'Rubi' did not know that his wings would scorch his earthly bride. The third spirit is, in truth, a devotional sentimentalist, a most religious demon.

'Nor knew he, when at last he fell,
To which attraction, to which spell,
Love, Music, or Devotion, most
His soul in that sweet hour was lost.'

These things, one might have thought, he would have had in higher perfection in his native regions; but he seems to have had a wayward sectarian taste, which led him to prefer, as it were, the tabernacle to the cathedral. His crime was that of nonconformity, and his fall is an allegorical lesson to all those who are in danger of being seduced by a pretty face, good singing, 'or devotion,' from their parish church. For these his irregular devotional propensities, Zaraph is excommunicated of course.

But, to be serious, what contradiction and absurdity are involved in the very notion which forms the ground-work of the poem! These angels are neither good enough for sinless spirits, nor depraved enough for sinful ones. They have all the mixed character of humanity in circumstances with which that character ill accords. They are neither in a state of perfection, nor of penal suffering, nor of probation. They are neither Mahommedan angels, nor Christian angels, nor Miltonic angels, but a nondescript order, fit for neither heaven, nor earth, nor hell, but, if there were a Purgatory, fit subjects for that central Penitentiary.

The most forcible objection to the poem is, after all, its profaneness. We do not say, its impiety. Those of our readers who may have in recollection the remarks we made on Lord Byron's *Cain* and Dr. Southey's *Vision of Judgement*, will understand the distinction we make. We have no hesitation in acquitting Mr. Moore of the charge of intentional impiety. He is evidently anxious to protect himself from such an imputation, although, in some places, he has put into the mouths of his angels highly exceptionable and dangerous language. But profaneness is the inseparable and pervading quality of the poem. It is altogether a tampering with sacred things; a burlesque, how undesigned soever, of the Scripture doctrine of angels, and an indirect apology for angelic sinners. The constant references to the Supreme Being are essentially and distressingly profane; because Mr. Moore has suffered himself to adopt in many cases a phraseology so nearly Christian as to remind us continually of those awful truths which are too sacred to be made the playthings of fiction. Mr. Croly has been, in this respect, more happy in his "Angel of the World." The extravagance of Oriental bombast is less exceptionable in its tendency than the infidel sentimentalism couched in such language as this:—

' But is it thus, dread Providence—
Can it, indeed, be thus, that she,
Who, but for one proud, fond offence,
Had *honoured* heaven itself, should be
Now doom'd—I cannot speak it—no,
Merciful God, it is not so—'

And again:—

' Oh, who is to be saved, if such
Bright erring souls are not forgiven;
So loath they wander, and so much
Their very wanderings lean tow'rds Heaven.'

That is, in plain words, *sins* which have so much of heaven

general, the nature of the Divine message will, we think, be found to carry on the face of it the practical purpose which it was intended immediately to subserve.

As to the predictions of the Old Testament, so far as they converged to that one grand point, the coming of Messiah, it will readily be admitted, that their main design was to keep alive, and gradually to form and direct the national anticipation. We would not say, to enable the Jews to prepare themselves before-hand for the event. We have no precise idea of what Mr. Gisborne means by such preparation; especially in reference to persons destined never to witness the accomplishment of the prophecy. Undoubtedly, the messages of the prophets were intended in the first instance to have a moral effect on the subjects of their inspired ministry; but how could they prepare for an event which was not to take place till a thousand years after? The witness borne by the ancient prophets to Him who was to come, was an important part of that system of means by which the faith of the devout Jew was confirmed amid the apparent ruin of his nation, and the desolation of Zion; and some of the more remarkable predictions had for their especial object, to administer consolation to the Church under these circumstances of outward depression. But, in order to answer this purpose, general and indistinct intimations were sufficient. A greater degree of explicitness would, in the absence of correct views of the purely spiritual nature of Messiah's kingdom, have defeated in some degree their consolatory design. Those predictions which, since their fulfilment, approach the nearest to historical records of past facts, must have been to a Jew the most obscure; and seem adapted to check and correct, rather than to excite his anticipations. The national expectation which was so remarkably kept alive during a long period of almost total declension in morals, would have been extinguished by clearer information as to the nature of his kingdom. In point of fact, the prophecies wholly failed to enable the most attentive and pious expectant of their fulfilment, so far as appears in any one instance, to prepare for the actual event. "Ought not Christ to suffer," was a question which not the most enlightened Jew was able to answer or to comprehend till the foretold event had taken place.

All the Old Testament predictions relative to our Lord's advent, may be considered as only varied reiterations of a *general promise*, resting on the truth and unchangeableness of Jehovah, and claiming, on the part of his people, faith, and gratitude, and filial confidence, in the absence of any distinct knowledge of the nature of the predicted event.

But we find in the sacred writings another series of prophe-

are sorry that he should affect to be religious. He may do quite as much harm to religion in this way, as he has done formerly to morals. He may be guilty of almost as gross impropriety with angels for his theme, as when he was emulating Catullus in his amatory verses to courtesans. We beseech him for his own sake as well as that of the public, to leave theology alone, at least in his poetry. Let him, as Junius said of Garrick, 'keep to his pantomimes.' No poet in the present day—we will not except Campbell—can rival the Author of Irish Melodies in song-writing. In sweetness and in compass, in tenderness and pathos, in the genuine inspiration of nationality, and in a perfect command of all the fantastic anomalies of rhythm and metre, Moore is the first lyric poet of his day, and scarcely inferior to those of any other day. Gleams and snatches of this talent frequently burst upon the reader in the present poem; but there is abundantly too much of flowers, and rays, and wreaths, and wings: every thing is bright, and sparkling, and aromatic to excess, till the eye aches for relief, and the senses grow sick with the perfumery. Had Erin been the scene instead of Eden or its confines, and the lads of the Shillala been the lovers, instead of angels, we should have had something far better. We will try, however, to find an unexceptionable specimen.

• This deep, relying Love, worth more
In heaven than all a cherub's lore—
This Faith, more sure than aught beside,
Was the sole joy, ambition, pride
Of her fond heart—the' unreasoning scope
Of all its views, above, below—
So true she felt it that to *hope*,
To *trust*, is happier than to *know*.
• And thus in humbleness they trod,
Abash'd, but pure before their God;
Nor e'er did earth behold a sight
So meekly beautiful as they,
When, with the altar's holy light
Full on their brows, they knelt to pray,
Hand within hand, and side by side,
Two links of love, awhile untied
From the great chain above, but fast
Holding together to the last—
Two fallen Splendours, from that tree,
Which buds with such eternally,
Shaken to earth, yet keeping all
Their light and freshness in the fall.
• Their only punishment (as wrong,
However sweet, must bear its brand)

Their only doom was this—that, long
 As the green earth and ocean stand,
 They both shall wander here—the same,
 Throughout all time, in heart and frame—
 Still looking to that goal sublime,
 Whose light remote, but sure, they see,
 Pilgrims of Love, whose way is Time,
 Whose home is in Eternity!
 Subject, the while, to all the strife,
 True love encounters in this life—
 The wishes, hopes, he breathes in vain;
 The chill, that turns his warmest sighs
 To earthly vapour, ere they rise;
 The doubt he feeds on, and the pain
 That in his very sweetness lies.
 Still worse, the' illusions that betray
 His footsteps to their shining brink;
 That tempt him, on his desert way
 Through the bleak world, to bend and drink,
 Where nothing meets his lips, alas,
 But he again must sighing pass
 On to that far-off home of peace,
 In which alone his thirst will cease.

' All this they bear, but, not the less,
 Have moments rich in happiness—
 Blest meetings, after many a day
 Of widowhood past far away,
 When the lov'd face again is seen
 Close, close, with not a tear between—
 Confidings frank, without control,
 Pour'd mutually from soul to soul,
 As free from any fear or doubt
 As is that light from chill or stain,
 The sun into the stars sheds out,
 To be by them shed back again!—
 That happy minglement of hearts,
 Where, chang'd as chymic compounds are,
 Each with its own existence parts,
 To find a new one, happier far!
 Such are their joys—and, crowning all,
 That blessed hope of the bright hour,
 When, happy and no more to fall,
 Their spirits shall, with freshen'd power,
 Rise up rewarded for their trust
 In Him, from whom all goodness springs,
 And, shaking off earth's soiling dust
 From their emancipated wings,
 Wander for ever through those skies
 Of radiance, where Love never dies!

chapter of Matthew, and in the parallel passages of Mark and Luke, are particularly deserving of attention. We decidedly agree with him in opinion, that the interpretation of the prediction, adopted by Bishop Newton, Dr. Campbell, and other respectable expositors, which limits the reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, is open to insuperable objections. The second objection to such an interpretation, adduced by Mr. G., seems to us little short of decisive.

'The signs in the latter passages,' he remarks, 'are expressly declared to be subsequent to the *tribulation* mentioned, Matt. xxiv. 29—Mark xiii. 24; which tribulation includes the siege and capture of the city. The signs in the former passages precede the siege.'

The great difficulty arises from the supposed application of the phrase *all these things*, in ver. 33, to the whole series of predictions; to obviate which, an anonymous critic has proposed to read, "*that generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled*; while Mr. Faber and Mr. Cunningham are of opinion, 'that the most proper signification of the verb *γινώσκαι* is not that of *complete accomplishment*, but of *commencement of action running into subsequent continuance*.'

'On these grounds,' continues Mr. Gisborne, 'they interpret the passage as simply declaring, that the prophetic series of events which had been detailed, should *begin* to be fulfilled during the life of the then existing generation. Without entering into a discussion respecting these expositions, and without requiring any alteration in our version, a third solution may be proposed. Our Lord, in announcing to his disciples that, as surely as the bursting foliage of the fig-tree proclaims the near approach of summer, the appearance of the signs in the sun, and moon, and stars, would reveal the near approach both of the redemption of Israel and of the kingdom of God, says: "When *ye see* all these things, know that it is at the doors. Now it is manifest, that, in using the words, "*ye see*," it was not his intention to imply, that the individuals whom he was addressing, or any one of their number, or any one of their contemporaries on earth, would survive to behold those signs. As St. Paul, when speaking of that very far future generation of mankind which should constitute the living inhabitants of the earth at the arrival of the day of judgment, says, in general terms: "Then we which are alive and remain,* shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air;" so our Lord, by the expression, "when *ye see* all these things, plainly intends the generation of Israelites which should be dwellers upon earth at the distant period when those predicted signs should be displayed. When, therefore, he adds, in the succeeding verse, "*This generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled*;" it seems evident that by the

* 1 Thess. iv. 17.; and see 2 Thess. ii. 1—8.

words, *this generation*, he does not intend the generation which he was addressing, but the generation of which he was speaking; the generation which should be living at the time when the signs should be displayed; the generation which, as he solemnly averred, should also behold their accomplishment in the predicted events.'

If this proposed solution is not inferior in ingenuity to the other expositions, we are compelled to say that it appears to us not much more satisfactory. In such a case, the phrase 'it is manifest,' or, 'it seems evident,' involves a begging of the question; and most assuredly, the proposed construction of the words is far from being the natural or evident meaning. The force of the warning introduced by our Lord with so emphatic solemnity, would seem to us lost, unless we understand it as applying to the existing generation of Jews. And the peculiar beauty and appositeness of the simile by which it is enforced, drawn from the fig-trees then in blossom, depend in great measure on the usual and natural rendering of the passage. Is it necessary to understand the words, *all these things*, of the whole series of predictions? It seems to us, that they are susceptible of a natural and obvious limitation. The immediate subject of the prediction is the destruction of Jerusalem, and the signs which should precede it; and its primary design was, to afford the disciples of Christ such unequivocal *criteria* of the approach of that event, as should enable them to make a timely escape. But, as the double question of the disciples, which gave occasion to our Lord's uttering the prediction, betrayed mistaken ideas of the consequences of the overthrow of their temple and polity, and of the nature of his second coming, they are forewarned, that, *after* that predicted tribulation, a long series of events must yet intervene before his personal return. Their first inquiry, "When shall these things be?" related simply to the predicted overthrow of the Temple. With this, however, were associated in their minds, the second coming of our Lord, and the end of the existing state of things. It is evident from our Lord's reply, that they expected his speedy return, imagining that he was about to withdraw for only a short interval. They had as yet no just conception of the true nature of his kingdom, or of what they had themselves to suffer, in order to reign with him. Instead of giving a direct answer to their question, our Lord cautions them against becoming the dupes of those impostors who should come under his name, or assume his character: they must pay no attention to such rumours of the Messiah's return, for a succession of events must first take place, which should try their faith, and put the characters of professed Christians to a severe test. Many, it is predicted, should apostatize; but, to inspire them with confidence in the

issue, it is added, that the Gospel should so triumph over all opposition and persecution, that it should spread through the whole known world, being preached for a witness unto all nations; and that then, "the end" of the Jewish polity should come. Having thus answered their question as to *when* these things should take place, our Lord proceeds to tell them the unequivocal signs which should precede the horrors of the siege. A new subject is obviously introduced at verse 29., having no immediate connexion with the circumstances detailed in the preceding verses; but, by disclosing what was to follow "presently after that tribulation," as preparatory to his final coming in the clouds of heaven, our Lord at once taught his disciples not to identify that event with the overthrow of the Jewish nation, and led on their anticipations to a far more glorious period, when they should indeed behold their Master and Lord on the throne of his glory, and themselves partake of that glory.

In ver. 32. there is a return to the immediate subject of the prophecy; and in reference to the signs before-mentioned, it is said, "When ye *shall see* all these things, know that it is *near*." To suppose that the words "all these things" there refer to the whole succession of events included in a prophecy extending to the consummation of all things, appears to us absurd; since that would be to make the events themselves the signs of their own approach. The words contain a warning, in reference to the predicted tribulation; and the "all things," by which they were to ascertain that it was "near," must mean the visible presages of that event. As surely as the Jewish summer was near when the fig-tree began to put forth leaves, so surely would the destruction of that nation ensue immediately, when those circumstances should have taken place. It is remarkable, that the siege commenced precisely at the same time of year as that at which the prediction was delivered; just before the Passover, when the fig-tree was putting forth its leaves; so that to those who despised the warning, the very trees would recal our Lord's words, and bear witness against them.

But if it be admitted that "all these things," in ver. 33, refers to the visible signs or presages of the foretold destruction, (which to us appears most clear and certain,) there can be no difficulty in understanding the same words, as they occur in the following verse, to refer to the events which those signs were immediately to precede, as the fig-tree's putting forth leaves denoted the instant approach of summer. We cannot imagine that the disciples would understand our Lord's words in any other sense. To refer them to the final coming of our

Lord, of which it is one part of their Master's design to prevent their entertaining so mistaken an idea, as that it was to ensue upon those signs, or was at all connected with the overthrow of the temple, and the end of the Jewish state ;—to suppose them to include an indefinite succession of political changes, extending through between two and three thousand years,—to maintain that of “ these things ” it was meant, that they should be all fulfilled before that generation should pass away, and to contend that this is the natural and obvious interpretation ; strikes us as really one of the strangest vagaries of Biblical criticism. Whether we take “ all these things ” in the same sense in both verses, and refer them to the signs or introductory circumstances mentioned in verses 5—14, which were first to be fulfilled ; or apply them, in the second instance, to all that was to befall that generation, down to its utter destruction ; in either view, the sense appears to us clear, the order of ideas natural, and the whole passage relieved of difficulty.

We are aware that the form of expression in Luke, is somewhat different : “ When ye see these things come to pass, know ye that *the kingdom of God* is nigh at hand.” This expression, Mr. Gisborne considers as referring to the final establishment of Christ's universal kingdom upon earth ; and from this passage he infers, ‘ that the redemption of Israel and the coming of the kingdom of God will be synchropical.’ The phrase, *the kingdom of God*, is susceptible, however, of so various, or, at least, so wide an import, that it would be hardly safe to lay much stress upon the expression. The meaning Mr. Gisborne would here fix upon it, is by no means that which it will usually bear. For instance, Luke ix. 27, it could not be in that sense that the kingdom of God was to be *seen* by some who were then present, before their death. Schleusner's interpretation will probably appear to most of our readers to convey the more correct sense of the passage : it occurs under the word *Βασιλεία* : ‘ Ita vocatur ipsa *propagatio religionis Christianæ* in his terris æque ac omne tempus, quo se Christus dominum ecclesiæ suæ insigni modo declarat.’ And, after referring to Luke ix. 27, Mark ix. 1, he cites the passage in question, giving as the true import : ‘ adesse jam tempus, quo longa lateque propagabitur religio et felicitas Christiana.’ If this be not deemed satisfactory, we must still think that the connexion requires us to understand the phrase in some lower sense than that which Mr. Gisborne contends for ; and should be disposed to consider it as denoting that signal manifestation of the Redeemer's power, and attestation of his Messiahship,

which was furnished by the destruction of Jerusalem, in connexion with the previous triumphs of his Gospel.

With regard to the changes and transactions subsequent to the overthrow of the Jewish nation, it is evident from the passage in Luke, that the events predicted were to take place *among the Gentiles*, and that they were to extend from the destruction of Jerusalem *till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*. The figurative language employed is precisely the same as is applied to "the day of the Lord" that came upon Babylon (Isaiah xiii. 10), and to the judgements upon Egypt (Ezek. xxxii. 7). What is evidently meant is, total darkness, an eclipse of all the lights of heaven, as emblematic of general distress and perplexity: "upon the earth distress of nations." The fall of the Roman empire is probably to be understood in the first instance, which was emphatically the sun of the political world, and the destruction of which was succeeded by days of utter darkness. The country of Judea must, we think, be understood to be chiefly, if not exclusively referred to as the scene of these changes: there seems no reason to take the prediction in a wider application. Accordingly, that country has ever since been the theatre of revolutionary commotions, and the abode of political and moral darkness. On the decline of the Roman empire, it was seized by the Saracens, A.D. 637; for a short period it was recovered by the Christians, A.D. 1099; retaken by Saladin in 1187; and ever since it has been "trodden down" by the basest of nations, the Turks; so that the prediction still runs parallel with the course of events, forming an epitome of its history.

We must decline entering into the subject of Mr. Gisborne's fifth and seventh essays, as they would involve us in discussions almost interminable; and shall content ourselves with expressing our opinion, that he has decidedly the advantage over Mr. Faber on those points on which they are at issue. We had thought, indeed, to have despatched this portion of the volume in a much shorter compass, and must now hasten on to notice the interesting subjects yet in reserve.

The inquiry pursued in the first Essay is divided into two branches: 1. 'The presumptions which reason, whether by its natural powers, or as enlightened by the general truths of the Christian revelation, may suggest;' and 2. The conclusions which may appear to be either incidentally involved, or more distinctly affirmed, in passages of Scripture bearing more or less directly upon the subject. Among the presumptions suggested by reason, Mr. Gisborne adduces the nearly universal concurrence of mankind 'in the persuasion that the personal and

' mutual knowledge of individuals will be extended into a future world ;' and the natural expectation that the qualities and habits formed and cultivated on earth, shall be matured and more perfectly developed in the future state. These presumptions might, perhaps, have been multiplied, and some of them might have been put more strongly ; but, as *a priori* reasonings on such a subject are far less satisfactory to the generality of pious persons than the conclusions deducible from Scripture, Mr. Gisborne has, perhaps, acted wisely in not spending much time in philosophical inquiries, and in coming at once to the main source of evidence. It would answer no purpose to give a dry list of the passages which he cites for this purpose ; they are all forcibly urged, and shewn to bear, without violence, on the interesting question. Indeed, the proof from Scripture, in the hands of Mr. Gisborne, is triumphantly complete. Possibly, however, the objections or doubts which have been raised against the doctrine on the supposed authority of Scripture, ought to have been more explicitly adverted to and more fully obviated.

' When we consider,' says Mr. G., ' the number of the passages in the Scriptures, which teach us that Christian friends shall be re-united beyond the grave with their ancient consciousness and remembrances, and the plainness and decision with which many of the passages establish the position ; we may with reason wonder that doubt should so frequently have been intimated on the subject. The causes which have impelled some persons nearly, or altogether, to reject the truth in question, and have influenced others, and occasionally men of eminence in the Christian world, to admit it with apparent slowness and hesitation, may be reduced to two. First, the apprehension that, if remembrances and consciousness remain, recollections unwelcome and durably injurious to felicity will necessarily present themselves to the minds of glorified spirits, even respecting their dearest friends. Secondly, forebodings concerning pain to be excited by discovering, should such be the event, the absence of certain relatives or former associates from the kingdom of God ; pain embittered by the inevitable inference that the absent individuals have been consigned to perdition.'

The first of these sources of dread, is, perhaps, sufficiently disposed of by the remark,

' That the same reasoning ought still more forcibly to press those who advance it, to doubt or to deny that, in the world to come, they shall preserve any remembrance of their former selves, any consciousness of personal identity. So deeply has every man been stained with inward and outward transgression ; so much more intimate is the knowledge which each of us possesses of his own multiplied sins, and of their various aggravations, than that which he can have attained to as to the offences of his friends, that if the remembrance of

the offences of others must involve a diminution of heavenly felicity, much more grievous to him must be the consequences of recollecting his own. Yet, without recollections and recognitions, how can the individual know himself to be the same being that he was on earth ; or that he ever was an inhabitant of earth ; that he ever obeyed or disobeyed his God in a state of mortality ; that he ever sought for redemption through the blood of the Lord Jesus, or heard the sound of the Gospel ?

As to the second source of dread and difficulty, Mr. Gisborne suggests ' the possibility that the spirits of the righteous may not permanently remain subject to recollections concerning individuals excluded from the kingdom of God.'

' We know not whether it may not be determined in the counsels of the Most High, that they who are punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power, shall speedily cease to have a name and remembrance in the bosoms of the dwellers in eternal bliss.

' But assume the recollection of the lost to continue in heaven. Consider other recollections and feelings with which it must invariably be accompanied. It cannot, in a single instance, present itself without recollections also of the unsullied justice and holiness of God in the severest inflictions of his penal wrath ; nor without sentiments of profound and dutiful acquiescence in every appointment of Infinite Perfection. Let us reflect that God is love ; that he willed not the death of sinners ; that he ordained and measured their just punishment ; that the infliction of it lessens not His happiness ; that the knowledge of it may, therefore, be so tempered with holy feelings in the breasts of the dwellers in heaven, that it may not impair their felicity. Is any difficulty yet unremoved ? With God all things are possible. Let us repose on Omnipotence.'

Little can be added to these judicious remarks. It is, indeed, a low and unworthy conception of the happiness of Heaven, which would make it to depend in any degree on ignorance ; and forgetfulness of the past is a sort of ignorance. There are assuredly no Lethæan properties in the waters of life which make glad the city of God. The sensibilities of holy angels are doubtless not less acute than ours ; and so tender an interest do they take in human destinies, that they rejoice over every sinner that repenteth : every fresh accession to the number of the redeemed, is an addition to their happiness. They cannot then be ignorant of the doom of the impenitent, nor be indifferent to their fate ; and yet, that full and distinct knowledge of evil, in all its existing extent and dreadful issue, combined as it is in their bosoms with perfect benevolence, cannot destroy the tranquillity of their joy. Nor can it be necessary that the glorified mortal should part with any of his virtuous sensibilities, or forego an essential part of his identity, in order to be

capable of unalloyed satisfaction and blessedness in the vision, and love, and service of God. We shall then *know all*; and that, in a holy mind, must produce a perfect satisfaction in the whole system of the Divine Government, which will preclude a wish that things were, in any single respect, otherwise.

Mr. Gisborne's 'application of the subject' is exceedingly striking: we must make room for the concluding paragraph.

'Since in the world to come departed spirits are to meet each other, mutually possessed of so many consciousnesses and recollections; how important an object does it become to every one so to conduct himself in the present life, that his reunion with former associates may excite not pangs and reproaches in his own heart, but emotions of holy gratitude and delight! Who can estimate how large a portion of the character of any given individual has depended on other persons? On most topics, a hasty estimate is commonly extravagant: on this subject it would fall below the truth. From infancy almost or altogether to old age, the modes in which we are operating, designedly or undesignedly, on the dispositions, principles, and actions of others, are multifarious: and, under different forms, the process is continually at work. It begins with education through the medium of parents, and successive superintendents and instructors of various denominations and offices, all more or less influential, and extending to the confines of manhood. Effects, at least as strong and as enduring, have in the mean time been added by example witnessed at home, by companions at school, or at a university, or in the regiment, or in the ship, or in the counting-house, or in the manufactory, or in the shop, or the station, whatever it may be, in which the youth is professionally placed. Views as to religion, political prepossessions, the love of literature or disregard of knowledge, the habit of industry or of idleness, of profusion or of frugality, of self-indulgence or of self-command, and all the other inward and discriminating features of man, are forming or strengthening under the bias of evil communication, which corrupts all the rudiments of that which is good; or of religious intercourse, which, under the benignant grace of God, is one of the most powerful instruments of cherishing the seeds of holiness implanted by that grace, and of forwarding them in their advance towards maturity. This description may be, in substance, carried onward through the course of the succeeding years, and through the medium of the new associates of the individual; and particularly of those companions with whom he becomes more closely united by matrimonial connection, by congeniality of pursuits, by frequency of co-operation in business, or even by mere vicinity: and does not wholly cease to be applicable until he is sinking into the grave. It is true that all these ingredients of counsel and example ought to be considered by the young man, in proportion as he attains ability to exercise his judgement upon them, as raw materials brought before him for selection, in order that he may studiously and conscientiously interweave such of them as are excellent into the fabric of his own character, and resolutely reject the rest; and that the ha-

bitual fulfilment or the neglect of this momentous duty will constitute a very awful portion of his account in the day of retribution. We cannot, however, but perceive by experience how large a measure of the baser part of these materials is snatched up in the gross by the generality of mankind, and incorporated into the texture of their mind and conduct. But if others stand responsible, each as to himself, for the use which they shall have made of the materials laid before them; we shall ourselves have to answer, at the tribunal of our Lord, for the materials which we have individually furnished to other men. We shall have to welcome the transports, or to sustain the cutting lamentations, of those, to whose felicity we have ministered, or whose condemnation we have encreased. What, on that great and universal day of assembly, will be the feelings of the parent when he contemplates his child, then beheld standing to receive the everlasting sentence, whom he assiduously trained for the pursuits of mortal life, but negligently, as to *the nurture and admonition of the Lord*? What will be the sensations of the man of learning, who advanced his pupils, now before him at the tribunal of Christ, to be eminent scholars, but not to be wise and spiritual Christians! What will be the sinking of heart of the man of business, whose ordinary conversation and proceedings were calculated to incite his associates to *seek first the treasures of the earth, not the kingdom of God, and his righteousness*? How shall the ambitious man sustain himself, when he sees, face to face, those whom his society had ensnared to thirst for power and pre-eminence, instead of desiring *that honour which cometh from God only*? What shall uphold the votary of the world, who infused into the breasts of those with whom he had intercourse on earth the principles of action, the rules of moral judgement, the motives, the maxims, the customs, and the spirit of the world, even that very *friendship of the world which is enmity against God*, in the place of the principles of action, the rules of moral judgement, the motives, the maxims, the commandments, and the spirit of the pure, unbending, and unalterable Gospel? Reverse the representation. How exquisite will be the delight of those blessed individuals who, having been led to *approve things that are excellent*, to bring all things to the criterion of *the law and the testimony*, to measure every thing by the scriptural standard, have laboured, and with a view habitually directed also to the welfare of others, to adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things; to guard their own conversation no less than their actions from affording even incidental countenance to any thing unchristian in its spirit or its tendency; and to diffuse among all with whom they were associated, whether by the noiseless eloquence of example, or by the gentle efficacy of unobtrusive, yet considerate, discreet, and interesting discourse, an universal application of religion, an universal reference to the revealed will of God, an universal imitation of *the mind which was in Christ Jesus*, of the example which he traced before us as our pattern! Of the effects briefly stated in the one or in the other of these representations, each of us will probably discern at the day of Judgement an amount which he was not prepared to anticipate as produced by himself, influencing the eternal

condition of those with whom he associated upon earth; and exercising a corresponding influence, if not in deciding the alternative of misery or of happiness to himself, yet in fixing for eternity the degree of merited punishment or of gracious reward." pp. 90—96.

As to the recollection and mutual recognition of earthly friends in the world to come, there remains, then, no room for doubt. But possibly, it may occur to the minds of some persons, that this does not necessarily imply the perpetuation of earthly friendships. Our Lord, in refuting the cavil of the Sadducees, founded on the supposed case of the woman who had had seven husbands, seems to teach us, that social relations the most intimate and endearing terminate here; that they do not stretch, even in their consequences, into the future world, where "they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God." It may be thought, therefore, that, supposing all our earthly recollections to survive, the laws of the heavenly economy, or the new constitution of our perfected nature, may possibly not admit of the partialities of friendship, or of the eternization of pre-existing intimacies. As this doubt is not less painful to certain minds than that which respects the simple act of recollection, we could wish that Mr. Gisborne had made it the subject of distinct consideration. In the mean time, we may suggest, that while it is quite evident that death will dissolve all the social relations, so far as they are to be considered as external, or conventional, or simply natural—the ties of blood, as well as the ties of voluntary compact; it does not follow, that it will suspend or operate any change on virtuous attachments grafted on those relations, or existing independent of them. In the next place, the reasons for friendship, supplied in part by common recollections, in part by similarity or correspondence of individual character, must be supposed to exist in the future state. The fact, that our Lord participated in the partialities of friendship while on earth, in relation to the beloved disciple, and to the sisters of Lazarus, forbids our deeming such peculiar intimacies incompatible with the perfection of universal benevolence, or with the purity of heaven. Lastly, the peculiar joy with which the Christian pastor is represented, in Scripture, as destined to meet the subjects of his ministry in the presence of Christ, (and which, by parity of reasoning, will apply to the mutual recognition of parties endeared by other ties and recollections,) such peculiar joy would seem to indicate the continuance after death, of those feelings as well as recollections which constitute the very essence of human friendships, and thus to secure their perpetuation. Other reasons might, no doubt, be suggested, drawn from the constitution of human nature, and the analogy of the

future state of existence to what we may gather to have been the primitive condition of man. But these hasty remarks may sufficiently serve the purpose of placing the subject in its true light.

We perceive that we must not enter upon the subject of Mr. Gisborne's third essay—Calvinism and Anti-Calvinism; and we are glad to excuse ourselves. We must again, before long, resume the consideration of that unattractive topic, and may then advert to some of the remarks in the present volume. Mr. Gisborne avows himself to maintain sentiments 'unequivocally contrary to every peculiarity of Calvinism.' We only wish that every anti-Calvinist were like him in spirit and in doctrine: the controversy would then be divested of half its perplexity and all its bitterness. It does not strike us, however, that Mr. Gisborne has very deeply studied the subject for himself; and some of his statements he would find it extremely difficult to substantiate. We have great pleasure in transcribing the following liberal remarks, with which we shall take leave of this estimable writer.

* Human laws cannot alter the inherent nature of religious doctrine; nor warrant any man to recognize as accurately scriptural that which he believes to be erroneous. But if the laws of any given country treat with avowed and equal respect the peculiar religious opinions by which two bodies of men are discriminated, the one from the other; the circumstance must be acknowledged as a very forcible admonition to both those bodies to treat each other, so far as their several religious opinions are concerned, with respect and moderation. Now we have in this island two national established churches; the national Church of England, covering the portion of Great Britain south of the Tweed, with the Isle of Man, and the islands on the southern coast; and the national Church of Scotland, covering the parts north of that river, with the Hebrides, and the Isles of Orkney and Shetland. In the Act of Union between England and Scotland, the most scrupulous solicitude, the most reasonable and amicably jealous watchfulness, were mutually employed to maintain the religious equality of the two churches.^a The doctrine, the discipline,

^a 'It would be an error to suppose that inferiority in any sense was implied as to the Church of Scotland, because none of her ministers are entitled as such to seats in the House of Lords. The circumstance arose from the opposite sentiments of the two churches respecting the propriety of annexing, in certain cases, political rank and privileges to ecclesiastical station. The Episcopal Church of England had ever been accustomed to place her bishops in the upper House of Parliament. Had the Presbyterian Church of Scotland approved such a measure as to her ministers, Scotland would have had a due proportion of spiritual as of temporal peers.'

the rights, the privileges, the revenues, of each church were equally ratified and secured by law. Each church was authoritatively recognized, and pronounced to be a true and genuine Protestant Church of Christ. The two churches, however, display on the Calvinistic points a marked diversity of sentiment. The Church of England, by her articles, to use the representation least favourable to Anticalvinism, admits that doctrine into her communion. Her northern sister, by her Confession of Faith, excludes it from her creed. Every door, every window, every loophole, every crevice, appears to be barricaded against the intrusion of Anticalvinistic tenets. How unbecoming then must it be in a Calvinist bitterly to declaim against the Anticalvinistic system as heretical, when the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain solemnly declares the national Church of England, which comprehends that system, to be a true Church of Christ! Even more unbecoming, if it be possible, must be the conduct of the Anticalvinist, who should furiously inveigh against Calvinism as heresy; when the same Imperial Legislature of his country avers the national Church of Scotland, founded on a basis exclusively Calvinistic, to be a true Church of Christ!

'Throughout the whole of the preceding part of this chapter, my purpose has been to lead the Calvinistic and the Anticalvinistic members of the Church of England, severally, to understand the tenets and proceedings, each of the other, with distinctness; to regard one another, amidst all their discrepancies and reciprocally discerned or imputed errors, with brotherly love; and to oppose each other, when need may require, in the spirit of Christians. It may be well for all of us habitually to remember, how much more venial it may prove at the great day of account, to have held, through prepossession, very considerable errors, than to have known and defended the truth in an unchristian spirit.'

Art IV. *Bracebridge Hall; or, the Humorists*. By Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 798. Price 1l. 4s. London, 1822.

IF we have been somewhat tardy in noticing this last, and, we are sorry to learn, farewell production of the Author of the Sketch Book, we may take to ourselves the credit of having been the first to welcome him to England. Before any one of his volumes had received the *Imprimatur* of Albemarle-street, we were fortunate in obtaining a copy of the modest brochure which let us into the secret that America had at length produced a genuine fine writer. We had the pleasure of anticipating all the incredulity and amazement with which the announcement of such a fact was likely to be received by our literary aristocracy North and South; and though the circumstance itself did not appear to us prodigious, though we were inclined rather to feel surprise that nothing of the kind had fallen out before, we were aware that to many of the arbiters

of taste and monopolists of wisdom in this country, Geoffrey Crayon would appear a sort of *lusus nature*. The event corresponded to this anticipation. 'It has been a matter of marvel,' says the Author of himself, 'that a man from the wilds of America should express himself in tolerable English. I was looked upon as something new and strange in literature; a kind of demi-savage, with a feather in his hand, instead of on his head; and there was a curiosity to hear what such a being had to say about civilized society.'

That surprise has passed, and our wiseacres are beginning to be ashamed of having felt any. Stranger things still have sprung up in the literary world since Geoffrey Crayon began his career. We have seen Frenchmen writing good English, Quakerism sending forth her poets, and Russia furnishing an anthology; marvels quite as strange and unlooked for as the appearance of an American Addison. But, though the public has ceased to wonder after the Author of the *Sketch Book*, the interest excited by his works has suffered no abatement. The volumes have fairly taken root in our literature; and of all the publications which have made their appearance, within the last few years, under the same Bibliopolistical auspices, these simple delightful sketches seem to bid fairest for longevity.

The effect produced by the *Sketch Book*, will be permanently beneficial. England and America seem to be brought nearer to each other by this identification of their literature. To this, the spirit of the work itself has powerfully contributed.

'When I first published my former writings,' says Mr. Irvine, 'it was with no hope of gaining favour in English eyes, for I little thought they were to become current out of my own country; and had I merely sought popularity among my own countrymen, I should have taken a more direct and obvious way by gratifying, rather than rebuking the angry feelings that were then prevalent against England.'

'And here let me acknowledge my warm, my thankful feelings, at the effect produced by one of my trivial lucubrations. I allude to the essay in the *Sketch-Book*, on the subject of the literary feuds between England and America. I cannot express the heartfelt delight I have experienced, at the unexpected sympathy and approbation with which those remarks have been received on both sides of the Atlantic. I speak this not from any paltry feelings of gratified vanity; for I attribute the effect to no merit of my pen. The paper in question was brief and casual, and the ideas it conveyed were simple and obvious. "It was the cause; it was the cause" alone. There was a predisposition on the part of my readers to be favourably affected. My countrymen responded in heart to the filial feelings I had avowed in their name towards the parent country; and there was a generous sympathy in every English bosom towards a solitary indi-

vidual, lifting up his voice in a strange land, to vindicate the injured character of his nation. There are some causes so sacred as to carry with them an irresistible appeal to every virtuous bosom; and he needs but little power of eloquence, who defends the honour of his wife, his mother, or his country.

'I hail, therefore, the success of that brief paper, as shewing how much good may be done by a kind word, however feeble, when spoken in season—as shewing how much dormant good feeling actually exists in each country, towards the other, which only wants the slightest spark to kindle it into a genial flame—as shewing, in fact, what I have all along believed and asserted, that the two nations would grow together in esteem and amity, if meddling and malignant spirits would but throw by their mischievous pens, and leave kindred hearts to the kindly impulses of nature.

'To the magnanimous spirits of both countries must we trust to carry such a natural alliance of affection into full effect. To pens more powerful than mine I leave the noble task of promoting the cause of national amity. To the intelligent and enlightened of my own country, I address my parting voice, entreating them to shew themselves superior to the petty attacks of the ignorant and the worthless, and still to look with dispassionate and philosophic eye to the moral character of England, as the intellectual source of our rising greatness; while I appeal to every generous-minded Englishman from the slanders which disgrace the press, insult the understanding, and belie the magnanimity of his country: and I invite him to look to America, as to a kindred nation, worthy of its origin; giving, in the healthy vigour of its growth, the best of comments on its parent stock; and reflecting, in the dawning brightness of its fame, the moral effulgence of British glory.

'I am sure that such appeal will not be made in vain. Indeed I have noticed, for some time past, an essential change in English sentiment with regard to America. In parliament, that fountain-head of public opinion, there seems to be an emulation, on both sides of the house, in holding the language of courtesy and friendship. The same spirit is daily becoming more and more prevalent in good society. There is a growing curiosity concerning my country; a craving desire for correct information, that cannot fail to lead to a favourable understanding. The scoffer, I trust, has had his day; the time of the slanderer is gone by. The ribald jokes, the stale commonplaces, which have so long passed current when America was the theme, are now banished to the ignorant and the vulgar, or only perpetuated by the hireling scribblers and traditional jesters of the press. The intelligent and high-minded now pride themselves upon making America a study.

'But however my feelings may be understood or reciprocated on either side of the Atlantic, I utter them without reserve, for I have ever found that to speak frankly is to speak safely. I am not so sanguine as to believe that the two nations are ever to be bound together by any romantic ties of feeling; but I believe that much may be done towards keeping alive cordial sentiments, were every well disposed

mind occasionally to throw in a simple word of kindness. If I have, indeed, produced any such effect by my writings, it will be a soothing reflection to me, that for once, in the course of a rather negligent life, I have been useful; that for once, by the casual exercise of a pen which has been in general but too unprofitably employed, I have awakened a chord of sympathy between the land of my fathers and the dear land that gave me birth.

'In the spirit of these sentiments I now take my farewell of the paternal soil. With anxious eye do I behold the clouds of doubt and difficulty that are lowering over it, and earnestly do I hope that they may all clear up into serene and settled sunshine. In bidding this last adieu, my heart is filled with fond, yet melancholy emotions; and still I linger, and still, like a child, leaving the venerable abodes of his forefathers, I turn to breathe forth a filial benediction: "Peace be within thy walls, oh England! and plenteousness within thy palaces; for my brethren and my companions' sake I will now say, Peace be within thee!"' Vol. II. pp. 396—404.

If, by his first works, the Author won his way into the good graces of his readers, these volumes will, we think, give him a firm hold of English hearts. There were some persons who, on the appearance of the present work, were not tardy in announcing its decided inferiority to the Sketch Book. It contains less variety, we admit, and something of the novelty of course has evaporated; but, had it appeared first, *Bracebridge Hall* would have been thought the cleverer book of the two. In point of literary merit, it is fully equal to its predecessors, while there is discovered, in many parts, a deeper vein of thought, a wider range of reflection than characterized the earlier sketches. Where the nature of his subject calls for nothing beyond that pensive or playful toying with grave thoughts which delights the fancy in her philosophic moods, by the side of a trout stream, or under the shadow of a Gothic ruin,—the Author is always an elegant expositor of natural sentiments. He has evidently drunk deep into the spirit of English scenery, and his writings reflect its genuine character. 'I thought,' he says, 'I never could be sated with the sweetness and freshness of a country so completely carpeted with verdure; where every air breathed of the balmy pasture and the honey-suckled hedge. I was continually coming upon some little document of poetry in the blossomed hawthorn, the daisy, the cowslip, the primrose, or some other simple object that has received a supernatural value from the muse.' And under this impression he has written. His pages breathe the quiet, gentle enthusiasm inspired by the modest English landscape in a genuine lover of nature. A holiday feeling pervades the work, answering to the aspect every subject assumes in it, for all things here appear in their Sunday dress. But

Mr. Irvine, in his chapter on English Country Gentlemen, and elsewhere, has shewn us that he can, when he pleases, put forth a manly energy of thought and feeling much above that tone of a mere good-humoured, quiet observer of customs and manners, which it suits him generally to observe. We are happy to think that the admirable sentiments contained in that chapter, will, by favour of the Squire, the Stout Gentleman, and other strong points of the book, find their way into circles where any more formal appeal would be very unlikely to succeed. Coming from Mr. Irvine, they will be received without any possible suspicion of their being dictated by party prejudice.

‘ Whatever may be said of English mobs and English demagogues, I have never met with a people more open to reason, more considerate in their tempers, more tractable by argument in the roughest times, than the English. They are remarkably quick at discerning and appreciating whatever is manly and honourable. They are by nature and habit methodical and orderly; and they feel the value of all that is regular and respectable. They may occasionally be deceived by sophistry, and excited into turbulence by public distresses and the misrepresentations of designing men; but open their eyes, and they will eventually rally round the land-marks of steady truth and deliberate good sense. They are fond of established customs, they are fond of long established names; and that love of order and quiet which characterizes the nation, gives a vast influence to the descendants of the old families, whose forefathers have been lords of the soil from time immemorial.

‘ It is when the rich and well-educated and highly privileged classes neglect their duties, when they neglect to study the interests, and conciliate the affections, and instruct the opinions, and champion the rights of the people, that the latter become discontented and turbulent, and fall into the hands of demagogues: the demagogue always steps in where the patriot is wanting. There is a common high-handed cant among the high-feeding, and, as they fancy themselves, high-minded men, about putting down the mob; but all true physicians know that it is better to sweeten the blood than attack the tumour, to apply the emollient rather than the cautery. It is absurd in a country like England, where there is so much freedom, and such a jealousy of right, for any man to assume an aristocratical tone, and to talk superciliously of the common people. There is no rank that makes him independent of the opinions and affections of his fellow-men; there is no rank nor distinction that severs him from his fellow subject; and if, by any gradual neglect or assumption on the one side, and discontent and jealousy on the other, the orders of society should really separate, let those who stand on the eminence beware that the chasm is not mining at their feet. The orders of society in all well constituted governments are mutually bound together, and important to each other; there can be no such thing in

a free government as a vacuum; and whenever one is likely to take place, by the drawing off of the rich and intelligent from the poor, the bad passions of society will rush in to fill up the space, and rend the whole asunder.

‘ Though born and brought up in a republic, and more and more confirmed in republican principles by every year’s observation and experience, yet I am not insensible to the excellence that may exist in other forms of government, nor to the fact that they may be more suitable to the situation and circumstances of the countries in which they exist: I have endeavoured rather to look at them as they are, and to observe how they are calculated to effect the end which they propose. Considering, therefore, the mixed nature of the government of this country, and its representative form, I have looked with admiration at the manner in which the wealth and influence and intelligence were spread over its whole surface; not, as in some monarchies, drained from the country, and collected in towns and cities. I have considered the great rural establishments of the nobility, and the lesser establishments of the gentry, as so many reservoirs of wealth and intelligence distributed about the kingdom, apart from the towns, to irrigate, freshen, and fertilize the surrounding country. I have looked upon them too, as the august retreats of patriots and statesmen, where, in the enjoyment of honourable independence and elegant leisure, they might train up their minds to appear in those legislative assemblies, whose debates and decisions form the study and precedents of other nations, and involve the interests of the world.

‘ I have been both surprised and disappointed, therefore, at finding, that on this subject I was often indulging in an Utopian dream, rather than a well-founded opinion. I have been concerned at finding that these fine estates were too often involved, and mortgaged, or placed in the hands of creditors, and the owners exiled from their paternal lands. There is an extravagance, I am told, that runs parallel with wealth; a lavish expenditure among the great; a senseless competition among the aspiring; a heedless, joyless dissipation among all the upper ranks, that often beggars even these splendid establishments, breaks down the pride and principles of their possessors, and makes too many of them mere place-hunters, or shifting absentees. It is thus that so many are thrown into the hands of government; and a court, which ought to be the most pure and honourable in Europe, is so often degraded by noble, but importunate time-servers. It is thus, too, that so many become exiles from their native land, crowding the hotels of foreign countries, and expending upon thankless strangers the wealth so hardly drained from their laborious peasantry. I have looked upon these latter with a mixture of censure and concern. Knowing the almost bigoted fondness of an Englishman for his native home, I can conceive what must be their compunction and regret, when, amidst the sunburnt plains of France, they call to mind the green fields of England; the hereditary groves which they have abandoned, and the hospitable roof of their fathers, which they have left desolate, or to be inhabited by strangers. But

retrenchment is no plea for an abandonment of country. They have risen with the prosperity of the land; let them abide its fluctuations, and conform to its fortunes. It is not for the rich to fly because the country is suffering: let them share, in their relative proportion, the common lot; they owe it to the land that has elevated them to honour and affluence. When the poor have to diminish their scanty morsel of bread; when they have to compound with the cravings of nature, and study with how little they can do, and not be starved; it is not then for the rich to fly, and diminish still further the resources of the poor, that they themselves may live in splendour in a cheaper country. Let them rather retire to their estates, and there practise retrenchment. Let them return to that noble simplicity, that practical good sense, that honest pride, which form the foundation of true English character, and from them they may again rear the edifice of fair and honourable prosperity.

'On the rural habits of the English nobility and gentry, on the manner in which they discharge their duties on their patrimonial possessions, depend greatly the virtue and welfare of the nation. So long as they pass the greater part of their time in the quiet and purity of the country; surrounded by the monuments of their illustrious ancestors; surrounded by every thing that can inspire generous pride, noble emulation, and amiable and magnanimous sentiment; so long they are safe, and in them the nation may repose its interests and its honour. But the moment that they become the servile throngers of court avenues, and give themselves up to the political intrigues and heartless dissipations of the metropolis, that moment they lose the real nobility of their natures, and become the mere leeches of the country.' Vol. II. pp. 8—15.

It will not be necessary for us, as the volumes have been so long before the public, to give any minute account of their contents. Nothing can be better than the portraits of the Busy Man, Ready Money Jack, The General, and Ned Slingsby. The Widow is less happy as a character, though, we doubt not, 'after nature;' but her retinue is an exquisite cabinet picture. There is some equally good portrait painting in Dolph Heyliger, a companion story to Rip Van Winkle; and the scenery is admirable. We are tempted to give the picture of Dame Heyliger's shop, as a perfect specimen of Dutch painting.

'Living in a mercantile town, she had caught something of the spirit, and determined to venture a little in the great lottery of commerce. On a sudden, therefore, to the great surprise of the street, there appeared at her window a grand array of gingerbread kings and queens, with their arms stuck a kimbo, after the invariable royal manner. There were also several broken tumblers, some filled with sugar plums, some with marbles; there were, moreover, cakes of various kinds, and barley-sugar, and Holland dolls, and wooden horses, with here and there gilt-covered picture-books, and now and

then a skein of thread or a dangling pound of candles. At the door of the house sat the good old dame's cat, a decent demure-looking personage, that seemed to scan every body that passed, to criticise their dress, and now and then to stretch her neck, and look out with sudden curiosity, to see what was going on at the other end of the street; but if by chance any idle vagabond dog came by, and offered to be uncivil—hoity-toity,—how she would bristle up, and growl, and spit, and strike out her paws! She was as indignant as ever was an ancient and ugly spinster on the approach of some graceless profligate!

This good dame had one son, the child of her old age, of all unlucky urchins the most mischievous.

‘Not that the whipster was really vicious; he was only full of fun and frolic, and had that daring, gamesome spirit, which is extolled in a rich man’s child, but execrated in a poor man’s. He was continually getting into scrapes: his mother was incessantly harassed with complaints of some waggish pranks which he had played off: bills were sent in for windows that he had broken; in a word, he had not reached his fourteenth year before he was pronounced, by all the neighbourhood, to be a “wicked dog, the wickedest dog in the street!” Nay, one old gentleman, in a claret-coloured coat, with a thin red face, and ferret eyes, went so far as to assure dame Heyliger, that her son would, one day or other, come to the gallows!’

‘Yet, notwithstanding all this, the poor old soul loved her boy. It seemed as though she loved him the better the worse he behaved; and that he grew more in her favour, the more he grew out of favour with the world. Mothers are foolish, fond-hearted beings: there’s no reasoning them out of their dotage; and, indeed, this poor woman’s child was all that was left to love her in this world;—so we must not think it hard that she turned a deaf ear to her good friends, who sought to prove to her that Dolph would come to a halter.

‘To do the varlet justice, too, he was strongly attached to his parent. He would not willingly have given her pain on any account; and when he had been doing wrong, it was but for him to catch his poor mother’s eye fixed wistfully and sorrowfully upon him, to fill his heart with bitterness and contrition. But he was a heedless youngster, and could not, for the life of him, resist any new temptation to fun and mischief. Though quick at his learning, whenever he could be brought to apply himself, yet he was always prone to be led away by idle company, and would play truant to hunt after birds’ nests, to rob orchards, or to swim in the Hudson.

‘In this way he grew up, a tall, lubberly boy; and his mother began to be greatly perplexed what to do with him, or how to put him in a way to do for himself; for he had acquired such an unlucky reputation, that no one seemed willing to employ him.’ Vol. II. pp. 243—245.

At length an opportunity offers of his succeeding to the vacant place of apprentice to a famous German doctor resident in

er it, cowering under cotton umbrellas, and seethed together, peaking with the steams of wet box-coats and upper Benjamins. The sound brought out from their lurking-places a crew of vagabonds, and vagabond dogs, and the carrot-headed hostler, and a non-descript animal ycleped Boots, and all the other vagabond that infest the purlieus of an inn; but the bustle was transient; coach again whirled on its way; and boy and dogs, and hostler and Boots, all slunk back again to their holes; the street again became silent, and the rain continued to rain on. In fact, there was no hope of its clearing up; the barometer pointed to rainy weather; the hostess's tortoise-shell cat sat by the fire washing her face, and rubbing her paws over her ears; and on referring to the Almanack, I found a direful prediction stretching from the top of the page to the bottom through the whole month, "expect—much—rain—out—this—time!" Vol. I. pp. 112—19.

We have been exceedingly pleased with 'the Rookery,' which displays the same minute and accurate observation, with a mixture of quiet humour and pensiveness characteristic of the Author's happiest style. We make room for the concluding paragraph.

'But, maugre all these untoward incidents, the rooks have, upon the whole, a happy holiday life of it. When their young are reared, and fairly launched upon their native element the air, the cares of the old folks seem over, and they resume all their aristocratical dignity and idleness. I have envied them the enjoyment which they appear to have in their ethereal heights, sporting with clamorous exultation about their lofty bowers: sometimes hovering over them, sometimes partially alighting upon the top-most branches, and there balancing with outstretched wings, and swinging in the breeze. Sometimes they seem to take a fashionable drive to the church, and amuse themselves by circling in airy rings about its spire; at other times a mere garrison is left at home to mount guard in their strong hold at the grove, while the rest roam abroad to enjoy the fine weather. About sunset the garrison gives notice of their return: their faint cawing will be heard from a great distance, and they will be seen far off like a sable cloud, and then, nearer and nearer, until they all come soaring home. Then they perform several grand circuits in the air, over the Hall and garden, wheeling closer and closer, until they gradually settle down upon the grove, when a prodigious cawing takes place, as though they were relating their day's adventures.

'I like at such times to walk about these dusky groves, and hear the various sounds of these airy people roosted so high above me. As the gloom increases, their conversation subsides, and they seem to be gradually dropping asleep; but every now and then there is a querulous note, as if some one was quarrelling for a pillow, or a little more of the blanket. It is late in the evening before they completely sink to repose, and then their old anchorite neighbour, the owl, begins his lonely hootings from his batchelor's-hall, in the wood.'

her die, though it was a delicate alternative, and few writers could have extricated themselves from such a subject as he has done. It is a touching tale, the more touching for being not over-tragic. The Student of Salamanca is a story of a more common order than we look for from Geoffrey Crayon; and the Author is evidently not at home in it. But it is not uninteresting. The 'stage-coach romance,' is the cleverest thing in the whole work. We can do no justice to it by detached extracts; and yet, we cannot withhold the graphic description with which it opens.

'It was a rainy Sunday, in the gloomy month of November. I had been detained, in the course of a journey, by a slight indisposition, from which I was recovering; but I was still feverish, and was obliged to keep within doors all day, in an inn in the small town of Derby. A wet Sunday in a country inn! whoever has had the luck to experience one can alone judge of my situation. The rain pattered against the casements; the bells tolled for church with a melancholy sound. I went to the windows in quest of something to amuse the eye; but it seemed as if I had been placed completely out of the reach of all amusement. The windows of my bed-room looked out among tiled roofs and stacks of chimneys, while those of my sitting-room commanded a full view of the stable-yard. I know of nothing more calculated to make a man sick of this world than a stable-yard on a rainy day. The place was littered with wet straw that had been kicked about by travellers and stable-boys. In one corner was a stagnant pool of water, surrounding an island of muck; there were several half-drowned fowls crowded together under a cart, among which was a miserable, crest-fallen cock, drenched out of all life and spirit; his drooping tail matted, as it were, into a single feather, along which the water trickled from his back; near the cart was a half-dozing cow, chewing the cud, and standing patiently to be rained on, with wreaths of vapour rising from her reeking hide; a wall-eyed horse, tired of the loneliness of the stable, was poking his spectral head out of a window, with the rain dripping on it from the eaves; an unhappy cur, chained to a dog-house hard by, uttered something, every now and then, between a bark and a yelp; a drab of a kitchen wench tramped backwards and forwards through the yard in pattens, looking as sulky as the weather itself; every thing, in short, was comfortless and forlorn, excepting a crew of hard-drinking ducks, assembled like boon companions round a puddle, and making a riotous noise over their liquor.'

'The day continued lowering and gloomy; the slovenly, ragged, spongy clouds drifted heavily along; there was no variety even in the rain; it was one dull, continued, monotonous patter—patter—patter, excepting that now and then I was enlivened by the idea of a brisk shower, from the rattling of the drops upon a passing umbrella.

'It was quite *refreshing* (if I may be allowed a hackneyed phrase of the day) when, in the course of the morning, a horn blew, and a stage coach whirled through the street, with outside passengers stuck

all over it, cowering under cotton umbrellas, and seethed together, and reeking with the steams of wet box-coats and upper Benjamins.

'The sound brought out from their lurking-places a crew of vagabond boys, and vagabond dogs, and the carrot-headed hostler, and that non-descript animal ycleped Boots, and all the other vagabond race that infest the purlieus of an inn; but the bustle was transient; the coach again whirled on its way; and boy and dogs, and hostler and Boots, all slunk back again to their holes; the street again became silent, and the rain continued to rain on. In fact, there was no hope of its clearing up; the barometer pointed to rainy weather; mine hostess's tortoise-shell cat sat by the fire washing her face, and rubbing her paws over her ears; and on referring to the Almanack, I found a direful prediction stretching from the top of the page to the bottom through the whole month, "expect—much—rain—about—this—time!"' Vol. I. pp. 112—19.

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Art. V. *A Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, on Thursday, the 24th of October, 1822.*
By William Magee, DD. F.R.S. &c. Archbishop of Dublin. 2nd Edition. 8vo. pp. 54. London. 1822.

PERHAPS one of the best uses to which an Establishment can be turned, is the rewarding of learned men. One is glad, therefore, when an individual is elevated to the ranks of the Levitical nobility, who is ostensibly indebted for his promotion to some other circumstance than mere family connexion, and who, by his previous reputation, has given bond to the public, for the competent discharge of the office with which the State has entrusted him. One is peculiarly glad when such a circumstance occurs in Ireland; for though that country is not likely to be either much the better or much the worse for the learning or no learning of her lordly and princely diocesans, still, it is far better that its immense revenues should be distributed among persons who have laid society under some obligation, than be engrossed by the younger branches of some two or three powerful families, in whom birth stands for merit, and state influence supersedes religious qualifications.

Archbishop Magee is known to our readers as the Author of an elaborate Treatise on the Atonement, which first appeared between fifteen and twenty years ago, and to the merits and value of which a ready testimony was borne in the former series of this journal. Dr. Magee shewed himself in that work an acute, though not a dispassionate critic, and a skilful polemic, if not, on all points, a thoroughly sound theologian. Of the awful responsibilities connected with his present office, he appears to have a due impression; and in reminding his clergy of the description which the Ordination Service presents of their character, duties, and obligations, he makes an appeal to their consciences, which, in a country less happily provided with zealous, apostolic, unblemished, self-denying ministers than Ireland has always been, might have sounded like the most biting sarcasm.

‘ Well then, indeed, may they be solemnly called on (as they are immediately after) to “ see with what great care and study they ought to apply themselves; as well that they may shew themselves dutiful and thankful to the Lord, who hath placed them in so high a dignity; as also to be careful, that they neither themselves offend, nor be occasion that others offend:” and that, for this purpose, they should, as much as in them lies, “ forsake and set aside all worldly cares and studies,” and endeavour, “ by God’s grace to give themselves wholly to the office, whereunto it hath pleased God to call them, so as, to the utmost of their power, to apply themselves

wholly to this one thing, and draw all their cares and studies this way; and that they will continually pray to God the Father, by the mediation of our only Saviour, Jesus Christ, for the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost, that, by daily reading and weighing of the Scriptures, they may wax riper and stronger in their ministry; and that they may so endeavour themselves from time to time, to sanctify the lives of them and theirs, and to fashion them after the rule and doctrine of Christ, that they may be wholesome and godly examples and patterns for the people to follow."

"Is it not, then, demanded of them, in the most solemn manner, to bind themselves to all these things; declaring, as in the more immediate presence of God, and at his holy altar, that they believe themselves to be "truly called to the order and ministry of their priesthood, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the order of the Church established in this realm;"—that "out of the Holy Scriptures they will carefully instruct the people committed to their charge;"—that they "will give their faithful diligence always to minister the doctrine, and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and Realm, according to the commandments of God, hath received the same;"—that they will be "ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word, and to use to the utmost of their power both public and private exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole within their respective cures;"—that they will be "diligent in prayers, and in reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh;"—that they will be "diligent also to frame and fashion themselves and their families according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make both themselves and them (as much as in them lieth) wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ;"—that they will "maintain and set forward (to the utmost of their power) quietness, peace, and love, among all Christian people, and especially among them that are or shall be committed to their charge;" and finally, that they "will reverently obey their Ordinary, and other chief Ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over them, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting themselves to their godly judgments?"

"Here, my Reverend Brethren, are the awful duties, which we have taken upon us to discharge. Here are the promises, by which we have bound ourselves to our great Master. Here is the standard, by which we are to be tried, by ourselves, by the world, and above all, by our Eternal Judge. Happy, indeed, would it be for us, and for those committed to our care, could we bear to be measured by this standard. And yet, if not, what must be the consequence, both to ourselves, and to those who are entrusted to us:—if we do not at least endeavour, through the divine grace, to approach towards the fulfilment of this our bounden duty!

"It will, surely, be admitted by all, that the person, who has engaged himself by such solemn obligations, should have something to

distinguish him, in his life and conversation, from those, who live after the ordinary habits and manners of the world. And yet, is this always found to be the case in fact? Let us ask ourselves honestly the question, are there not some among us, who present no such distinctive appearances? Are there not some, who manifest no anxiety for the salvation of those who are committed to their spiritual charge? Some, who seem to view the Church, merely as the means of livelihood; who appear to consider the promises made by them at their Ordination, but as words of form; and who, provided they discharge, with tolerable regularity, such external acts, as are indispensably required for the tenure of their office and its emoluments, afford but little reason to suppose, that they concern themselves about its weightier duties; or rather, indeed, seem desirous to escape from every appearance of sanctity or piety, which might bear the stamp of their sacred profession, deeming it a higher honour to mix upon equal terms with the general mass of society, and to merge the Minister of the Gospel in the gentleman and the man of the world?" pp. 8—12.

'It were a lamentable thing,' adds the Archbishop, 'if such cases were numerous. I trust in God they are not. In the diocese from which I have been lately removed, they were *rare indeed*.' What a much better state of things, after all, must prevail in the Church of Ireland, than is too often apparent here!

His Grace then proceeds to advert to the prevalent indifference to religion, accompanied, as he alleges, with the dislike of its ministers, whom he represents as '*resisted and oppressed*,' in their 'property, character, and teaching.' The whole Order is too generally viewed with 'malevolence.' 'In *their* persons, it is deemed by many no violation of justice, to infringe or evade the laws which are designed to protect the maintenance of all.' Hear this, Mr. O'Driscoll, and blush! Talk of the Catholics being oppressed and persecuted! It is the Protestant clergy who are being at one and the same time resisted and oppressed. In general, it is only the weak who are oppressed, and the strong who are resisted; but the Protestant clergy are in so anomalous a situation that they are exposed to assaults of all kinds: 'insomuch,' we are told, 'that at this day, the National Clergy are placed in a state little short of direct persecution, though under the *apparent* protection of the Law.' Their very maintenance, we see, is placed in jeopardy. With a million for its aggregate income, this much injured Church of Ireland hardly knows how to help herself against her oppressors. And who are they? Perhaps it would have been below the dignity of the Apostolic Chair to name or specify these foes innumerable which compass her about. But, according to the representation here given, it would seem to be society at large: it is a general, an almost universal feeling

of malevolence which is pursuing the national clergy of Ireland. This were, indeed, a formidable conspiracy. But the Church of Ireland is oppressed, is persecuted? We ask again, by whom? Not surely by the snug and compact phalanx of 400,000 hearers whom she numbers within her own pale? Not, we hope, by the quiet and industrious Presbyterians of Ulster. Then it must be the Papists who oppress the Protestant clergy. Never mind which way the current runs; Sir Lamb, 'tis you.

These episcopal compositions are most aptly designated: their running title is a *charge*. And the present consists of a series of charges. Having brought his charge of oppression against the general body of the Irish, his Grace proceeds to lay his indictment more specifically against his oppressors on a different count.

'We, my Reverend Brethren, are placed in a station, in which we are hemmed in by two opposite descriptions of professing Christians: the one, possessing a Church, without what we can properly call a Religion; and the other, possessing a Religion, without what we can properly call a Church: the one so blindly enslaved to a supposed infallible Ecclesiastical authority, as not to seek in the Word of God a reason for the faith they profess; the other, so confident in the infallibility of their individual judgment as to the reasons of their faith, that they deem it their duty to resist all authority in matters of religion. We, my Brethren, are to keep clear of both extremes; and holding the Scriptures as our great Charter, whilst we maintain the liberty, with which Christ has made us free, we are to submit ourselves to the authority, to which he has made us subject.

'From this spirit of tempered freedom, and qualified submission, sprung the glorious work of the Reformation, by which the Church of these countries, having thrown off the trammels of a slavish superstition, burst forth in the purified form of Christian renovation: and, having flung aside the novelties of human invention, presented to the world the fair picture of the *true, and genuine, and ancient* Catholic Church, retaining all that authority, and entitled to all that reverence, which belonged to the early Church, of which it is the disencumbered and legitimate continuation.

'Now, by the same spirit, by which our Church was thus restored, can it only be preserved: and from the decay of that spirit it is, that schism and confusion have arisen to disturb its tranquillity and impair its benefits. Not only have disputes and divisions, to the great triumph of infidelity and irreligion, broken off from us and multiplied various sects, which profess, that for conscience sake they reject our errors, as we did those of the Church of Rome; but also, amongst ourselves, and within our own pale, a sectarian spirit has been engendered in the indulgence of an unqualified exercise of individual judgment, which, from want of due knowledge and a full comprehension of the relations and consequences of things, is sure to issue, either in an unauthorized assumption of rights, to which there is no

just title, or in an inconsiderate abandonment of duties, to which a more enlightened conscience must feel itself bound to submit.'

pp. 25—27.

Alas ! Alas ! And is this the learned Dr. Magee ? And does he think to promote the interests of his Church by such miserable cradities as these ? Does he think, by denying the right of private judgement, to advance the cause of the Reformation, more especially in Ireland ? Is this language for a Protestant Archbishop to hold in the nineteenth century ? Why, he has already been obliged to eat his own words ; for after broadly asserting that the Roman Catholics possess a Church 'without what we can properly call a religion,' he explains his meaning, in a note, to be, that Protestants 'can never admit that to be *true religion* which forbids the free use of Scripture.' This is a disreputable evasion. A Church may both have a religion, and profess the true religion, and yet may forbid the free use of Scripture ; although, in so doing, she acts contrary to the spirit of that religion. It may be, and doubtless is, a good test of the spirit of *any* church, how far she admits of or favours the unrestricted circulation of the holy scriptures ; but that circumstance will not prove of itself what is the religion of that church. Archbishop Magee has taken very dangerous ground if he means to make this the main distinction between Popery and the Protestant Establishment. He has supplied a test, the possible application of which he can hardly have been fully aware of, 'Nor can they,' he adds, 'who build the entire profession of the Christian faith upon the word of God, concede the attribute of Christianity, in its vital character and in its proper sense, to a form of belief which subjects the word of God to the authority of man.' If the former part of this sentence is meant to describe the members of the Church of England, it is not correct : they build their belief, in all controversies of faith, on the power expressly claimed by their own Church to determine such matters ; in the exercise of which power, she has put forth certain articles and formularies, which subject the word of God, as Dissenters think, to the authority of man. In the same sense as that in which the Protestant Episcopalian would deny this to be the case with his 'form of belief,' the Papist might, with equal truth, deny the allegation made by Dr. Magee. He would not admit that the word of God is made subject to the authority of the Church. The Church of Rome itself claims only to be an authorized guardian and interpreter of the Scriptures.

But what is this religion without a church ? Does the Arch-

bishop mean to affirm this of the Presbyterians of Ireland, who form by far the larger portion of those who hem in the established Church on the other side? Does he venture to affirm of that form of church polity which the Legislature of this country has formerly recognised as the established church in the northern part of these realms, that it cannot be properly termed a church? And is the Church of Scotland chargeable with sanctioning in her members such confidence in the infallibility of individual judgement, as leads them to resist all authority in matters of religion? If he does not mean this, he should have told us what he meant. For assuredly, this is a natural inference from his words. The Presbyterian Church of Ireland cannot be a whit more or less a church, according to his own shewing, because it is not, in that country, the established church; since he admits, that the Roman Catholics have a church in Ireland, though not a religion. Now a church without a religion is a much worse thing, we all know, than a religion without a church; but the latter is really not the case with the Presbyterians: they have both a church and a religion, although the Archbishop of Dublin was not aware of it.

But, possibly, his Grace might mean the whole weight of this branch of the antithetical sentence to fall on the Independents, whom he condescends to name in a preceding page. They are, however, a small body in Ireland, and it is evident that the Archbishop has heard little—at least, he knows little about them. They must be Independents indeed, *ultra* Independents, of a class of which we have never yet heard, who maintain the infallibility of their individual judgement as to the reasons of their faith. Surely, the Archbishop has been misled by some blundering informant who has mistaken accountability for infallibility. Personal accountability is certainly a principle of those churchless religionists who acknowledge no human authority in matters of religion, or, in other words, which his Grace may possibly recollect to have seen, no “dominion over” their “faith.” That Independents resist all religious authority, however, is not true; for, while they ‘maintain the liberty with which Christ has made them free,’ they ‘submit themselves to the authority to which he has made them subject.’ They do not forget that ‘there is a pastoral relation that binds the minister to his flock and the flock to their minister.’ They acknowledge an authority for edification resident in the pastor to whom they submit themselves in the Lord. There is such a thing, moreover, as discipline among them; and though it is their misfortune that the Archbishop of Dublin cannot properly call it such, they have what the New Testament denominates a church.

What remains for the National Clergy, thus oppressed, maligned, hemmed in, and beneficed, to do? In the first place, they are to stay at home, look to their parishes, and not admit strangers into their pulpits, which, it seems, they have no right to do without special leave of the Bishop. This is the leading topic of admonition. His Grace adds:

‘There are other heads, on which I could wish to address you. But, I have gone to so great a length, on points, which I deemed the most important at this time, that it will be necessary to reserve them for a future opportunity. The heads, to which I refer, concern the nature and laws of Residence; the condition and number of Parish Churches; the qualifications and duties of Churchwardens; the advantage resulting to the Clergy from an acquaintance with the leading principles of Ecclesiastical law; the great value of a perfect Uniformity; the present state of parochial Education, and the means of its improvement. On these various heads, many suggestions present themselves, but they must be postponed.’ pp. 39, 40.

Ecclesiastical Law, Uniformity, Churchwardens, building churches, these, with parochial education, constitute his Grace's apparatus for promoting Christianity in Ireland. Pa-
‘rochial Education’ in a country where five sevenths of the population are Roman Catholics! When will this Apostolic Church be wise? We do not ask, when will she be Scriptural.

Art. VI. *Letters from Mecklenburg and Holstein*; comprising an Account of the Free Cities of Hamburg and Lubeck. Written in the Summer of 1820. By George Downes, A. B. late of Trinity College, Dublin. 8vo. pp. 352. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1822.

GERMANY is not quite so interesting a country as Egypt or Greece, but the descendants of the Jutes and the Angles may do well now and then to look to the rock from which they were hewn, and the pit whence they have been digged. The Germans are our good cousins; and to them and their neighbours the Danes, we have been indebted for more than one line of kings. It is a loyal as well as a natural curiosity, therefore, which would induce us to cultivate some acquaintance with these elder branches of the family to which little England has the honour to belong, and to see what sort of a country that is, which our ancestors were so unwise as to desert for the catch-cold clime of this Island.

The Baltic provinces of Germany, Mr. Downes remarks, have been scarcely noticed by travellers; and it is the prominent merit of the present volume, that it takes us where few former tourists of pleasure have thought it worth while to pene-

trate. We cannot compliment the Writer on having produced a very interesting, or a peculiarly well written work. The character of the country has infected his pages; and for want of better materials, he has been induced to inflict upon his readers a variety of details wholly insipid, adventures which end in nothing, dry catalogues of no conceivable interest, and a more than sufficient quantity of sentimentality and German. A Tour spread out into letters, is always tedious; but what could the most ingenious tourist find to fill up twenty-five letters withal from Mecklenburg and Holstein?

Hamburg and Altona, we presume, do not require to be described to English readers. Mr. Downes did not fail to visit the grave of Klopstock at Ottensen; and we are indebted to him for a correct copy of the separate inscriptions on the two stones placed over the graves of the Poet and his beloved Meta, which are confounded together in the translation given by Miss Elizabeth Smith. We are surprised, however, that Mr. Downes, instead of borrowing that translation, did not furnish us with a correct one. A very remarkable piece of information is given us at page 44. The clergyman of the English Reformed Church at Hamburgh, is represented as adhering 'exclusively' to the Liturgy of the Church of Scotland.' Not having before heard of this Scotch liturgy, we regret that Mr. Downes did not bring home a copy of it. Equally curious is the information, (which does not, however, rest on our Author's own testimony, but is embodied in an inscription in the *Jacobi Kirche* at Lubeck,) that the *Jerusalemberg* or Hill of Jerusalem, an artificial eminence in the environs, is at the same distance from that church, that Golgotha is from Jerusalem. As the supposed site of Golgotha is almost in the centre of modern Jerusalem; and never could have been without the ancient city, one is curious to know how and whence the worthy Lubeckers got their information.

The scene on leaving Ratzeburg may be taken as a specimen of a German landscape.

'On leaving Ratzeburg we ascended an acclivity, which led into an extensive sandy plain sown with corn, but terminating in a bleak uncultivated tract. This region, however meagre and featureless the description may appear, possessed for me an intense and peculiar interest. There was nothing to meet the eye but a grassy expanse, bounded in front and on the right by a wood. Such landscapes are quite common in Germany; but there was one minute circumstance, from which this derived what I may term its individuality. We were travelling along the high road, and yet—properly speaking—there was no high road to be seen: for the uniformity of the plain was interrupted only by a number of tracks, parallel to or traversing each

ether,—and distinguishable from the field around, merely by the comparative poverty of the verdure which was obliterating them. This neglected state of the common channel of communication, observable too in the vicinity of so considerable a town as that we had just passed through, was calculated to excite an indescribable feeling of blankness and nonentity. There appeared as it were a realization, on a large scale, of the acmé of an Irish curse:—"May the grass grow green before your door." The lowering forest also, within which we were soon to be shrouded, naturally encouraged melancholy ideas,—and we felt like those of Scottish song, who

. saw the derke forest them before,
And thought it awsome for to see.'

'The country now began to open. Several pretty lakes were gleaming at a distance on our left,—one of which was nearly traversed by a row of trees, growing upon some island or peninsula. Among these lakes a little village occasionally appeared. The few straggling peasants whom we met had each a rose in his hat, and also a cockade—a badge of subjection to the sovereign. About an hour after we left our solitary refectory, the road merged into an avenue of oaks, which continued in nearly a straight line for at least two miles,—during which we did not pass a single habitation, nor encounter any person, except a group in military habits who were lying on the way-side. The town of Zareentin succeeded, which is agreeably situated near the lake of Schall.'

On behalf of those of our readers who neither understand German, nor take in the Literary Gazette, we must protest against giving three pages of German, as a specimen of Koerner's poems, without a translation. This is the more inexcusable as the Author appears to be no despicable rhymester, and can write an extempore in an album.

One of the most remarkable objects which met our Traveller's notice in journeying over the sands and through the forests of Mecklenburgh, is the castle of Schwerin. It shall have the benefit of his description.

'But how shall I describe the picture which the twilight enabled us to contemplate, before the shades of night closed in? Near our final egress from the forest we suddenly beheld, gleaming at a distance through the trees, the noble lake of Schwerin. It lay beneath us—not "one burnished sheet of living gold," but under an aspect much more sublime! The sun had set,—and the subdued and mellow light, reposing on the unruffled surface, excelled meridian splendor. Above the lake towered a mighty and indistinct mass. This was the feudal castle of Schwerin, one of the proudest baronial remains in this part of Germany. On beholding it, I no longer regretted that I had not arrived in time for a more detailed view. The undefined outline of the lofty walls harmonized so admirably with the shadowy and vanishing tint of the woods, the faded light that lay upon the expanse of

water, and the unwhispering silence of the air—that the dimness of antiquity seemed to envelope all around, blending and assimilating the whole.

Being established at the hotel Bei Kirschenau (the most splendid I have yet seen in Germany), I took a conductor and went in quest of the head castellan (to whom I bore a letter from Ludwigslust), wishing to see the interior of the castle at an early hour. As it was now quite dark, I could only distinguish a large gloomy pile with flanking walls. Mr. T. appointed seven, at which hour this morning we commenced our survey.

On obtaining a day-light view, I was surprised to see, instead of Gothic towers, oriental minarets, and cupolas somewhat in the Tartarian style—surmounting the main part of the building. This was afterwards accounted for by our conductor, who informed me that the castle had been built at different periods by four different sovereigns, having—like that of Saint Cervantes—

... mas padastros
Que un hijo de un racionero.

The first, or most ancient part, is styled Gothic. One wall, forming a side of the court-yard, is divided into a number of compartments, by horizontal rows of sculptured heads. Between these rows small columns are disposed perpendicularly, at regular intervals; and the square recesses thus formed are severally occupied by a small window. But the greater portion of the original edifice was demolished many centuries since by a militant bishop of Hildesheim, as pugnacious as any prelate that ever graced the see of Durham in old English days. The second part was built about the era of the crusades, by a Duke Magnus; who, having been for some time a prisoner in Palestine, brought over with him a taste for oriental architecture, or—as the castellan termed it—the Grecian style. The third part is Gothic. The fourth, and most modern, was built by one of the dukes; who, possessing a taste for the fine arts, had several apartments of the new structure fitted up as picture galleries, a museum, &c. pp. 127—130.

'Ancient Lubeck' is very gloomy, and Gothic, and ghastly, and dull. 'Nothing,' says our Traveller, 'can, to a foreigner, be more impressive than a walk in the dusk through Lubeck. The antique air of the houses, the desolation of the streets, the lofty trees which overshadow the churchyards, and the more lofty spires which rise above them, thrill almost to shuddering.' It has none of the life and bustle of a commercial town. In fact, 'the very business of buying and selling has a mysterious and clandestine air.' What would our London tradesmen think of the following account?

Generally speaking, there is no exposure of commodities in the windows: shew-boards emblazoned with parti-coloured letters are unknown. You approach the curiously sculptured door of an ancient

enjoy the fruits of their toil—satisfied, like the “Old Man of Verona,” to revolve during life in the same narrow circle :—

‘Felix, qui patriis ævum transegit in agris,
Ipse domus puerum quem videt, ipse senem :
Qui baculo nitens, in quâ reptavit arenâ,
Unius numeret secula longa casæ.

CLAUDIAN.

‘It was rarely that a maiden of the Probstei, bestowed her hand upon one born beyond the pale; and, when the fascinations of the stranger were found more powerfully influential than national example and national prejudice, the degenerate nymph was consigned to everlasting contempt—if not infamy. The term *höfisch* [‘court-like’]—applied indiscriminately to strangers, and every thing that savoured of innovation—will, perhaps, explain this singular austerity; and it is probably to an over-anxious zeal in avoiding those corruptions, which they believed exclusively confined to the highest orders of society, that we are to attribute the ancient rigour of the Probsteiers. Even the slightest deviation from the national dress was stigmatised as *nathhöfisch*, or one of the artificial necessities of a court.

‘But these and most of the other peculiarities of the Probstei have, during the last forty years, been gradually dwindling away. Numbers of the young peasantry having been within that period draughted off for military service, it may easily be supposed that they did not return uncontaminated by foreign intercourse, and familiarity with scenes of blood and rapine. In fact, although the Probsteiers still retain a sufficiency of their original institutions to stamp them as a separate tribe, they will most probably, before the expiration of the present century, become completely amalgamated with the population of the surrounding country.’ pp. 263—5.

Their marriage ceremonies were very peculiar. The bridal dress was black, either of cloth or damask. Pearls, rose-coloured ribbons lined with silver, and flowers, relieved, however, the sable costume. The bridesmaids were also dressed in black, their hair braided and uncovered; and the men who led the procession were clad in the same sombre attire. Malt potations used to form an essential part of all ceremonial observances. ‘The Probstei was once,’ says our Author, ‘in this respect a perfect Valhalla.’ Even the churching of women had its appropriate hoozing-match, termed the *Karkbier*, or church-beer. This, as well as the *Grabbier* or grave-beer, has long been disused. Whitsuntide is the season of a sort of Saturnalia, when the householders give donations of malt, from which the young people brew for themselves.

‘The Probsteiers addict themselves principally to agriculture; and, like the poor inhabitants of Connaught, leave their homes in the reaping season to seek for work in other countries. Formerly they

used to travel as far as Holland. Many of them return with a disorder contracted by a residence in marshy situations, and hence called the 'marsh fever.' They are also peculiarly skilful in thatching, the manufacture of mats, and all other works in straw. Their labours too in weaving and spinning are deserving of consideration. The senior pastor, in conjunction with the conventual magistrate, established in 1794 a poor house, which has been infinitely beneficial to the indigent.

'The name Probstei Preetz, which is as old as the thirteenth century, indicates that the historical existence of this secluded people commences from the period when their territory became an appendage to the convent of that place. In the ninth century it was inhabited by a Wendish colony: and one of the villages still bears the name of Wenddorf, equivalent to 'Wendish village.' Traces of Vandalic superstitions are also to be met with in the Probstei. In the year 1199, Adolphus, count of Holstein, possessed the entire territory of the Wendians of Wagria (that district in which the Probstei is situated); and it was about this period that christianity was introduced. As the devastations of war had left a great part of the soil uninhabited, the count invited settlers from the Low Countries—holding out to them very advantageous terms. Many were tempted to embrace his offer, and hence arose the opinion that the present Probsteiers are of Frisick descent. Others, as I have already stated, maintain that the Probstei was a part of the territory which the Wendians were allowed to inhabit, subsequently to their dispossession of it by Count Adolphus. Truth appears to lie between: and the present inhabitants of the Probstei are probably an amalgamation of the ancient Wendish and Frisick stocks, retaining joint traces of their ambiguous descent—"Lucanus an Appulus anceps."

'This territory—containing twenty-four villages inhabited by about six thousand souls—belonged for some centuries to the bishoprick of Lübeck. Since its annexation to the convent of Preetz, its history is little more than a register of inundations of the Baltic, and burnings of villages. Of the former, that which occurred on the 10th of February 1625 was one of the greatest,—and many traditions are still extant concerning it. According to one of these, a very extensive estate, named in the legend Verwellenhoff, was swallowed up by the waves. Of the alleged possessor, the Frau Von Verwellen, a story is told which strongly resembles the Grecian tale of Polycrates' ring. As this lady (who was very rich and very haughty,) was one day sailing in her pleasure boat upon the Baltic, she cast a ring of inestimable value into the sea, observing that it was equally impossible that it should be ever recovered, and she reduced to poverty. After some time her cook, in ripping open a large fish, found the identical ring,—and this omen was shortly after succeeded by the inundation, which accomplished the other impossibility by beggaring the audacious Frau. Certain it is, that at low water vestiges of buildings—such as bricks, stones, and slates, together with stumps of trees—can be distinctly traced all along this part of the shore. This

circumstance will have perhaps recalled to your recollection the following passage in the "Irish Melodies" of our national lyrist:—

' On Lough Neagh's bank as the fisherman strays,
When the clear, cold eve's declining,
He sees the round towers of other days,
In the wave beneath him shining!

T. MOORE, pp. 281—4.

Mr. Downes paid a visit to the aged widow of Klopstock. It was on her seventy-second birth-day. He found her, though very infirm, employed in spinning; and she was quite alive to the subject of her husband's fame. From a young man, related to the family, Mr. D. learned, that Klopstock, jealous of his reputation, critically scrutinised the different translations of his Messiah; he thought the Dutch the best, the Italian good, but as for the English,—' they have not,' he said, '*übersetzt*, ' but *übelsetzt* me,—that is, it is not a version; but a perversion. We stated that our Traveller is himself a poet; and it would not be doing justice to one who discovers so much enthusiasm on behalf of foreign bards, to withhold from our readers the following very pleasing specimen of his abilities.

• SONNET.

' Let him not say, ' I love my country'—he
Who ne'er has left it: but, what time one hears
The yell of waters ringing in his ears,
And views around him nought but sky and sea,
And sea and sky interminable—then—
Then comes the longing for soft hills, and dales,
And trees, and rivulets, and bloomy vales,
And the green twilight of the shady glen,
And sweet birds welcoming the summer! Now
Swells the full feeling in my heart, while slow
I sail upon the ocean's shudd'ring breast:—
O Erin, O my country! let me see
But once, once more, thy cherish'd scenery,—
Then let me lowly in thy bosom rest!

Art. VII. 1. *Blossoms*: by Robert Millhouse. Being a Selection of Sonnets from his various Manuscripts. With Prefatory Remarks on his humble Station, distinguished Genius, and moral Character. By the Rev. Luke Booker, LL.D. 12mo. pp. 70. London, 1823.

2. *Vicissitude*: a Poem in four Books. By Robert Millhouse, Corporal on the Staff of the Royal Sherwood Foresters. 12mo. Printed for the Author. Nottingham, 1821.

ALTHOUGH 'distinguished genius' is not precisely the phrase which we should think the most applicable to the

Author of these volumes, we give Mr. Booker great credit for having taken up the cause of an ingenious and deserving man. Mr. Millhouse, we are told, 'has left no calling for this idle 'trade.' Almost all the sonnets in the last published volume, were composed at the loom, amid the din of a dozen stocking-frames, and the conversation or singing of the workmen. But, wherever or however composed, the following Sonnet would have done no discredit to John Clare, or even to Wordsworth.

‘ TO GOLD.

‘ Fee for the knave, in every age and clime !
 Thou shield to gilded Ideots ! slave to Kings !
 Pander to War and other horrid things
 That stain with blood the chronicles of Time ;
 When, shining Mischief ! shall the Poet's rhyme
 Tell of thy virtues in the good man's hand,
 Chasing away grim hunger from the land,
 And proving true thy alchymy sublime ?
 If Evil spring from thy deceitful wand,
 Nor good nor ill thou bring'st to such as I :
 For here gaunt Poverty stands shivering by
 To snatch the scanty portion from my hand.
 Give me thy power, thou thing of Good or Guile !
 And I will teach sad Poverty to smile.’ p. 40.

Scarcely inferior, though less original, and on a hackneyed subject, is the Sonnet

‘ TO A DAISY, BLOOMING IN THE DEPTH OF WINTER.

‘ Too forward Beauty I was it wisely done,
 Thus premature, to throw thy virgin charms
 Into decrepid January's arms ?
 A tardy wooer he ; for, lo ! his sun
 With grudging aspect gives a feeble ray.
 Soon will the circle of thy joys be run ;
 Thy Spring shall finish ere 'tis well begun,
 Nor ever greet the nuptial tribes of May.
 E'en while thou dost unfold thy bosom gay,
 I hear the Tempest muttering in the North ;
 The Breezes, keener-edg'd, are coming forth ;
 And how shalt thou withstand the icy fray ?
 Sweet floret ! while *thy* fate I thus bemoan,
 Gloomy anticipation paints my own.’ p. 38.

We shall give two others, which, though not faultless, sufficiently bespeak the Writer to be a man of cultivated taste and no mean abilities.

• WRITTEN IN ONE OF THE (SUPPOSED) DRUIDICAL
CAVES IN NOTTINGHAM PARK.

• Thou mouldering Relic of forgotten Time! *
Well I remember how in youth I came,
And grav'd you rude initials of my name,
Unwistful then, that I, in manhood's prime,
Should be an anxious Candidate for Fame:—
Long hast thou borne the onsets of the storm,
Like speechless Horror frowning in dismay;
But Age thy latest vestige shall deform,
And waste thy moss-grown Chronicles away.
Yet, let not Avarice hasten on thy fall, †
But leave thy destiny to Nature's power;
So may the Stripling shelter from the shower,
And ponder o'er the records on thy wall,
Or mount thy top to seize the hanging flower.

• TIME.

• 'Tis Time; I feel him knocking at my heart,—
And he shall hold his unresisted sway
Till yonder Planets from their orbits start,
And this huge sepulchre, the Earth, decay.
Oh, he has clouded many a festive day
With angry feuds or jealousy's mistrust;
He strikes the blood-stained tyrant with dismay,
And buries ancient palaces in dust,
Wreathing vile weeds around the sculptur'd bust.
The mightiest dynasties before him fall,
As steel is canker'd by corrosive rust,
Or as the storm hurls down some pond'rous wall.
Yet, lo! the Day,—the awful day of Doom
Shall bury Time,—the peopler of the tomb.' pp. 69, 60.

Robert Millhouse was born at Nottingham, October 14, 1788, and was the second of ten children. He is indebted for the little education with which he has been blessed, to a *Sunday School*; where, to use his own words, 'between the age of six and ten, those truths were inculcated upon his mind, by which he trusts he will be benefited both through time and eternity.' The poverty of his parents compelled them to put him to work at the tender age of six years; and at ten, he was placed in a stocking manufactory. At the same period, 'a requisition having been sent by the Rector of St. Peter's parish to the Master of the School, for six of his boys to become

* The date of the origin of these Caverns is unknown.

† An attempt (now happily relinquished) was made some time since to inclose these venerable relics of antiquity, and to make the frontage-land into gardens.

'singers at the church, Robert was one that was selected; and thus terminated his education, which consisted merely of reading and the first rudiments of writing.' This was an unhappy promotion, unless the Church had looked better to the interests of her choristers. At the age of two and twenty, Millhouse entered the Nottinghamshire militia. On its being disbanded, four years after, he returned to the stocking-loom. In 1817, he was placed on the staff of the regiment then called the Royal Sherwood Foresters. In 1818, he married; and the cares and necessities of a family soon increasing upon him, he was induced to think of publishing the few small pieces he had already written, together with some longer poem which he resolved to attempt. Hence originated his poem entitled "Vicissitude," which he prosecuted with unceasing ardour; sometimes composing it while at work, under the pressure of poverty and ill-health; at other times, when released from his daily labour, encroaching upon the hours which ought to have been allotted to sleep.' The slender pittance of his Corporal's pay was, at this time, his principal dependence for the support of his family; the distresses of the times having thrown the frame-work knitters out of regular employment. The bounty of the Literary Fund was, on the appearance of his volume, extended towards its Author most seasonably: when darkness surrounded him on every side, occasioned by domestic affliction, his frame half-devoured by sickness and by suffering, it 'turned,' he says, 'my heaviness into joy.' To the sale of these volumes he looks for further aid; and we much deceive ourselves if this simple narrative, and the specimens we have given of his talents, will not succeed in so far recommending them to the friendly notice of our readers, as to add to the number of purchasers.

Art. VIII. *Sermons*. By Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, Bart. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 530. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1822.

THE morality of Calvinists is as much a subject of observation as of argument; and wherever the facts are dispassionately examined, is sufficient to vindicate them, not only against the pointless contempt which, without inquiry, sets down every Calvinist as a Methodist, or an Antinomian, but against the bolder assumptions which stigmatize Calvinism and Calvinists by epithets in the highest degree unchristian and unjustifiable.

These remarks, which we copy from the preface to the volume before us, are sufficient to shew how far the venerable

Author of these discourses, who avows himself a Calvinist, is from shrinking from the application of the maxim, "every tree is known by its own fruit," to the principles which he asserts; and the result of such a scrutiny, we may confidently anticipate, would be most satisfactory, not only as respects the complete exculpation of the censured doctrine, but as to the establishment of its positive tendencies in favour of the purest virtue. We have no doubt that the discourses comprised in the volume before us may fairly be assumed as specimens of the Author's customary pulpit services; and they may be sent abroad without either apology or fear, to collect the suffrages of readers on the question of their adaptation to answer the purposes of the means of religion, including under this term, whatever of the purity and amplitude of virtue, the most rigid moralist of the Anti-Calvinistic school may desire. The discourses are, in several instances, explicatory of Christian doctrines; but these are never set forth in the form of cold speculation; nor are they ever abruptly and unnaturally forced into connexion with practical or devotional remarks, as if the preacher were fearful lest his hearers or his readers should be in uncertainty whither the doctrine was directing their feelings and their practice. The doctrines which the venerable Preacher has chosen to elucidate, are the very principles of piety, and they shew themselves in this character in his discourses. But few volumes of sermons bear so distinctly and fully the impress of their Author's individuality as the volume which we are now reviewing. There is a very evident absence of every feeling of solicitude to obtain the approbation of readers by means of a studied eloquence, while no occasion is ever given for imputing to the Author inattention to the choice of correct expressions. Nor is there the least appearance of attempting to attract the notice of such sermon-readers as are pleased only with splendid exordiums and the acute and brilliant distribution of a subject. Many of the discourses have scarcely an introductory sentence; and the divisions have no other apparent business, wherever they appear, than to conduct the reader with clearness and regularity through the several subjects. There is, in many of these sermons, no formal peroration; but, though the concluding addresses might in some instances have been enlarged with effect, we seldom perceive any deficiency of forcible exhortation, arising from this neglect of a custom which is sometimes 'honoured more in the breach than in the observance.' In the selection of his subjects, the Author has been careful to consult the feelings of judicious and pious readers, and his mode of discussing them cannot fail of being to such persons both pleasing and useful.

The entire volume, with an exception to which we shall refer in the close of our article, is entitled to our warm commendation. Its sentiments are throughout evangelical; it is sufficiently argumentative, avoiding the extremes of metaphysical reasoning and loose declamation; the exhortation is earnest and persuasive; and the whole composition is perspicuous and animated. The friends of the venerable Preacher, who, we are concerned to learn, 'is no longer capable of much activity in 'his pastoral duties,' will receive this volume as a valuable memorial of their excellent Instructor. The work well deserves to take its place among the more select volumes of Sermons which have obtained the approbation of the religious public.

The subjects of these discourses are the following: Estimate of Christian Character—Fidelity in little (Two Sermons)—Moral Infirmities and Christian Strength—The Transfiguration (Two Sermons)—The Agony in the Garden—Prayer and Resignation—Earnestness and Perseverance in Prayer—The Prayer of the Cross (Two Sermons)—The Penitent of the Cross—The Graves opened—Peace of Mind—The Doctrine of Salvation by Christ—Separate Existence of disembodied Spirits—The Superiority of the Separate State—Joy in Heaven over one Sinner that Repenteth.

The first Discourse is in illustration of the maxim delivered in Luke vi. 44, "Every tree is known by its own fruit," as applied to Christian profession; and from its constant reference to personal obligations and individual habits, it would seem designed by the Author to protect his readers from the danger of falsely estimating their religious character, by substituting for internal principles of piety, and the habitual influence of them in appropriate duties, the equivocal evidence of external zeal.

One class of men, disgusted with their private duties, and unwilling to attempt a uniform or conscientious fidelity which they have never possessed, endeavour to persuade themselves that they do God service, by travelling into departments of usefulness, which are quite beyond their own sphere; and that they can estimate their fidelity by occupations, which God has neither required nor qualified them to discharge.

There are others, who, though truly strangers to the habits of religion at home, bring themselves to imagine, that they may estimate themselves by their religious observances before the world; or, by occasional impressions of religion, which they sometimes experience, but which they are conscious are never effectual for the substantial ends either of duty or salvation; or, by such good works as do not interfere with their private passions, and which cost them nothing; or by what is as frequently resorted to, the severity of their zeal for purity of morals in other men, or for the general interests of the church of God.

'The same delusion may be fostered in many other ways. But I beseech you to consider, whether ye are best qualified to form a sound judgment of the character of any individual from the occasional appearances which he assumes before the world, or in situations in which his chief business does not lie, and which neither materially affect his interests, nor awaken the strong passions of his heart; or, whether you do not estimate his character with far greater certainty, when you see him in his ordinary temper of mind, engaged in his usual occupations; when you can coolly observe the general tenor of his conduct, in his most responsible situations—his conduct to his wife and to his children, and to his brothers and to his sisters, and to his servants, and to those who depend on him; to those whom Providence has cast on his care, whose happiness he has the power to promote, but whom he can also compel to feel their dependence on him as a weariness or a burden; to those who have done him good, and to those who have done him evil; to the rich above him, and to those whom he assumes the right to regard as his inferiors; to those with whom he has business to transact, and to those whom he has the means to injure or to harass with impunity.

'In all such examples, you can distinguish his general conduct from his incidental deviations from it; and can separate defects which are not habitual, from the general tendency and tenor of his life.

'It is in the great or leading features of his ordinary habits, that the character of the man is truly seen; and *there* alone his temper of mind, and its real qualities and effects, can be fairly estimated.

'It is vain to think that the efficacy of religious principle can ever be fully understood by means of any other test. That which is done to God is, in all ordinary cases, chiefly done at home, and is seldom, indeed, done, except where our peculiar duties lie. There the effects of genuine faith and of personal religion ought to be fully and distinctly seen; and, therefore, chiefly *there* must our fidelity be tried.' pp. 26—29.

The next two discourses, on 'Fidelity in little,' are replete with sound and varied instruction, and are admirably adapted to correct the mistakes of those persons who underrate the influence of true religion in the humbler spheres of life, and too much connect with their estimate of usefulness, a situation and circumstances of some superiority. The most important offices of beneficence are sometimes to be found associated with the most limited situations; and the qualities which might adorn the most eminent stations of active goodness, are not unfrequently to be observed in the lowest. As the Author remarks,

'We may discover the most useful and estimable characters in human society, among men in the lowest ranks of the people—among those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, and who have nothing to the end of their lives which they can call their own—who have no talents but their disinterestedness and a plain understanding,

such as their manual labour requires—but who have these united to genuine integrity, indefatigable industry, the habitual sense of duty to God, and good affections towards all around them. By their silent and assiduous application to the duties entrusted to them in the fear of God, they possess an extent of substantial usefulness within their own sphere, and, above all, a degree of satisfaction and tranquillity in their own minds, in which not many wise men after the flesh, and not many noble can surpass them.' p. 40.

The following reflections our readers will be able to appreciate as recurring in the mind of 'a fair and conscientious man' on a survey of life; and they will use them wisely if they allow the cautions and vigilance which they suggest, such influence as may, if not prevent, yet diminish the regrets which are here so strongly, but so truly represented.

'Even he who is permitted to reach extreme old age, has good reason to consider himself, in the best view of his life, as "faithful but in a very little," if he be truly aware of the extent of duty entrusted to him—if he considers dispassionately what he might have done for the glory of God, for the advantage of the world, or for his own salvation, in comparison with the best service which he has actually accomplished—How many passions and pursuits, of which he is ashamed, have at different times polluted his life, and been mixed with his purest intentions—How much he has been wanting in his submission to God, under the privations or afflictions which have been sent, in the kindness or wisdom of Providence, to humble, or to warn, or to persuade, or to reclaim him—How greatly he has failed in resisting the temptations, in watching the corruptions, or in controlling the passions of the world—How much he has left undone or neglected, even where his intentions were purest, of that which he knew to be his indispensable duty—How much, in every department, has been lost, of what he knows he ought to have done or attained, which no length of time can again place within his reach; and, finally, how many individuals, with whom he has been at different periods associated, have suffered by his negligence, or by his selfishness, or by his resentments, or by his guilt, who have long since escaped into the grave, and to whom he can never have the means of compensating the disadvantages brought on them, or the positive injuries which they had good reason to charge to his account.' pp. 49, 50.

From the very excellent discourse, 'The Penitent of the Cross,' we extract the following remarks, which may be recommended to the consideration of those Theologians who, from the fear of impairing the force of moral sanctions, and of inducing in the irreligious, feelings opposed to the present demands of the Gospel, would diminish the value of this illustrious example of genuine repentance and saving power in circumstances of the last extremity, by the introduction of unsupported hypothesis. It is quite correct to represent the case as affording no

kind or measure of encouragement whatever to the irreligious, to resist the appeals directed to their conscience, and to defer to a future period compliance with the demands or suggestions of immediate duty; but it is not less correct to assert the important relation which this case bears towards persons of a different description.

‘ I make no inquiry whatever into what this criminal might have known before his crucifixion; or, in particular, into what he might have learnt, to stimulate his repentance or prepare him for it, between the time when his crimes were committed, and the period of his crucifixion. On this subject we can have no real information, though much has been said on it without any authority whatever. Every attempt to assume as facts, circumstances which have not been related, in order to prove that the repentance of this criminal was not the penitence of the cross, but a penitence which had been before prepared, notwithstanding his crimes, and the justice of his punishment, is, in effect, an attempt to explain away the plain narrative of the Gospel, and the manifest design for which it has been given us.

‘ It is equally unnecessary to refute a supposition which has so often been gratuitously assumed, that, notwithstanding his situation as a convicted malefactor, this man might have been a good man before; that his crime might have been only a deviation from his general character, and that this penitence, instead of being the penitence of the cross, might have been no more than a return to his ordinary state of mind.

‘ Let us just observe, that we know not a single circumstance more of the case than the evangelists have related; and that not one syllable of what is thus assumed is recorded by them. We have no right to invent a history to suit any preconceived opinion on the subject of repentance, or to add to the narrative of the evangelists, the supposition of a single fact invented by ourselves. They begin their history of the penitent malefactor with his crucifixion and his rebuke to his obdurate associate, and they finish it by relating his supplication to our Lord. We must begin and conclude our account of him at the same points. He was a criminal justly condemned to crucifixion by his own confession, and, whatever he had before heard of our Lord's character, he had been, down to that period, a profligate man. At this moment, under the agonies of crucifixion, with our Lord beside him on the cross, he is held up to us as a sincere and genuine penitent.

‘ These are the facts on which every opinion relating to him must be built.’ pp. 307—309.

We agree with the Author in deeming it scarcely possible to imagine that the Evangelist had any other design in the record which he has given of the extraordinary fact, than to represent this converted malefactor as having become a penitent on the cross, and to connect his penitence inseparably with this last scene of his life. We agree with him too, that

It is impossible not to see, at the same time, how little encouragement this most singular fact, when it is stripped of circumstances which do not belong to it, can give to those who venture to postpone their penitence or their reformation to the last hour; or not to perceive how forcibly the narrative itself demonstrates the hopeless consequences of such an attempt.

They who have long persisted in the vices of the world, and in the habits of an irreligious life, are constantly endeavouring to alleviate the reproaches of their own minds, by persuading themselves, that the time will come at last, when their sensible approach to the grave shall produce a decided change on their characters; and when, by the grace of God, and the influence of the powers of the world to come on the last moments of thought and reflection, a new heart shall be given them.

This is a delusion so common, and which has operated with such a uniform effect from one age to another, that it may well be considered as incorporated with the character of the human race. Though perpetually contradicted by experience, all the successions of worldly and ungodly men eagerly embrace the same delusion, and, in the periods of health and activity, are as confident as they who were before them, that the result will be in their favour.

But when I remind you of this fact, I beseech you to consider, with serious and dispassionate attention, whether there is any sound reason to suppose, from what you feel within yourselves, or from what you observe in other men, that the sensible approach of death will alter the character which has been uniform or habitual through life, and which has resisted every other change of condition. Because there have been detached examples of individual sinners who have been roused to repentance, or who have been converted at the latest periods of human life, is there any reasonable man who can seriously or deliberately presume, that after his habits have been rivetted by a long series of wickedness, and when his vigour has been exhausted in the pursuits of the world, this is a change on the moral condition of his mind, on which he may safely or with any reasonable probability rely. All his experience, as well as the general experience of mankind; every thing which he knows of the ordinary course of human life, and of the usual progress of human characters, unquestionably contradicts the probability of such an event. It is even a more frequent occurrence to observe, that unprincipled or impenitent men become more sensibly hardened as they advance far into life, and are less visibly affected by the approach of death, than when they saw it at a much greater distance.

Shall it be sufficient to place against all this experience, the single fact, that there have been examples of a late, and even of a death-bed repentance, which cannot be questioned?

There have been such examples, and there may be many. But I venture to affirm, that for every well authenticated case of this kind, there are ten thousand examples of men dying at last as hardened as they have lived, and who, notwithstanding all their delusive dreams of repentance or reformation to come, are, to their own

conviction, as well as in the judgment of all around them, as far from any symptoms of a better state of mind, on the verge of the grave, as at the time when they imagined themselves to have many years of health and activity before them.

‘But a malefactor on the cross was penitent, and found mercy there. This is undeniable. But look at his companion, whose state of mind is held up to us as a warning of much more general application to the ordinary circumstances and experience of the world, than the penitence of the cross.

‘The bodily sufferings of this hardened criminal were as severe as those of his associate. His prospect of death was as certain and immediate; he had all its horrors on his mind, and he was in as full possession of his faculties and of his recollection, as his penitent companion; but so far from subduing, his certain approach to immediate death served only to irritate the worst passions of his heart; and he died, as he had lived, full of profligate rage and blasphemy.’

pp. 319—323.

In the thirteenth sermon, ‘The Graves opened,’ the venerable Preacher has embarrassed his subject, very unnecessarily we think, by referring to the ancient opinions respecting the case of those holy persons who “came out of the graves” after the resurrection of Christ. We are somewhat surprised that, ‘a writing which professes to express the opinions of ‘Thaddeus,’ should be quoted as stating *expressly*, ‘that those ‘holy men remained on earth forty days, while our Lord was ‘there, and afterwards, invisibly ascended with him into ‘heaven, the immediate partakers of his triumph over death ‘and him that hath the power of death.’ The Author admits that ‘there is good reason to question the authenticity of this ‘writing as the production of Thaddeus.’ So we judge. But the import of the writing is by no means correctly given in the preceding passage. The words of Thaddeus, as we find them in Eusebius, are as follows : ἀνίστα, καὶ συνήγαγε πικρούς τοὺς ἀπ’ αἰσέων κοιμημένους. Καὶ πῶς κατέβη μόνος, ἀνίστα δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ.—‘he, (Ch^rist) arose, and at the same time raised from the ‘grave, many who had long been dead; and how he de- ‘scended alone, but ascended to his Father accompanied by ‘a numerous throng.’

This is the entire passage to which the Author refers; and it is evidently less definite than would be requisite to justify the representation of its import contained in our citation from his discourse. But there is a circumstance in the account transmitted by Eusebius, which the Author has clearly overlooked, and which, we apprehend, entirely accords with the opinion of

Tertullian which he censures; namely, 'that the persons who came out of their graves at this time, were the patriarchs or the prophets.' 'In this idea,' says the Author, 'he (Tertullian) seems to be quite unsupported; and it is inconsistent with the narrative of the Evangelists,' (*the Evangelist—Matthew*), 'which supposes the individuals who came out of their graves to have been personally known to individuals then alive at Jerusalem.' But the persons who are described in the Eusebian document as being raised from the dead, were evidently persons whose decease had not been so recent as to admit of their having been personally known to individuals living at the time of Christ's resurrection. The sentiments ascribed to Ignatius, in the subsequent paragraph, are to be found only in the interpolated Epistles, (*Epist. ad Trallianos*), which we should have been better satisfied to have had left untouched by a serious writer in a grave argument. It is but fair to state, that the only purpose for which the Author has cited the passages in question, is to shew 'in what manner the circumstances related were interpreted in the primitive ages.' But, in a case where the authorities are so doubtful, and in respect to which some readers may be exposed to the danger of being misled by representations which go beyond the simple facts of the Evangelical history, we should have been disposed to advise the omission of the entire paragraphs which are in this discourse devoted to 'a subject of deep and difficult,' but not, we think, of very interesting 'inquiry:' it is certainly one which an expositor is left to pursue without the aid of Scriptural light.

The interpretation given, in the succeeding division of the discourse, of Ephes. iv. 8, 9, 10, is evidently forced: the passage affords no support to the opinion which it is brought to uphold, that 'the captives whom our Lord led up with himself on high, were those holy men whose bodies came out of their graves after his own resurrection.'

In the sixteenth Sermon, on the 'separate existence of disembodied spirits,' in which the Scriptural evidence on the subject is adduced, we do not find any notice taken of the passage Matt. x. 28, which, in our estimation, is one of the most direct and positive assertions of the doctrine in the whole Bible. These words of Christ's are perfectly free from all obscurity; and they form the basis of an argument to which, in our judgement, no answer can be given.

There is an expression in p. 301, which obviously requires to be corrected—'impenitence on the cross of Christ:' it should be, *near* the cross.

Art. IX. *Lectures on Architecture*; comprising the History of the Art from the earliest Times to the present Day. By James Elmes, Architect. 8vo. pp. 432. Price 12s. London, 1821.

IN all criticisms on subjects connected with Art, there must necessarily be much that is purely conventional. There is no great difficulty in laying down leading principles, and it is equally easy to make inferences from them to a certain extent; but when writers on this subject come to applications at once general and specific, they are too apt to substitute description and declamation, for reasoning and legitimate deduction. Simplicity, for instance, is one of the highest qualities of Art; it may exist in as real perfection in the Acanthus of the Corinthian, as in the unadorned capital of the 'manly Doric;' and we can distinctly perceive its exaggeration in the rude and naked structures of earlier races, or its utter rejection in the wild and florid magnificence of mosques and pagodas. But when we pursue our inquiries into the various applications of the principle to different styles of ornamental building, when we ask why we prefer the simplicity of the Greek, to that of the Gothic, or the Egyptian architecture, we are not sure that any more satisfactory solution can be given, than that which refers our preference to the effect of early and habitual association. When, for instance, the Parthenon presents itself to our recollection, we immediately and unavoidably invest it with the glories of the Acropolis, and connect with it the fame of Ictinus and Phidias, the 'proud story' of the heroes who worshipped within its precincts, and the classic splendour of the scenery which surrounded, as with a zone of brightness and of beauty, the rock of which that transcendent edifice was the most distinguished ornament. The superiority of the Grecian sculpture may be determined at once by an appeal to the great archetype, nature; but we are not aware that there is any principle equally absolute, that will apply to the theory and practice of architecture; and even with respect to the first, we find it embarrassed with so many qualifications and restrictions, as to the proper range and limits of art, that we are sometimes disposed to refer the whole matter to feeling and prescription. *Utility*, indeed, is up to a certain point, an unerring guide in every thing connected with the science and practice of construction, nor can it ever be wholly lost sight of with impunity; but, as a general rule, it is of difficult definition, and in its specific application it seems altogether at variance with decoration, though it has unquestionably suggested many of the forms now considered as ornamental. This is the principle so eloquently discussed by Cicero in his treatise *de Oratore*, and

which he illustrates by reference to natural and artificial objects, to trees and to men, to ships, to columns, and to the pedimented roof of the Roman Capitol. All of these blend usefulness with beauty and dignity, and derive much of the latter from their obvious and exquisite adaptation to the purposes for which they were designed.

We cannot say that Mr. Elmes has been very successful, either in elucidating the principles, or in tracing the history of his art through the imperfect indications of its early progress. There is very little of profound investigation, or of successful research in these volumes, as far as the monuments of remote antiquity are concerned; and, however acceptable these lectures may have been when delivered orally to mixed audiences, we fear that they will not be found equally interesting, now that they are consigned to a more deliberate examination, and a more competent criticism. In all that regards the immediate knowledge of his profession, Mr. Elmes seems to be completely versed: the most valuable portions of his work are those which relate to scientific construction, and his remarks on the errors of modern architecture are acute and just. Mr. E. seems to have formed his taste on the purest models, and his suggestions for the improvement of the prevailing system, are striking and judicious. A little less parade and somewhat more compression,—less theory and more practical illustration,—with a rigid excision of all the *verbiage* on the very doubtful subject of patronage, would have reduced his volume in magnitude, but, in an equal proportion, would have increased its worth.

Mr. Elmes is not always fortunate in his reasonings. In his first lecture, he undertakes to prove that the Egyptians had a 'complete knowledge of the arch,' and, for any thing that we can see to the contrary, he succeeds in establishing the fact, that they were entirely unacquainted with it. He gravely suggests, that the absence of this important feature of architecture, instead of betraying ignorance, shews only *contempt*; though he admits that 'the nearest approaches to this scientific element' of modern building are to be found in the entrance to the great pyramid at Memphis. He appeals, in support of his hypothesis, to the authority of Belzoni, and expressly mentions the arches of Thebes and Gournou. Now it is quite clear, both that the *brick vaults* to which, we suppose, he refers, when he speaks of the 'arches at Thebes,' are of modern construction, and that the opinions of Belzoni, in matters of learning and classical research, are not entitled to much weight. With respect to the arch, as it is called, of Gournou, it is entirely destitute of any pretensions to the name, excepting that it is semi-

circular. Instead of voussoirs, it consists simply of parallel stones hollowed into their present form, without a key-stone, or any thing that resembles one. If Mr. Elmes wishes for a correct view of the question, he will do well to consult the valuable travels of Dr. Richardson, who has investigated this subject with his usual learning, good sense, and impartiality. The general remarks on Egyptian architecture, and the analysis of its elements, which occur in these lectures, are just and discriminating.

The second lecture relates principally to the oriental styles, and contains much interesting detail. The third enters on the captivating subject of Grecian art, and displays a just perception of its peculiar excellencies. The criticisms on the Orders are in the same good taste, and will assist the student in forming correct notions on that essential branch of architecture. The observations on *Stereotomy*, or scientific construction, are both entertaining and important, and we shall extract rather largely from this part of the work.

It was a want of this important knowledge in the architect of the Ratcliffe Library, Oxford, that obliged him to abandon the stone cupola which he had begun to construct over that building, and which caused dreadful fractures in the substructure, threatening final ruin, although encircled with buttresses almost colossal. He finally substituted the present wooden cupola, which evidently does not require those immense contreforts, originally destined to supply the stone cupola with that strength which a correct knowledge of the principles of construction could alone have furnished. The same causes produced, though at a more distant period from its first erection, the tremendous fissures in the cupola of St. Peter's, at Rome, which have been recently admirably and scientifically remedied by the celebrated mechanician Zabaglia. This artist encircled the whole cupola, after the example of Sir Christopher Wren, at St. Paul's, with a stupendous iron chain, which should have been inserted on its first erection, as its construction was on such principles as evidently required it. Even if the design should come more perfect from the architect than those just mentioned, yet a want of constructive knowledge in the workman would be no less decisive of instability. Ignorance of this in the workmen occasioned some of the arcades in the river front of Somerset House to fall, on improperly striking the centres, and in consequence of the unfinished abutments having been left without temporary support..... On the other hand, it is a well-grounded knowledge of this important branch of our art which elevates Sir Christopher Wren so much above his compeers and rivals. It is in this respect that his works so eminently excel. St. Paul's cathedral may, perhaps, strike some critics to be faulty in design, but, as a perfect piece of scientific construction, it stands without a rival. I speak with some confidence; for, by the advice of the late Mr. Milne, who was architectural conservator of this grand structure, I occupied myself con-

siderably, during the space of three years, in measuring, delineating, and investigating its stereometrical qualities. The church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, a work also of Sir Christopher Wren's, is no less admirable in this respect, although other beauties of a more apparent kind have raised it to a deservedly high rank among ecclesiastical edifices. The theatre at Oxford, also, is excellent in point of construction, although censurable as a work of taste. The same may be said of the incomparable spire of Bow Church, Cheapside; an architectural monster, as far as taste is concerned, but an inimitable specimen of scientific construction.'

We shall add to this illustration of the most important part of architecture, Mr. Elmes's impressive description of modern methods of construction.

'To architectural knowledge and taste, as a fine art, must constructive knowledge be added, or all we shall build will be worthless. Half-burnt bricks, half-rotten timber, stucco and mastic, will never make London an 'eternal city;' and till the constructive errors of modern builders, I had almost said architects, be eradicated like the dry rot or the leprosy, the more we build after the prevailing fashion of the day, the more food are we providing for the contempt of posterity.'

In the sixth lecture, we stumble upon one of those hazarded assertions which no one really acquainted with the comparative merits of the ancient historians would venture on making. 'Tacitus,' says Mr. Elmes, 'who deservedly ranks *the highest among the historians of Greece or Rome!*' That he ranks *high*, will hardly be questioned: that he is to be placed even on a level with Livy or Thucydides, we apprehend that, out of France, few who have the means of correct estimate, will be rash enough to affirm. Neither do we think that Mr. E. is quite just when he stigmatises the magnificence of Rome by the words 'unnatural exaggeration.' The essential beauty of the Greek architecture would have, probably, disappeared in the effort to blend it with 'immenseness of size.' The population of Rome, redundant in numbers, demanded larger space in the public edifices, and their different habits demanded a different style of construction. We can see no signs of exaggeration in the Flavian amphitheatre, though it might have 'consumed more materials, and cost more money than all the 'temples of Athens put together;' nor, in the Pantheon of Agrippa, with the unrivalled sublimity of its dome, can we discern any symptoms of the unnatural.

The seventh lecture contains some interesting notice, the result of actual inspection, of the antiquities of Ireland, and, among others, of the 'round towers, which have excited so much curiosity, and respecting which antiquaries have

wasted so much ingenious conjecture. The tower at Monasterboice, near Drogheda, is

'one hundred and ten feet high, and fifty-one feet in circumference, beautifully diminishing like the shaft of an antique Doric column. Its diameter is seventeen feet, and the thickness of the walls, which are built of a blue stone found in the neighbourhood, three feet six inches; the door is five feet six inches high, twenty-two inches wide, and six feet above the present level of the ground... .. This, however, is by no means the loftiest round tower; that of Drumiskin, in the county of Louth, being one hundred and thirty feet high, and that of Kildare, or Chilledaire, being one hundred and thirty-three feet high, and only eighteen feet in diameter. The latter extraordinary building, the walls of which are but three feet six inches in thickness, is built of fine white granite to about twelve feet from the ground, and the rest, of the blue stone of the country; the door is fourteen feet from the ground.'

We shall conclude our extracts from Mr. Elmes with his estimate of the great masters of the English school.

'Sir Christopher Wren, an eminent mathematician and philosopher as well as architect, executed many of the finest buildings in London and other parts of England, in the modern style. St. Paul's cathedral, inferior to none but St. Peter's in point of magnitude, and undoubtedly superior even to that both in skilful construction and design, will perpetuate his name to the latest posterity..... Jones (Inigo) was grand but unequal, as may be seen in his celebrated work, the Chapel at Whitehall, the conception of which, as a part, and but a small part, of an immense palace, is certainly noble; its primary divisions few and simple, its openings large and handsome, but it is unequal in composition and in style. The play of light and shade produced by the breaks over each column is in a minute taste, the very opposite to grand. The Ionic specimen is one of the worst and most impure he could have chosen..... The works of Vanburgh are solid and judicious; but he neglected the lighter graces of his art, and is, with all his picturesque beauties, cumbrous and inelegant in detail..... Wyatt, who belongs more to our own times..... was richer and more learned in his art than either Jones, Wren, or Vanburgh.'

The 'pseudo-architectural decorations' of Waterloo Bridge are severely censured; and it is stated, that Canova disavowed, to a friend of the Lecturer, the high praise which he has been said to have assigned to that magnificent structure.

Art. X. *A General History of the House of Guelph, or Royal Family of Great Britain, from the Earliest Period in which the Name appears upon Record, to the Accession of his Majesty King George the First to the Throne: with an Appendix of authentic and original Documents. By Andrew Halliday, M. D. Domestic Physician to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence. royal 4to. pp. xxxvi. 500. London. 1821.*

IN the days of the Pretender, this dissertation on the pedigree of the House of Brunswick would have been a work of some value. What would not the Elector of Hanover have given, that was reasonable, to the man who should have made it appear that his Serene Highness united in himself the lines of Stuart and of Plantagenet; that England would receive back to her palaces in his person, the legitimate descendant of Alfred the Great and of a long succession of English and Scottish Kings? Yet such appears to be the fact. Our Henry the Second was, through his mother, the Empress Maud, descended both from Edmund Ironside and from Malcolm the Third of Scotland. From Matilda, the eldest daughter of Henry II., the Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg are lineally descended; and George I. and James II. stood exactly in the same degree of relationship (the 16th in descent) to their common ancestor, Henry Plantagenet. But this is a modern date in the genealogical records of the Guelphs. 'At a period when the present reigning families of Europe were unheard of, or merely emerging into notice, the ancestors of George the Fourth of England were already reigning in their greatest splendour.' The antiquaries of the Continent, we are told, 'have been able to trace, with every degree of probability'—we suppose the highest degree is meant—the origin of the present Royal Family of England and Dukes of Brunswick, 'to the days of Attila, the Hun!' Bless those German literati! They are the first commentators, and dissertators, and genealogists in the world. But, in the present instance, they have, it seems to us, gone back either too far, or not quite far enough. The tracing back the Royal pedigree of the Guelphs to the *Scyrri*, and shewing them in their barbaric origin, reminds us of the noble rivers in New South Wales, which, after ascending them beyond a certain distance, are found spreading into shallows, and losing themselves in swamps. And yet, beyond those miserable lakes, they may be rivers again; as, beyond the days of Attila, the Guelphic line of descent might again, could we but trace it, rise into distinction till it reached its patriarchal origin in the elder son of Noah. We must be contented, however, with tracing the

Guelphs, Wlphs, or Whelps, up to the days of Attila, and establishing the affinity of the Royal family of England to the Huns. By the way, Mr. Canning too is related to the Huns.—Pliny indeed, mentions the Scyrri as a *Gothic* tribe, occupying the Southern shores of the Baltic at its western extremity, and some of the Danish islands in the Great Belt. But Jornandes, in his History of the Goths, distinguishes them as a separate, though amicable nation who, after the death of Attila, 'tunc super Danubium considabant, et cum Gothis 'pacificè morabantur.' They occupied, about the middle of the fifth century, the ancient Rhoetia, and the present country of the Tyrol; and it is at this period that the name Wlph first occurs as a leader or prince of the tribe. The Scyrri were annihilated, as a distinct tribe, in the wars between Hunnimund, leader of the Suevi, and Theodomic the Goth: they fought under the former barbarian, and henceforth lapsed in the Suevi. A Guelph reappears towards the close of the sixth century, as commanding the Bavarians under Childibert, king of the Franks; and for a century afterwards, the name chiefly occurs among the princes of the Bavarian nation and the nobles of Lombardy. But the first clearly ascertained ancestor of the present family, is Guelph, count of Bavaria, 670; from whom descended the counts of Altdorf and dukes of Bavaria in one line, and the marquesses of Este on the other; which two lines were united, in the beginning of the eleventh century, in Guelph, sixth count of Altdorf and third duke of Bavaria. From this period, the Brunswick line of the House of Guelph flows regularly on through German channels, though with somewhat diminished majesty, down to Ernest, duke of Celle, styled the Confessor, from whom diverge the two lines of Brunswick-Luneburg-Wolfenbüttele, and Hanover.

Such is the sum and substance of the historical information contained in this splendid volume, which certainly does great credit to the research and loyalty of the Medical Gentleman who has compiled the memoir. To those of our readers who wish to pursue into the details of Continental history, the narrative of the exploits of the Guelphs, and the vicissitudes of the German branch of this illustrious house, we may safely recommend the Memoir as abundantly full and satisfactory, and not altogether unentertaining. A large portion of the volume is occupied, however, with epitaphs, inscriptions, and records, of no sort of interest to any one but a confirmed and inveterate antiquary. Thus much may suffice to establish the genealogical splendour of the Guelphic pedigree. 'There is,' we are told, 'no sovereign house in Europe, ancient or modern, that has not been connected with, or sprung from, some

' branch of this family.' As to the family name, it is involved in the obscurity of fable. Professor Eichhorn of Gottingen inclines to the opinion, that Guelph or Wlph is a corruption of the Ancient Saxon *huelpe*, in German *hülpe*, i. e. help; and that Wlph was so called as his brother Edico's *helper* in the command of the Scyrri. But Dr. Halliday, with more straightforward good sense, supposes the name to be derived from the animal painted on the standard of the chief, which was the rallying war-cry of the tribe. Many of the ancient princes of this House have, it is said, the *catulus* sculptured on their tomb. *Whelp* is, at all events, as honourable, if not as euphonous a patronymic as plantagenet or broom-plant.

Art. XI. *Sacred Lyrics*. By James Edmeston, Author of "Anston Park," &c. Third Set. 12mo. pp. 76. Price 3s. 6d. London. 1822.

MR. EDMESTON'S muse is extremely prolific, and promises, in time, a very numerous offspring. This is the third set of *Sacred Lyrics* of which she has been delivered within a reasonable time. Nothing can exceed the facility with which, apparently, this indefatigable Poet gets up and gets out his neat little volumes. We heartily wish him success with his lyrics, though we should be glad if he would take a little more pains, not imitate Moore quite so much, and put sometimes a bit in the mouth of his Pegasus. 'The Song of Miriam' and 'Elijah' are, we confess, not at all to our taste; they touch, at times, alarmingly on burlesque; as for instance,

'Hath triumph'd, hath triumph'd, and no one but he'—

This is in a much better style.

'Where can I go from THEE!
All present Deity!

Nature, and Time, and Thought, Thine impress bear;
Through Earth, or Sea, or Sky,
Though far!—Afar!—I fly,
I turn, and find Thee present with me there.

'The perfume of the rose,
And every flower that blows,
All, mark Thy love, in clusters of the vale;
The corn that crowns the fields,
The fruits the garden yields,
Proclaim the bounties that can never fail.

'The vapour and the cloud,
The thunder bursting loud,

Speak of Thy majesty, in words of flame;
 The Ocean as it roars,
 Lashing the rocks and shores,
 Declares from what a mighty hand it came.

' The vasty globes that roll,
 Each on its own firm pole,
 Through all the boundless fields of space, alone,
 Prove, that indeed Thou art,
 The life-wheel and the heart,
 Of Systems to our little world unknown.

' From Thee, I cannot fly;
 Thine all-observing eye
 Marks the minutest atom of Thy reign;
 How far so e'er I go,
 Thou all my path would'st know,
 And bring the wanderer to this earth again.

' But why should I depart?
 'Tis safety wheres Thou art,
 And could one spot alone, Thy being hold,
 I, poor, and vain, and weak,
 That sacred spot would seek,
 And dwell within the shelter of Thy fold !'

pp. 67—9.

Mr. E. wants only judgement, and a little severer mental cultivation, provided he will take time and take pains, to write much better poetry than this volume contains.

Art. XII. *Sketches of Sermons, preached to Congregations in various Parts of the United Kingdom, and on the European Continent. Furnished by their respective Authors. Vol. IV. 12mo. pp. 198. Price 4s. London, 1823.*

WE noticed, with some approbation, in a former volume, the first set of this series of sketches, now extending to two hundred. The demand which there is for this class of productions, is astonishing, and in some points of view satisfactory. These sketches would be but a sorry substitute for finished discourses, if intended to be read as they are. But, as rough outlines, designed to be filled up by the individual, they may be very serviceable. We suspect, however, that even the Compilers have not sufficiently tried the effect of their own compositions, or they would have ascertained, that a sentence of fourteen lines is not precisely the best exordium to a popular sermon, nor the style of the following passage the best adapted to the pulpit : it is taken from the first page.

‘ Notwithstanding the oppressive load of labour and care; and sorrow and temptation, by which we are usually burdened, and the attention we are constrained to bestow on matters which concern food and raiment, and other supplies necessary for ourselves and our dependants, while passing through the present life; the vigorous and immortal mind sometimes disengages herself from her encumbrances, and spurning the low and grovelling pursuits in which she has been detained, plunges into the future; and either anxiously inquires, ‘ Through what variety of untried being, through what new scenes and changes must I pass?’—or expatiates on the bright and blissful prospects which revelation offers to the eye of faith, and anticipates the period when those prospects shall be realised.

‘ Nor are such excursions confined to the future. Man’s future destiny is closely connected with his past and present circumstances. It is therefore natural for us to desire to inform ourselves concerning that part of the history of our species which relates the most important events of former times. Here again revelation comes to our assistance; and in its sacred pages, and particularly in the chapter in which our text is found, carries us back, through a variety of most interesting occurrences, even to the birth of time itself. In this light our text appears to be of considerable consequence; for while it furnishes matter of history the most ancient and venerable, it asserts some important natural truths, and suggests, by way of inference, several others of the moral kind.’

A want of simplicity is the prevailing defect of the style of these sketches. We take another specimen at random.

‘ Genuine religion, like its immutable Author, is “ the same yesterday, to day, and for ever.” Under every gradation of the dispensation of grace, it has continued essentially the same in its origin, properties, and effects. The personal piety of the patriarchs and prophets was perfectly similar in its nature and tendency to that which is now inculcated in the gospel of Christ. This invariable identity of religion is fully proved, by the universal suffrage of Scripture, and the inimitable evidence of Christian experience. In what therefore it consists, and the means which lead to its possession, are subjects of supreme and general importance. Nor are we left to wander in the uncertain conjectures and perplexing labyrinths of reason and philosophy, in the grand pursuit of happiness. God has given us an explicit revelation of his will, which is an infallible directory for our instruction in righteousness. And though there is an admirable diversity of *illustration*, there is evidently a perfect unity of *design* throughout the sacred writings, in which godliness is uniformly represented as a Divine operation, hallowing all the powers of the soul, and securing the inestimable blessings of life and peace.’ pp. 26, 27.

‘ There cannot be a much more vicious style than this for the pulpit.—In Sermon XXXVII, we meet with a curious expression: ‘ In reading the epistolary correspondence which the ‘ Apostles had with the primitive churches.’ Where is this *cor-*

responsiveness preserved? But it is not our intention to enter into minute criticism. Our general impression on inspecting this volume is, we confess, that the Editors have allowed themselves to get it up rather carelessly in order to meet the demand. There is a want of unction in the whole. 'Jesus Christ *with propriety* said,'—is not a becoming way of introducing the words of our Lord. Sermon-writing is delicate work. We shall give a complete sketch as a specimen.

'The primitive Christians were the subjects of severe and complicated sufferings. Christ himself suffered, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps; and he taught his disciples to expect similar treatment, "Ye shall be hated of men for my name's sake," Matt. xiii. 13. The apostles instructed their converts in the same doctrine; and the author of this epistle reminded the persons to whom he wrote it, of what they had already endured. Heb. x. 32. But knowing the liability of human nature to shrink from sufferings, and the tendency of these sufferings to depress and overwhelm the mind, he urged upon their attention the interesting advice in the text; "For consider him," &c. We invert the order of this passage, and consider,

'I. The evil deprecated;—To be "wearied and faint in your minds."

'II. The antidote presented against it;—"Consider him," &c.

'I. The evil deprecated—is expressed in these words, "lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds:" these two words *wearied*, and *faint*, though not precisely synonymous in their signification, are yet nearly allied in their import. The former refers to a person who is worn down by hard labour; and the latter to that sinking of the soul and depression of the spirits which result from fatigue. The context will serve to cast light upon this subject. Here Christians are regarded as running a race, (ver 1.)—a race for eternal life—a race in which every impediment must be cast aside—which must be run with patience—a race which requires exertion, and demands all the energies of the soul. But in running this race, there is a danger of being wearied and faint in our minds. We infer this,

'1. From the moral disinclination there is in human nature to run this race.—Man's propensities and tendencies are all towards sin; he runs the downward road, and follows a multitude to do evil: and even when God enlightens the understanding to discover the evil of sin and the beauty of holiness, and changes the heart to love the truth, there are, too commonly, principles of depravity yet remaining, that impede our progress in our heavenly race; and if not guarded against, will produce weariness and faintness of mind.

'2. From the obstacles and dangers that lie in our way.—If the path to celestial happiness were strewed with flowers, and presented only carnal delights, few would get weary in pursuing it; but the reverse of this is the truth; it presents obstacles which seem insuperable, and dangers which are appalling. Here are the temptations of the devil—the frowns of the world—the storms of adversity—stones of stumbling

and rocks of offence: and frequently the soul of the people is discouraged, because of the way.

' 3. From the lengthened period of our sojourning upon earth. If we gained the prize the moment we commenced the race, and won the victory immediately on our putting on the armour, there would be no danger of weariness; but frequently a long period of time intervenes; years of painful exercise, and complicated trials; and many who have begun well, and endured long, have not made a good finish, but declined from the holy commandment delivered unto them.

' 4. From the cautions, admonitions, and awful examples exhibited in the Scriptures. Who can read such texts as the following, without inferring the possibility of being weary and faint in our minds? "If thou forsake him," &c. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. "My people have committed two evils," &c. Jer. ii. 13. "The last state of that man," &c. Matt. xii. 45. "Holding faith and a good conscience," &c. 1 Tim. i. 19. 2 Pet. ii. 22. This being wearied and faint in our minds, is an evil to be deprecated; the phraseology of the text is sufficiently indicative of this. *It is evil in its nature.* When a man is wearied, &c. what are we to infer from this? Why, that the good within him is declining, and the evil predominating; that the light in him is becoming darkness. *It is evil in its agents:* "Ye did run well, who hath hindered you?" "This perturbation cometh not of him who calleth you." "An enemy hath done this." *It is evil in its tendencies.* It wounds the conscience, grieves the Holy Spirit, causes the friends of Zion to mourn, and the ministers of God to weep between the porch and the altar; makes hell triumphant; and, 'if angels tremble, 'tis at such a sight,' &c. *It is evil in its end:* "The backslider in heart shall be filled with his own ways." "If any man draw back," &c. Heb. x. 38.

' 11. The antidote presented against it. "Consider him," &c. The person to whom the text refers, is "Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith." Here are two things to be regarded, First, what the apostle says of him; and Secondly, what he says to us.

' 1. "*He endured contradiction,*" &c. This is a compound word, from *contra*, against, and *diction*, speech or language; and it evidently means verbal opposition, or, as it is rendered by Beza, the "speaking against of sinners." They spoke *against his person*: they said, "Is not this the carpenter?" Matt. xiii. 55, 56;—*against his character*: they called him "a gluttonous man, and a wine-bibber," &c. Matt. xi. 19; they accused him of violating the sabbath day, &c.;—*against his miracles*: they said, "He casteth out devils by Beelzebub," Matt. xli. 24;—*against his companions*: they said, "This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them;"—*against his preaching*; hence they declared, he spoke blasphemy, because he made himself equal with God;—*against his government*; they said, "We will not have this man to reign over us." In this contradiction of sinners, we see—the most *inexcusable ignorance*. Acts iii. 17. 1 Cor. ii. 8. But their ignorance was no excuse, as they possessed the means of knowing better.—*The most invincible prejudice.* The Jews had made up their

minds to condemn Christ, without examining whether he was the Messiah or not.—*The most unparalleled insolence* ; creatures insulting and contradicting their Creator : what could be more insolent ? But Christ endured this contradiction. We bear insults sometimes, because we are obliged to bear them ; but Christ might have destroyed his enemies, “ and dashed them in pieces as a potter’s vessel.”

‘ 2. “ Consider him,” &c.—*In his love*, which was infinitely disinterested, ‘ Love no where to be found less than divine :’ love to the most unworthy ; love that made the greatest sacrifices, endured the greatest privations, &c.—*In his humility*. “ He who thought it no robbery to be equal with God, made himself of no reputation,” &c.—*In his zeal for the interests of his heavenly Father*. See him driving the buyers and sellers from the temple, and his disciples remembering that it was written, “ The zeal of thine house,” &c.—*In his patience*. “ He was led as a lamb to the slaughter,” &c.—*And in his benevolent actions*. He “ went about doing good.” The word which our translators have rendered “ consider” is a very expressive word ; and signifies that we should look at the Lord Jesus attentively, analyze the whole of his character, and compare his sufferings with ours. Are we tempted ? let us consider his temptations. Are we persecuted ? consider his persecutions. Are we sorrowful ? consider his sorrows. This consideration of Christ will prove the most effectual antidote to weariness and fainting ; as it will lead us to see, that neither dignity of person, purity of action, nor usefulness of life, can screen us from the attacks of persecution ; and we shall cease to regard the cross as an offence, when borne by such an illustrious leader. It will also serve to inspire us with courage to brave all the dangers, and submit to all the privations to which we are subject. When the general of an army sleeps on the same cold ground with the troops, what soldier will dare to complain ? And it will, finally, lead us to anticipate a glorious victory. Jesus, who once endured contradiction of sinners, is now at the right hand of God.

‘ From the whole let us learn,

‘ 1. As Christians are liable to grow weary, &c. they should be on their guard against presumption, and self-confidence.

‘ 2. Those who think most of Christ, will be most likely to secure a final triumph over all their enemies.’ pp. 157—160.

BETA.

The best directions we can give for learning how to compose sermons, are, to catechise the young, and to pray by the bedsides of the old. By these means, the two most essential parts of composition will speedily be attained ; the *division* and the *application* of a subject. If these Sketches will never make a good preacher, they may, however, assist a bad one ; and the sale they have already met with, proves that they have been found useful. This is their best recommendation.

Art. XIII. *Body and Soul*. cr. 8vo. pp. 392. London. 1822.

WE have always discountenanced that very equivocal sort of production, a religious tale or novel; conceiving that such works tend much more to sanction and promote novel reading in religious circles, than to benefit novel readers out of such circles. We cannot be understood as objecting to the union of religious sentiment and good taste in any form; but we do very seriously protest against mixing up Theology in this shape—an ingredient not to be safely exhibited *in quovis vehiculo*. We object to making Religion responsible, in the estimation of the world, for these feeble and halting imitations of a style of production peculiarly the world's own, and in which religious truth can hardly fail to escape disguise or mutilation. But we have before us another proof of the danger connected with such indirect expedients of promoting religious knowledge: they may be turned against religion, by being made the insidious vehicle of a false theology and a lax morality, while they still wear the specious semblance of a religious work.

“Body and Soul”—a clumsy body with a very little soul—has for its avowed object, to counteract the errors of that part of the Evangelical world who would ‘exclude from the pale of genuine religion, all who have a cheerfulness of manner, and a liveliness of spirit, because they say, these are signs of a carnal and unconverted mind;’ who, moreover, ‘anathematize as strangers to the heritage of God,’ those ‘who conform with those *necessary usages* of the world, and comply with those *innocent amusements and customs of society*, which give a zest to the more serious things which belong to their peace.’ A still more appropriate motto than the one chosen by the Author from Pliny, would have been: ‘Love the world: if any man love not the world, the love of the Establishment is not in him.’ Of the writer’s benevolent intentions, as well as of his zeal for the Church of England, there can be no doubt. It is his object to preserve the frequenters of evangelical preaching from that unhappy consequence of over-seriousness—insanity; to stop them in the high road to the Lunatic Asylum. The affecting case which he records as a warning, originated entirely in the moral contagion of the example of certain gloomy religionists, who, though not, it seems, quite mad themselves, had the power of biting others with madness. They are thus described:

‘These young ladies, though well educated, and endowed with all the accomplishments of elegant life, had estranged themselves from every thing that could be construed into cheerfulness of disposition or

manners. They were uniformly bent on the prosecution of one design; their music, their dancing, their drawing, were abandoned as unnecessary, or inconsistent with the dignity of a religious life. If they worked with their needle, it was for the clothing of any, rather than themselves. Their reading was all of one kind and one cast, and calculated to inspire dread instead of composure. They kept up a correspondence with persons at a distance, whose minds were as sad and gloomy as their own. They inveighed against all amusements, of what nature soever they were, as well public as private. Though unwilling to engage in scenes of busy life, they made no scruple of going great distances, and undergoing all the inconveniences of attending large public meetings and committees: and would manifest on these occasions an air for the dispatch of business, supported by no other proof of it. At home, unmindful of the duties of domestic economy, and the exercise of that disposition which should characterise the sex, they were either wholly occupied in devotional contemplations, or 'compassing sea and land' to make proselytes of the cottagers of the neighbourhood, among whom also, when visiting the sick, although taking upon them the functions of the clergy, they avoided their practice of using the prescribed forms of the Church, or those composed by the most pious and learned of her sons, but gave way to the unrestrained volubility, and unbridled pourings-forth of extemporaneous effusions. Their conversation was at all times confined to one subject, their employments to one end; they delivered to others, and they received themselves, nothing but what they called 'expositions of Scripture;' they joined only in a pious interchange of sentiment. Now, though I admit the goodness of their intentions, and of their readiness to yield so much to self-denial, yet the tenor of their life and conduct had an opposite effect to that which they intended; for I still maintain, that though actuated by what were meant as the best religious motives, their views of religion were palpably erroneous; for no where do the Scriptures exhibit the Almighty as requiring the whole and uninterrupted solemn service of his creatures.'

pp. 179—181.

Our readers will be at no loss to recognise the description of persons here intended, although the character may be a little out of drawing: some deviation from strict accuracy of representation, must be conceded for the sake of effect. Now nothing can be more alarming to the interests of the Establishment, it must be admitted, than the spread of such a puritanical spirit as this. Bishop Warburton has shewn that an Establishment rests upon what he calls an *alliance* between the Church and the State; in other words, Religion and the World. Whatever, therefore, tends to dissolve that alliance, must endanger the Establishment; and therefore it is most reasonable that zealous, orthodox, sound Anti-Calvinistic ministers of that Establishment, should take alarm at the progress of those 'evangelical' notions which encourage a schismatical

separation between the World and the Church. On this account, drinking wine and water should be discountenanced : it savours of cant. Dr. Freeman, as a clergyman should do, drinks his bumper ; but Griper the Methodist, in one of the Tales before us, ' first poured water into his glass, and then discoloured it ' with a sufficient quantity of wine to spoil both liquids.'

We cannot make room for further extracts, but to those of our readers who may wish to see the Predestinarians or Calvinists triumphantly cut up, and the questions of Election, Necessity, and Divine Grace, as also the Athanasian Creed, made plain in a few pages to the meanest capacity, we may recommend " Body and Soul" as a fair specimen of the spirit, temper, and principles of a sound Anti-Calvinist and Anti-puritan. We have only to complain of a little ribaldry and profaneness here and there, as in the verses given at p. 125 ; but this is unavoidable in ridiculing the Methodists ; and there are worse things in the New Bath Guide and the Spiritual Quixote. An anecdote is told at p. 157, of a man who murdered his wife, and assigned as his reason his being predestinated to do it ; he is stated to have been a member of a Calvinistic chapel. Although this tells well, we must think its introduction injudicious : the lie is too palpable.

Art. XIV. 1. *An easy Method of acquiring the Reading of Arabic with the Vowel Points.* 1s. 6d. 1823.

2. *An easy Method of acquiring the Reading of Syriac with the Vowel Points.* 1s. 6d. 1823.

THESE very convenient tables are printed with great distinctness on sheets of a moderate size, and are continuations of the Plan adopted by the Publisher in his ' Easy method of reading Hebrew.' They are compiled on a plan which makes them of easy reference ; and they will be found exceedingly useful to all who may have occasion either to acquire the elements of the Eastern dialects, or, without such knowledge, to decipher the character. A slight acquaintance with the literal and grammatical forms of a language, will enable a student to consult a lexicon, and to comprehend many an allusion or citation which might otherwise darken his path, and hinder his progress. In all such cases, these tables will be found to facilitate inquiry and acquisition. They are, we believe, compiled by Mr. d'Allemand.

ART. XV. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

** * Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works, which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

In the press, A Treatise on Mental Derangement, being the Substance of the Gulstonian Lectures delivered in the Royal College of Physicians, in May, 1822. By Francis Willis, M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. In 1 vol. 8vo.

Sir Everard Home, Bart., will shortly publish a third volume of Lectures on comparative Anatomy.

A Gentleman long known to the literary world, is engaged on the Lives of Corregio and Parmegiano.

Major Long's Exploratory Travels to the Rocky Mountains of America, will appear in a few days, in 3 vols. 8vo. illustrated with maps and plates.

The third volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, is just ready for publication.

A Poem, entitled the Judgment of Hubert, is about to make its appearance.

In the press, and speedily will be published, The Faith once Delivered to the Saints Defended; being the Substance of Three Sermons on the Consistency, Truth, and Importance of the generally received Opinion concerning the Person of Christ. By William France.

The Edinburgh Annual Register for 1819 and 1820, are nearly ready for publication.

In the course of a few weeks will appear in 1 vol., "Fables for the Holy Alliance, with other Poems, &c." By Thomas Brown, the younger.

The author of the Student's Manual, &c. will shortly publish in a small volume, The Parent's Latin Grammar, to which is prefixed an Original Essay on the Formation of Latin Verbs. By J. B. Gilchrist, LL.D.

Early in the spring will be published, The Art of valuing Rents and Tillages, explaining the manner of valuing the tenant's right on entering and quitting Farms in Yorkshire and the adjoining counties: adapted for the use of landlords, land-agents, appraisers, farmers, and tenants. By J. S. Bayldon. In 1 vol. 12mo.

Dr. Pring, of Bath, has in the press,

An Exposition of the Principles of Pathology. In 1 vol. 8vo.

Mr. Bird, author of the "Vale of Slaughter," &c., has in the press, a volume entitled "Poetical Remains."

The Rev. G. Redford has in the press, a new edition of his Defence of Free Prayer, in answer to Dean Hodgson.

Dr. Carey has in the press, The Comedies of Plautus, in continuation of the Regent's Classics.

Mr. J. H. Wiffen has in the press, a Translation, in English Verse, of Garcilasso de la Vega, surnamed the Prince of Castilian Poets; with a critical and historical essay on the rise, progress, and revival of Spanish Poetry, and a life and portrait of the Author. To appear in March.

In the press, An Appeal for Religion to the best Sentiments and Interests of Mankind; being 1st. Four Orationes for the Oracles of God. 2d. Judgment to come, an argument in Five Discourses. 3d. Messiah's Arrival, a Series of Lectures. By the Rev. Edward Irving, A.M. Minister of the Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, London. In 1 vol. 8vo.

In the press, A Catalogue of the Ethiopic Biblical MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris, in the Vatican Library, and in that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with remarks and extracts. To which are added, Specimens of the modern dialects of Abyssinia. By Thomas Pell Platt, B.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Shortly will be published, in 12mo, Memoir and Select Remains of Miss Mary Shenstog. By her Brother and Sister.

Dr. Bacon of Gloucester, at the request of the relatives and trustees of the late Dr. Jenner, has undertaken to write the account of the life of that distinguished character, and to arrange his numerous manuscripts for publication.

John Stewart, esq. will soon publish collections and recollections; or anecdotes, notices, and sketches, from various sources, with occasional remarks.

Art. XVI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the Life of Charles Alfred Stothard, F.S.A. Author of the *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*: including several of his Original Letters, Papers, Journals, Essays, &c. &c. With some Account of a Journey in the Netherlands. By Mrs. Charles Stothard, Author of Letters written during a Tour through Normandy, Brittany, and other Parts of France, in 1818. 8vo. 15s.

Memoir of the Life and Writings of John Gordon, M.D. F.R.S.E. late Lecturer of Anatomy and Physiology in Edinburgh. By Daniel Ellis, F.R.S.E. &c. &c. 12mo. 6s.

HIStory.

The History of Roman Literature, from its earliest period to the Augustan æra. By John Dunlop, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. 11 11s. 6d.

A History of Ancient Institutions, Customs, and Inventions; selected and abridged from the *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Bräudungen* of Professor Bäckmann, of the University of Göttingen; with various important additions. 2 vols. 12mo. 15s.

The History of Spanish and Portuguese literature. By P. Bouterwek. Translated from the Original by Thomasina Ross. 2 vols. 8vo. 11 4s.

MEDICINE.

The History and Method of Cure of the various species of Epilepsy, being the second part of the second volume of a *Treatise on nervous diseases*. By John Cooke, M.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, &c. &c. 8vo. 6s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Sequel to an unfinished Manuscript of Henry Kirke White; designed to illustrate the Contrast afforded by Christians and Infidels, at the close of life. By the Author of "the Wonders of the Vegetable Kingdom Displayed," &c. 18mo. 4s.

A Universal Technological Dictionary; or, familiar explanation of the terms used in all arts and sciences: containing definitions drawn from original Writers. By George Crabb, A.M. With 60 plates and numerous cuts. 2 vols. 4to. 5l. 8s.

Relics of Literature. By Stephen Collet. 8vo. 15s.

Advice to young Mothers on the Physical Education of Children. By a Grandmother. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

POLITICAL.

A Letter to the Proprietors and Occupiers of Land, on the Causes of, and the Remedies for, the Declension of Agricultural Prosperity. By Thomas, Lord Erskine. 8vo. 2s.

State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1828 Being an authentic Description of the Public Establishments, the Government, civil and municipal, the Manners of the Inhabitants, and the actual Condition of the Settlers. Edited by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. 8vo. 12s.

Thoughts and Details, on the High and Low Prices, of the last Thirty Years.—Part I. on the Effects of the Alterations in the Currency. By Thomas Tooke, F.R.S. 8vo.

Observations on the Present State of Landed Property, and on the Prospects of the Landholder and the Farmer. By David Low, Esq. 2s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

The Whole Works of the Rev. John Owen, D.D. Some time Vice Chancellor of Oxford; now first collected. Vol. II. and III. 12s. each. To be completed in 16 volumes.

Consolation to Mourners. By R. H. Shepherd, Minister of Ranelagh Chapel. 18mo. 6d.

Services at the Ordination of the Rev. James Parsons to the Pastoral charge at York by the Rev. Messrs. Vint, E. Parsons, and Dr. Raffles. 8vo.

The Village Church-Yard. By the Author of the "Retrospect." 2 vols. 18mo. half-bound, 4s.

The Triumphs of Truth, or Facts displaying the Value and Power of the Word of God. By the Author of "A Word for the Heathen." 18mo. 1s. 6d.

Ditto, in French. 18mo. 2s.

A New Self-Interpreting Testament, containing many thousands of various readings and parallel passages, collected from the most approved translators and biblical critics, including all those of the authorised version, and set under the text in words at length; so that the parallel passages and various translations may be seen and read at one view.

With introductory arguments concerning the origin, occasion, and character of each book; a reconciliation of seeming contradictions; and the meaning and pronunciation of Scripture proper names. Adapted to the use of Ministers and reflecting Christians of every denomination. Part I. By the Rev. John Platts. royal 4to. 7s. demy 8vo. 6s. 4d.

The Doctrines of Grace conducive to eminent Holiness. A Sermon, delivered at a monthly meeting of Ministers and Churches. By J. B. Innes. 8vo. 2s.

The Bible Teacher's Manual: being the substance of Holy Scripture in Questions on every chapter thereof. By a Clergyman. Part I. Genesis. 6d. or 5s. per dozen.

TRAVELS.

A Narrative of a Voyage round the World in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, commanded by Captain Freycinet, during the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820; on a Scientific Expedition, undertaken by order of the French Government. In a Series of Letters to a Friend. By J. Arago, Draftsman to the Expedition. To which is prefixed, the Report made to the Academy of Sciences on the General Results of the Expedition. 4to. 3l. 13s. 6d.

Travels in Ireland, in the Year 1822, exhibiting Sketches of the Moral, Physical, and Political State of the Country, with Reflections on the best Means of improving its Condition. By Thomas Reid, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, and Surgeon in the Royal Navy. 8vo. 12s.

A Diary of a Tour through Southern India, Egypt, and Palestine, in the Years 1821 and 1822. By a Field Officer of Cavalry. With maps and plates. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

An Historical and Topographical Essay upon the Islands of Corfu, Lefkada, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zante: with remarks upon the character, manners, and customs of the Ionian Greeks; descriptions of the scenery and remains of antiquity discovered therein, and reflections upon the Cyclopean ruins. Illustrated by maps and sketches. By William Goodison, A.B. assistant surgeon to his Majesty's 73th Regiment. 8vo. 12s.

An Account of the United States of America, derived from actual Observation, during a Residence of four years in that Republic: including original communications. By Isaac Holmes. 8vo. 12s.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR APRIL, 1823.

Art. I. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c. during the Years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820.* By Sir Robert Ker Porter. With numerous Engravings. In Two vols. 4to. Vol. II. pp. 870. Price 4l. 14s. 6d. London. 1822.

THE first volume of these Travels, containing our Author's journey through Persia proper, we reviewed on its first appearance above eighteen months ago,* and we need not repeat the general remarks then made on the literary deficiencies which form a somewhat serious drawback on the value of the work. The Editors of the present volume frankly disclaim on behalf of the Author, all pretensions to a scientific acquaintance with either chemistry, botany, or geology, to which we will take the liberty of adding, classic literature and antiquities. Nevertheless, Sir Robert is a most entertaining companion, as well as an excellent draftsman; he writes like an intelligent and amiable man; and he has contributed not a little to both our amusement and our information. We wish that we could evaporate part of the bulk of these ponderous tomes; but, as this is impossible, we have endeavoured to obtain their extract.

A tour through Persia claims at least the merit of enterprise. It is a vastly different thing from a voyage up the Nile, or a tour through Palestine. The route by which our Author returned from Shiraz to Ispahan, 'has the name of the summer road, being impracticable in winter;' and the ascent and descent of its mountain-ladders, the shuddering horrors of its precipitous defiles, and the actual danger arising from the

* Eclectic Review for October 1821.

hordes who infest the passes, give an almost romantic character to the journey. To travel in Syria, a man should be a physician: to travel in Persia, he ought to be a soldier. This vast and interesting tract of country, once the well-spring of the population of the world, now waste and lonely, is compared by Sir Robert to the dry bed of some once majestic river, 'where the depth and the space evince the mighty flood by which it might have been filled, and a few pools of stagnant water dotting the marshy surface, remain vestiges that such an element really did fill it.'

'No man,' he remarks, 'can enter Persia without remembering he is about to tread a land which a long line of native princes covered with cities, and towns, and fertility; a country which even its Grecian conquerors embellished with the noblest structures, and Roman invaders adorned with bridges, aqueducts, and castles. But of all these towns, villages, and structures, the erections of so many different ages and generations of men, few remain of any kind that are not sunk in ruin, or furrowed with decay. What were once cities and hamlets, and cultivated fields, are now vast solitudes, without house, or hut, or tree, or blade of grass, for many, many miles. Indeed, so frequent are these monotonous tracts, dreary to the eye, and dismal to the heart, that the glimpse of a mouldering wall, round some long-abandoned village seen from afar; or a distant view of the broken massive arches of a lonely caravansary, surrendered to the wild animals of the waste; being memorials that human footsteps once were there, are sights of welcome to the cheerless traveller, wayworn by such unvaried scenes of desert solitariness. Besides such really melancholy sources of the *ennui* which so often accompanies the European through these burning tracts, is the unchanging serenity of the sky. Day after day, nay, month after month passes, and not a film is seen on its dazzling surface; not a cloud, even light as the thinnest vapour, varies the towering summits of the mountains by its fleecy shroud, nor tinges the vale beneath with its fitting shadow. In vain we look here for those sweet concealments of nature, which at times hide her beauties in a veil; or those sublime mysteries, which give infinitude to grandeur by the occasional darkness in which she envelops it. At no season of the year, in this southern part of Persia, can we see the storm gathering in the heavens, nor the thirsty earth opening its bosom to receive the milder shower, putting abundance and beauty in its bland refreshment. In fact, I have not seen a single drop of rain since the morning of my quitting Teheran; and dew seems equally interdicted. I have often thought, while panting through this waveless sea of shadeless heat, that if those of my countrymen who indulge themselves in murmurs against our cloudy, humid climate, were only to be transplanted hither for one summer-journey, they might find a parallel example to the unhappy lover of riches, who obtained the object of his passion to so grievous an extent, that whatever he touched became gold; for, wherever

they go here, they would meet dryness, and cloudless, fervent sunshine.' pp. 68, 9.

This passage is a fair specimen of the gorgeous, the almost Persian style of our Author's poetical prose. His descriptions are always highly picturesque, if his reflections are not very profound; but the mosaic work of figurative and matter of fact phraseology which his composition presents, is certainly not in the best taste. The transition is in some instances so unluckily managed, as to terminate in that inverted climax usually denominated bathos.

Iman Zada Ismael, a village lying at the threshold of the mountain region, derives its name and its reputed sanctity from containing the tomb of a Mahomedan saint. Every individual in the place, moreover, claims his descent from Mahommed; hence the inhabitants are all called Saïeds, or sons of the Prophet. The aspect of the holy village struck the Travellers as wearing an air of comfort and civilization rarely to be met with on that side of Ispahan. They were surprised at finding the women of the place not only walking about in freedom, but completely unveiled, and mixing promiscuously in discourse or occupation with the male inhabitants: they are described as of dark complexions, but with regular features, and large fine eyes, well-shaped, and having a general appearance of cleanliness not very common among the lower classes in Persia. The village itself is well constructed and clean, and exhibits at every point, in its large tracts of garden ground, and the adjacent corn-lands and vineyards, the signs of unusual prosperity. For this, one little circumstance may partly account: the sacred village is exempted from tribute of any kind; and in addition to this and other distinguishing privileges, the prince-governor of Shiraz pays a yearly contribution towards the repair and decoration of the Iman's tomb. But the Frankish license here enjoyed by the female population, remains unexplained. From this place, a 'labyrinth of countless ravines and formidable gorges,' diverges in every direction, intersecting the vast mountain-chain extending from Ararat to the shores of the Persian Gulf. The numerous defiles running to the northwest, issue in valleys, which gradually expand into vast and fertile plains extending to the confines of Coorsistan. In the most inaccessible parts of this stupendous range, live the Bactiari, Feilly, and Mamazany tribes, extending from the mountains above Kazaroon, to the vicinity of the Kou-i-zerd. In the summer months, the milder of these mountain wanderers descend from their heights, and, under the name of Eclauts, take up their residence for the season on

the more fertile plains, where they live unmolested, occupying themselves in various manufactures. But the greater part of these tribes shew themselves true sons of Ishmael: 'leaguings together by families and tribes, they exist wholly by plunder.' The great roads between Bushire and Shiraz, and those leading from the latter city to the very gates of Ispahan, are infested by these merciless marauders; and the most desperate conflicts between them and travellers have frequently taken place a short way from the sacred village. Yet, nearly the whole of these Persian highlanders not only acknowledge the Shah's supremacy, but furnish their quota of armed men to serve him in his wars.

'About three years ago, two battalions of infantry were raised from one of these tribes. It may easily be imagined, how unused the free-born and in all respects untrammelled savages had been to discipline of any kind, and that refractoriness would be exhibited accordingly. Captain Isaac Hart, late of the 65th regiment, (who, with other brave Englishmen, had emulated the fortunes of the Shirleys in Persia,) was entrusted with the difficult task of bringing these rough sons of the desert to the smooth docilities of an European drill. He told me, that he began with what people call "gentle means;" indulgence to their former habits, kind words, and persuasions. But all this only taught the men to believe themselves feared, and confirmed the insolent idleness with which they resisted every attempt to bring them to their duty. He had now recourse to the simple method of command, and exacting the penalty of disobedience. The strictest military law was proclaimed amongst them, and maintained without partiality or prejudice; and the consequence was, that before many more weeks elapsed, these lately mutinous recruits went through their parade duties with a steadiness in manœuvre not inferior to the best disciplined regiments at Azerbaijan. Another miracle was performed by the dexterous use of that knowledge of mankind which shews when to mix the principle of awe with that of gratitude: these newly disciplined soldiers loved their Frangy commander, and with an ardour of enthusiasm hardly to be comprehended by our phlegmatic natures of the North!' pp. 18, 19.

The vale of Oujon, the next into which the Traveller descends after traversing the dangerous pass which connects it with the valley of Iman Zada Ismael, is one of the richest pasture-lands in Persia. It is celebrated as having been the favourite and fatal haunt of Baharam the Fifth, in hunting the wild ass. The whole valley abounds in springs, some of which form open pools and streams, but others lie hid under the marshy ground. All their sources are supposed to communicate with each other at a great depth.

'In the course of one of his excursions, near the western extremity of the plain, the king suddenly disappeared, leaving his as-

tonished retinue in the wildest consternation. In the heat of pursuit, Baharam, who was much a-head of his followers, had dashed into a deep, still pool of water covered with green weeds, and together with his horse, was instantly swallowed up. But what remains a wonder until this day, though immediate search was made for his body, not the smallest trace of either himself or the animal that perished with him, was ever to be found. Sir John Malcolm, in mentioning this circumstance, corroborates its probability, by recounting the melancholy catastrophe of a European in his own escort, who, although warned not to approach it too near, disappeared at the very spot pointed out as that fatal to the king.

p. 13.

The disappearance of Ravenswood in "the Bride of Lamermuir," and that of the Giaour in "Vathek," are incidents of less terrific interest than the veritable fate of Baharam the royal hunter.

At the village of Koosh-Kizar, our Travellers were overtaken by an extremely worthy and kind-hearted personage, an old Abyssinian eunuch, Hadgé Bachire, who was chamberlain to the royal mother of the prince-governor of Shiraz. They met at the caravansary, where Hadgé took his seat, *sans ceremonie*, near the nummuds of the Frangy travellers, declaring himself the happiest of men at finding himself in the company of Englishmen. He wound up his general compliments to our nation, with a eulogy on the talents and virtues of Henry Martyn, who, he said, had passed some time under his roof at Shiraz.

'A succession of kindly smiles brightened the black visage of the Hadgé, while he dwelt on the merits of the meek man of God; though it was in that city, and probably under his roof, that he composed many of the queries relative to the Mahomedan faith, none of which have yet been answered by the wisest sages and moollahs of Persia. Indeed, these staggering doubts cast upon the creed of Mecca, have afforded unceasing occupation to the pen of Mirza Bezourk, the devout and learned minister of Abbas Mirza; but, after eight years' consideration, discussing, and writing on these stubborn points, still, his labours, like the web of Penelope, seem *sans fin*, for, dissatisfied with what is done, he frequently obliterates in one day, what has been the toil of a year at least.'

p. 23.

Ecbatana, the ancient capital of the Medes, has dwindled down to a mean and miserable clay-built town, which, till lately, owed all its consequence to the manufacture of a superior sort of leather, carried on there; the very article of traffic bespeaking the low order of population to which it was abandoned. At the time of Sir Robert's visit, it had, however, been recently created a royal government; and plans were in the course of execution, to raise it, in point of architectural appearance, to a

more equal rank with other provincial capitals. It then numbered about 9000 houses, a third of which were inhabited by persons in the employment of the State. The population was calculated at between 40 and 50,000 souls, among whom were about 600 Jewish families, and nearly the same number of Armenians. The identity of the modern town of Hamadân with the site of the once splendid Median capital, is established by its correspondence in every respect to the description of Ecbatana given by Herodotus. He describes it as built on a gentle ascent about 12 *stadia* from the foot of Mount Orontes. 'The site of the modern town, like that of the ancient, is on a gradual ascent, terminating near the foot of the eastern side of the mountain; but there,' adds Sir Robert, 'all traces of its past appearance would cease, were it not for two or three considerable elevations and overgrown irregularities on or near them, which may have been the walls of the royal fortress, with those of the palaces, temples, and theatres seen no more.' From the inhabitants, Sir Robert could of course obtain no satisfactory intelligence respecting any remains of antiquity. All he could learn from the vizier and his officers, was, that on the summit of Mount Elwund (Orontes), there was a tomb containing the body of a son of Solomon, inscribed with cabalistic characters. We shall give our Author's account of his expedition in search of this supposed sepulchre.

'Next morning, just before sun-rise, I set forth on what some thought the awful errand, attended by one of the vizier's people, who was to guide me to the spot. After a most arduous and circuitous clambering of our horses, for full four hours, up the eastern acclivity of Elwund, to ride further became impossible from the precipitous nature of the remaining ascent; so, taking to our feet, we scrambled onwards for half an hour; till at last, reaching the most elevated ridge, I was told the object of my pursuit stood before me: I looked eagerly forward, but, instead of an inscribed stone "in the side of the mountain," I saw a plain square platform, a little raised, which the guide with much complacency announced to be the "tomb of Solomon's son!"

'Whatever it may have been, it certainly is no covering of the dead; being a large platform formed by manual labour out of the native rock, and ascendable by a few rugged steps. A number of copper lamps lay scattered on and near it, having been brought thither by successions of devotees, who make short pilgrimages from the town to this fancied shrine. Indeed, over most of the East, the name of Solomon is held in such superstitious reverence, that it appears accountable for every thing beyond the usual powers or present knowledge of man. Hence, it is no more to be wondered at, that this certainly very ancient piece of workmanship, should be dated from a son of Solomon, than that the vast rocky structure is

the vale of Mourg-aub, now ascribed to Cyrus, should be called by the natives, *Tack-i-Suliman*, meaning the throne of the Judean monarch. But what may seem rather an extraordinary coincidence, both these places, to which ignorance has given his name for such different purposes, a throne and a grave!—appear, from situation and construction, to have been really designed for one and the same use; great mountain altars to the sun. That of Mourg-aub is of much vaster dimensions than that of Elwund; but the form and the station of both platforms decide their purposes with me. Besides, some tradition of the latter having been a holy place, seems tacitly preserved in the perpetuated custom of carrying burning lamps or censers to it, as an act of devotion. That such “high places” were the earliest scenes of sacrificial worship, may be traced in the most ancient books of all countries; in the same way that Euripides writes of the first colonizers of Greece, who,

On each rock's high point, consumed the victim
Mid the hallowed fire.

The rite, from repeated habit, being remembered here after its original purpose had passed into oblivion, Solomon, or one of his race, according to the custom of the times, became heir to the honours of the tomb, as he had before inherited the throne at Passargade.

‘At first, I felt a little vexed at not finding the object of my expedition; but the manifest antiquity of the old platform would have possessed sufficient interest with me to have fully compensated for the disappointment, even had I not been more than repaid for the trouble of the ascent by one of the most stupendous views I ever beheld.

‘I stood on the highest eastern peak of Elwund. The apparently interminable ranges of the Courdistan mountains spread before me, far to the north-west; while continued chains of the less towering heights of Louristan stretched south-east, and linking themselves with the more lofty piles of the Bactiari; my eye followed their receding summits till lost in the hot and tremulous haze of an Asiatic distant sky. The general hue of this endless mountain region was murky red; to which, in many parts, the arid glare of the atmosphere gave so preternatural a brightness, that it might well have been called a land of fire. From the point on which I stood, I beheld the whole map of the country round the unbroken concave. It was of enormous expanse; and although, from the clearness of the air and the cloudless state of the heavens, no object was shrouded from sight, yet, from the immensity of the height whence I viewed the scene, the luxuriance of the valleys was entirely lost in the shadows of the hills, and nothing was left visible but the bare and burning summits of countless mountains. Not a drop of water was discernible, of all the many streams which poured from their bosoms into the plains beneath. In my life, I never had beheld so tremendous a spectacle: it appeared like standing on the stony crust of some rocky world which had yet to be broken up by the Almighty word, and unfold to (at) the benefi-

cent mandate, the fructifying principles of earth and water, bursting into vegetation and terrestrial life. The great salt desert terminates the horizon on the East, but it is only distinguishable through the openings of the high serrated range of mountains which run ~~from~~ from Koden to Ispahan. Indeed, if it were wished to fix upon a spot in order to shew the dominant character of an Asiatic landscape, the peak of Elwand might be chosen as the best; since it presents rock, mountain, and desert, a brazen soil, with a sky of fire.

pp. 116-117.

The Inscribed stone, which the good Moslems had somehow confounded with the tomb of Solomon's son, was afterwards found by tracking a rapid stream, according to the directions of a peasant, through an intricate succession of 'mountain vales,' for about five miles. About fifty feet above the water, near its source, the mysterious stone projects from the sloping side of an acclivity. It is an immense block of red granite, of very close and fine texture, apparently of many thousand tons' weight. At full ten feet from the ground, two square excavations appear in the face of the stone, cut to the depth of a foot, about five in breadth, and much the same in height. Each of these imperishable tablets contains 'three columns of engraved arrow-headed writing in the 'most excellent preservation,' The day was too far spent, however, to allow of Sir Robert's undertaking the task of copying the inscriptions, and he does not seem to have thought it worth while to return for that purpose.

If Hamadan cannot boast of the tomb of Solomon, or Solomon's son, it contains a sepulchre scarcely less venerated by its Jewish inhabitants, that of Esther and Mordecai. This tomb, whose dome roof is seen rising over the low, dun habitations of the poor remnant of Israel in this land of their captivity, is regarded by all the Jews in the Persian Empire, as a place of peculiar sanctity; pilgrimages being still made to it 'at certain seasons'—probably on the feast of Purim. It is thus described.

'I accompanied the priest through the town over much ruin and rubbish, to an enclosed piece of ground, rather more elevated than any in its immediate vicinity. In the centre was the Jewish tomb: a square building of brick of a mosque-like form, with a rather elongated dome at the top. The whole seems in a very decaying state. The door that admitted us into the tomb, is in the ancient sepulchral fashion of the country, very small, consisting of a single stone of great thickness, and turning on its own pivots from one side. The original structure, it is said, was destroyed at the sacking of the place by Timour; and soon after that catastrophe, when the country became a little settled, the present unobtrusive building was raised on the original spot. About a hundred and fifty years ago, it was

fully repaired by a rabbi of the name of Ismael. On passing through the little portal, we entered a small arched chamber, in which are seen the graves of several rabbis. A second door of such very confined dimensions that we were constrained to enter through it on our hands and knees, admitted us into a larger chamber to which appertains the dome. Under it stand two sarcophagi made of a very dark wood, carved with great intricacy of pattern and richness of twisted ornament, with a line of Hebrew running round the upper ledge of each. Many other inscriptions in the same language, are cut on the walls, while one of the oldest antiquity, engraved on a slab of white marble, is let into the wall itself. The priest assured me, it had been rescued from the ruins of the first edifice, at its demolition by the Tartars; and, with the sarcophagi themselves, was preserved on the same consecrated spot.' pp. 108, 9.

There appears nothing in the inscriptions themselves, as Englished through the medium of the Persian, to support their peculiar claims to such remote antiquity. That on the tablet, though doubtless ancient, we incline to consider as decidedly apocryphal. Those on the sarcophagi are more striking; they are to the following effect:—on that of Mordecai,—

“It is said by David, Preserve me, O God! I am now in thy presence. I have cried at the gate of heaven, that thou art my God; and what goodness I have received, came from thee, O Lord!”

“Those whose bodies are now beneath in this earth, when animated by thy mercy, were great; and whatever happiness was bestowed upon them in this world, came from thee, O God!”

“Their grief and sufferings were many at the first; but they became happy, because they always called upon thy holy name in their miseries.

“Thou liftedst me up, and I became powerful. Thine enemies sought to destroy me in the early times of my life; but the shadow of thy hand was upon me, and covered me as a tent from their wicked purposes!—Mordecai.”

On the other sarcophagus,—

“I praise thee, O God, that thou hast created me! I know that my sins merit punishment, yet I hope for mercy at thy hands; for whenever I call upon thee, thou art with me; thy holy presence secures me from all evil.

“My heart is at ease, and my fear of thee increases. My life became through thy goodness, at the last, full of peace.

“O God! do not shut out my soul from thy Divine presence! Those whom thou lovest never feel the torments of hell. Lead me,

* Though there is a considerable variation both of expression and of sentiment, in the words here cited as David's, Psalm xvi. 1, 2, is obviously referred to by the inscriber. R.

O merciful Father, to the life of life, that I may be filled with the heavenly fruits of Paradise!—Esther.””

The rabbi who acted as cicerone in this instance, told Sir Robert, that, according to his calculation, Esther and Mordecai had been dead about twenty-two centuries, which agrees with the opinion that the Ahasuerus of the canonical book of Esther, and the Artaxerxes of the Apocrypha, is the Andasheer Durodaste (or Artaxerxes Longimanus) of profane history,—On leaving the tomb, not far from the most southern fortress of the town, our Author discovered the broken shaft and base of a column, closely resembling the Persepolitan architecture. The flowing leaf of the lotos covered the whole of the pedestal, and its shape resembled in every particular that of the great ranges of columns on the platform of Tackt-i-Jemsheed. From this specimen, Sir Robert rather too hastily infers the identity of the architecture of Persepolis and of Ecbatana, and goes off into a speculation on the claims of the aboriginal Assyrians to the honour of being the inventors of sculpture. Before leaving Hamadan, he had the good fortune to obtain, through the medium of some learned Jews, several coins of the Sassanian kings, which supply an important elucidation of their history, as well as a large silver coin of Alexander the Great. All the inscriptions on the Sassanian coins, the oldest of which is supposed to have been struck in the beginning of the third century, are in the Pehlivi or Pahlavi dialect; the written language of the country prior to the Mahomedan conquest. The Pahlavi, Sir William Jones considered to have been deduced from the Chaldaic, as the Zend was from the Sanscrit, to which Sir John Malcolm has remarked that it closely approximates. The Pars or Parsi, mixed with Arabic, is now the common language of the kingdom. Sir Robert saw at Tifis a rude coin of the Arsacidæan or Parthian dynasty, but he neglected to copy the legend. Could a collection of these coins be obtained, some light might be thrown on that chasm in the native annals of Persia, immediately preceding the dynasty of Sá-sán; for which M. de Sacey plausibly accounts by supposing, that the contempt of the polytheistical Arsacidæ for the Mithratic faith, and their neglect or persecution of the Magi, led to their exclusion from the honours of history. It is from Western historians alone, that we obtain our knowledge of the great names of Phabates, Orodes, and Mithridates, occurring in the line of monarchs who succeeded to Ashk or Arsaces, the Tartarian conqueror who wrested Persia from the Greeks, about 80 years after the death of Alexander.

• The village of Kangavar (the ancient *Korymbæ*;) about forty-

five miles from Hamadan, still presents the ruins of a superb temple of Diana. The greater part of the site is totally concealed by modern houses or hovels, built in part of its materials; but enough of the fine stone foundations are every where discernible to enable the traveller to trace the original form of the building. It was quadrangular, each face measuring 300 yards. A considerable part of the wall fronting the West, still rises above the accumulated rubbish at its base: it is built of large stones cut in regular proportions.

Not far from the edge of this magnificent wall, runs a beautifully executed cornice, which, formerly, at a foot's height above it, subjoined a noble colonnade, the columns being distant from each other ten feet. The pedestals of eight are still surmounted by the chief part of their shafts in good preservation. The southern front stood almost on the very verge of a nearly perpendicular ascent, which is now entirely covered with broken columns and other vestiges of the most classic architecture; besides the quantities which have rolled down the steep in huge masses upon the plain beneath; indicating by their forms, that they are the fragments of what must have been a very majestic portico. To the eastward is a continued line of solid foundation wall-work, as well as innumerable piles of broken pedestals, capitals, &c. Our guide told me, that not longer than twelve months ago, an almost entire column stood erect in this quarter; but the inhabitants of the village thought they had occasion for it, and tumbling it down, carried away parts of the broken shaft to apply to their own purposes. The material of which these relics are composed, is a hard marble of a bluish tint, elegantly marked with white veins. The style appears to have been of the most majestic simplicity.' pp. 141, 2.

The spot on which the temple stood, commands the whole vale, which is extremely rich, and the view is perfectly beautiful.

Our limits will not admit of stopping to notice the remarkable sculptures at Besitoon, where there are numerous inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, to transcribe the whole of which would occupy, Sir Robert says, more than a month. We must also pass over the still more interesting, though probably less ancient sculptures at Tackt-i-Bostan. The inscriptions there, are in the Pehlivi character, and the bas-reliefs are clearly to be referred to the time of the Sassanian dynasty. Sir Robert was now in the province of Mahmoud Ali Mirza, the eldest son of the Shah by a concubine, and the declared enemy of Abbas Mirza, the appointed heir to the throne. The death of the Shah, it is expected, will be the signal for a bloody contest between the two brothers. Kermanshah, the capital of the district, in lat. 34° 26' N., is a handsome city, containing about 15,000 families, and famous for an excellent manufac-

tory of fire-arms. The greater part of the inhabitants of the villages are Courds, of whose domestic character we have a rather pleasing picture. Their wives and daughters, unlike the Turkish and Persian women, walk abroad without the *chadre*: 'modest when maidens, and chaste as wives,' they are the heroic mothers of an athletic soldiery. The prince of Kermanshah is described as proud, ambitious, daring, and invincibly brave: his military talents are considerable, and his vast resources will make him a formidable competitor. The Pasha of Bagdad is his tributary, and all the chiefs of that part of Courdistan which lies within his district, acknowledge his sovereignty.

Bagdad presented a scene widely different from those which the Travellers had left behind. The outward fashion of the houses bore a new aspect. They consist of several stories, with latticed openings. The flowing garments of all hues, and superbly folded, towering turbans of the Turkish population, were in striking contrast with the simple, close vesture and dark sheep-skin cap of the Persian costume. In crossing through part of the great bazaar, numberless coffee-houses, intermingled with shops, appeared on either side, all filled with silent and smoking rows of seeming automata. 'There was a rustling sound of 'slipperd feet and silken garments, and a low, monotonous 'hum from so numerous a hive; but nothing like the brisk, 'abrupt movements and clamorous noises of a Persian assemblage of the same sort.' Sights and smells obtruded themselves, however, on our Author's senses, which did not at all harmonise with the romantic associations connected with the far-famed capital of Haroun-al-Raschid. The pashalic of Bagdad comprehends ancient Babylonia, and the whole of Assyria proper; so that the two mighty kingdoms which once commanded the Eastern world, are reduced to the character of a province, the ruler of which reigns only by sufferance; the nominal subject of the Ottoman court, and the tributary of the Persian Prince of Kermanshah. Daoud, (why will Sir Robert write it Dowd?) the present Pasha, was originally a Georgian slave, a native of Tiflis, where his father, mother, and brother were at that time still living. On the murder of his predecessor, the accomplished Georgian had sufficient influence with the Divan to get himself nominated his successor.

The latitude of Bagdad is $33^{\circ} 19' 40''$; the longitude $44^{\circ} 45' E$. The circumference of the walls, including all the buildings on both sides of the Tigris, is about five miles. The population, which has long been on the decline, cannot exceed, Sir Robert thinks, 100,000 souls. Few of the ancient public buildings remain, and not a vestige of the palace of the caliphs.

is visible. The climate, though less variable than that of Persia, is, during the summer, almost insufferable, from the abiding effects of the forty days' prevalence of the consuming samiel. At that season, the thermometer frequently mounts in the shade to 130, and even 140 degrees of Fahrenheit. The inhabitants are then compelled to betake themselves, during the day, to arched cellars called the *Zardaub*, constructed deep in the foundations of the house for this purpose; whence, at sunset, they issue to take their evening repast, and to spread their couch on the roof, under the free canopy of heaven. In winter, however, the climate is said to be of the most delicious softness and salubrity. During the spring torrents, the overflow of the Tigris, augmented by the waters of the vast Forat (Sir Robert spells it Phrat) or Euphrates, gives to Bagdad the appearance of a castellated island in the midst of a boundless sea. The city is occasionally subject, it seems; to another sort of overflow,—an influx of unemployed and destitute population from the surrounding country, whose intrusion is viewed with jealousy on two grounds; the scarcity they may produce, and the tumults to which starvation may excite them. To obviate this difficulty, the summary measure is resorted to, of periodically expelling the most miserable of the inhabitants, under the plea of apprehended scarcity, to starve in the desert; or seek their bread on the mountains, or join the hordes of marauders who subsist by plunder. Such are the Turkish poor-laws! In the mean time, within the city, luxury and licentiousness are carried to the highest pitch of Oriental notions. The ladies of Bagdad, in particular, are 'singularly inclined to festivity.' The liberty they possess, of paying visits without the *surveillance* of a male guard, and disguised beneath the impenetrable *chadre*, is supposed to be too often abused by these very sociable personages. The wives of the higher classes are usually selected from the most beautiful girls that can be obtained from Georgia and Circassia, who, to their natural charms, add the fancied embellishments of painted complexions, hands and feet dyed with henna, and hair and eye-brows stained with the indigo leaf. Their costume is most splendid and costly; and Sir Robert luxuriates in the riches of their wardrobe. He is equally at home in describing the nocturnal festivities of the saloon. But we must pass on, merely observing, in justice to the ladies of Bagdad, that gentlemen are excluded from their parties. The performances of the dancing boys, clothed in female habits, which are said to call forth bursts of enraptured laughter even from the solemn and saturnine Turk, must be about the most disgusting exhibition of human nature in the world; and their connexion with the most degraded state of

morals conceivable, is but too obvious. It is to the credit of the Pasha, that he sets his face against this abomination.—And now for Babylon.

Above a hundred and twenty copious pages are occupied by our Author with descriptions, and sentimental reflections, and suppositions relating to this bottomless subject of antiquarian research; but, unfortunately, where Sir Robert has the least to communicate, he is sometimes the most liberal of words. We are sorry to say, that he appears to us to have left the subject pretty nearly in the state in which he found it. He has for the most part followed Mr. Rich, whom he cites repeatedly; and indeed, for the most valuable notices, we are indebted to the Author's friends more than to his own observation. As this expedition was so favourite an object with him, and so long pre-meditated, we were astonished that he should have been contented to remain only eight days amid the scenes on which he so pathetically expatiates; and still more so, that he should have come away without having even ascertained the extent of the field of ruins in any direction, and without having entered any of the mounds or ruins which he saw. He lays the blame of this, indeed, on 'the existing circumstances of the pashalik;' that is to say, the Arabs were in armed revolt. But had he known how to go about it, he might have got over this difficulty by pacific means. In like manner, Captain Frederick remained only six days at Babylon. He rode sixteen miles beyond Hilla to the northward, and five miles southward below it, and saw no appearance of either ditch or wall to mark the boundaries of the ancient city. But the bank of the river was not the place to look for them. Sir Robert rode to Al Hymer, which is nearly eight miles from the eastern bank of the river, and still there were ruins. He explored Birs Nimrood, which is nearly six miles from the western bank, and there an immense field of ruins presented itself. What is the natural conclusion, but that in neither case he was without the boundary of this immense capital? Our Author, however, considers the distance of Al Hymer from the Euphrates, as putting it out of the question that it could ever have stood within the walls; though he pronounces it to be certainly a structure of the Babylonian age. But the proper business of the Traveller is, not to reconcile the actual topography with any previous hypotheses, but to observe with his own eyes, and report to us existing facts. What dimensions Herodotus, or Strabo, or Major Rennell may assign to ancient Babylon, is of little consequence, if actual observation leads to a different conclusion. To complete the survey of so immense an area as is occupied with these remains, instead of six or eight days, six or eight

months would hardly be sufficient. The Traveller who would throw any light on this subject, ought to make his peace with the Arabs on both sides of the river, (which he might easily do by presents,) rout the lions from the Birs Nimrood, and pitching his tent in the most convenient spot, not desist from his operations till he had explored the whole field of ruins, and broken into every mound.

With regard to the Birs Nimrood—query, Beer es Nimrood, the well of Nimrood?—we do not think that either our Author or Mr. Rich, whom he copies, has succeeded in proving it to be the Tower of Babel. In the first place, the tower in the centre of the mound, for which alone this high antiquity is claimed, is built of unburned brick; whereas the Bible states that the Tower of Babel was built of brick thoroughly burned*. This centre tower or pyramid is stated to have been cased with a more recent structure of fine burned brick. The practice of casing old towers appears to have prevailed very extensively. Dr. Richardson mentions the fact of one of the larger pyramids of Egypt being completely cased over in this way. The Tower of Babel was solid throughout—*εὐρύς, ἁγρός*; hence the ascent was on the outside, probably like the pagoda of Tanjore or the Mexican temple of the Sun and Moon. The pile in question is perforated by square holes, two feet in height by one in width; but whether it is hollow or solid to the centre, is not clearly specified. It is stated by Herodotus, who resided three years in Babylon, that the Temple of Belus was in the centre of one division of the city. But Birs Nimrood is six miles in a direct line from the river, and must consequently have been nearly at the western extremity. The Jews call this ruin “Nebuchadnezzar’s prison;” and considering how tenacious that people are of the ancient names of places, we are inclined to lay no small stress on their tradition. To this Birs, or Beers, or well of Nimrod, rather than to the Mujelibe, we are inclined to refer the Islamic legend of the two angels Haroot and Maroot, who are believed to be suspended by their heels in a well, where they are to remain till the end of the world, as a punishment for their vanity and presumption.

On the eastern side of the river, Mr. Rich mentions having found a subterranean passage at the southern end of the Kasr hill, ‘floored and walled with large bricks laid in bitumen, and covered over with pieces of sandstone, a yard thick and several yards long.’ It is seven feet high at the entrance, and someway on, is high enough for a horseman to pass up-

* Gen. xi. 3.

right. Such a passage is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus as leading under water from the palace on one side of the river, to the palace on the other. This statement ought not to be lightly dismissed. The passage was half-full of brackish water when Mr. Rich was there, which he conjectured to be rain water impregnated with nitre; it is at least clear, that it could not proceed from the river. If a person could not walk or ride along this passage, he might paddle through it in a *kufa*, lighting himself with a torch. One of the mounds adjoining the Kasr hill, our Author conjectures to have been one of the hanging gardens; and he is probably right. But no part of the site of ancient Babylon has as yet been sufficiently examined, to enable us to come to a satisfactory decision respecting any particular locality. In exploring the environs, the names of the villages ought to be carefully noted and compared with the names of the cities mentioned in the Bible, as contemporary with Babylon. It is a strong testimony to the truth of the Scripture history, to find in Herodotus mention of the second city named by Moses—Erech*. He states†, that before the Euphrates reached Babylon, it touched three times at *Ardericca*, an Assyrian village. *Ard* is the Arabic word for land or district; as *Ard Bobil* or *El Bobil*, the land of Babel. *Ard Erik* or *Ericca*, therefore, would be the land of Erech.

The utter desolation of this once proud mistress of the nations, exhibits a most striking fulfilment of prophecy to the very letter. The decomposition of the buildings inflicts a lasting sterility on the soil. 'In the intervals of the ruins,' Mr. Rich remarks, 'there are some patches of cultivation; but ruins composed, like those of Babylon, of heaps of rubbish impregnated with nitre, cannot be cultivated.' The neglect of the canals which formerly carried off the overflowing waters of the Euphrates, has subjected the greater part of the plain to periodical inundation; and for a long time after the subsiding of the waters, it is little better than a swamp, while large deposits of the waters are left to stagnate in the hollows. So that not only do "wild beasts of the desert lie there," and "dragons cry in the pleasant places," but the threat is fulfilled, that Babylon should be made "a possession for the bittern and "pools of water."‡ The whole ground, naked of vegetation, appears, says our Author, 'as if it had been washed over and over again by the coming and receding waters, till every bit of genial soil was swept away; its half-clay, half-sandy surface being left in ridgy streaks, like what is often seen on

* Gen. x. 10. † Lib. I. c. 185. ‡ Isaiah xiii. 21. xiv. 23.

the flat shores of the sea, after the retreating of the tide.' Thus literally has it been swept "with the besom of destruction." But still the majestic Euphrates, wandering through the solitude, appears a noble river, its banks hoary with reeds; while the grey willows yet bend over the stream, on which the captives of Israel hung their harps, and, because Jerusalem was not, refused to be comforted.

Sir Robert brought home with him a few specimens of the Babylonian bricks, reeds, and bitumen; but his collection was very scanty. Small figures in bronze and clay, he tells us, are frequently picked up all over the ruins; and there cannot be a doubt that excavation would bring to light remains of far greater value. We are told by Diodorus Siculus, that the walls of the palace were ornamented by figures of animals sculptured and painted in their native colours on the crude brick, and burned in. Beauchamp mentions specimens exhibiting a cow, a lion, the sun and the moon, as seen by the master-mason who had been employed to dig for brick in the Mujelibe. The Babylonians, we know, coloured in vermilion*; and their dyes are stated to have greatly surpassed those of Tyre. Diodorus Siculus further mentions hunting scenes and armies drawn up in battle array, portrayed on the walls of the palace; and Berossus mentions the history of the Creation, as pictured on those of the Temple of Belus, together with an assemblage of monstrous and hideous animals, hippo-centaurs, and other extravagant combinations; such, doubtless, as Ezekiel saw in the secret chambers of the Temple at Jerusalem. Statues in bronze and marble, and vessels of ivory were also numerous; and some of these may yet remain to reward the explorer. It would be easy for a person on the spot, having made the requisite arrangements, to set two or three hundred Arabs to work, who would soon enable us to determine the claims of the Birs Nimrood, the Kasr, and the Mujelibe to the honours conferred upon them. Yet, after all, the site of Babylon is not perhaps the best field for such operations, nor the most likely place to abound in the remains of Babylonian art. When it is considered that both Seleucia and Ctesiphon were built out of the plunder of Babylon, it will appear not improbable, that the site of those cities may prove still more fertile to the explorer. The ruins of Susa too, hardly yield in interest to those of Babylon itself: their appearance is similar, presenting a succession of mounds covered with fragments of bricks, tiles, &c., and stretching over an area from ten to twelve

* Ezek. xxiñ. 14.

miles in extent. Of these mounds, two, we are informed, are of enormous magnitude ; the one being a mile in circumference, the other nearly two miles, and their height measuring about 150 feet. They are composed of huge masses of sun-dried bricks, and courses of burnt brick and mortar. They stand not very far from the banks of the Kerrah or Kara-Sou, (the Choaspes of Herodotus,) from whose eastern shore the vestiges of this famous capital are yet traceable nearly to the banks of the Abzal, (the Ulai of Scripture,) approaching the town of Desphoul. At the foot of the larger mound, a little dome-crowned building guards the spot which Jew, Arab, and Mussulman concur in venerating as the grave of the prophet Daniel. The screams of hyenas and the roaring of lions, are now the only sounds which disturb the solitude where once stood the royal palace of Shushan.

Major Menteith, who visited that spot, in company with Mr. Macdonald Kinneir, a few years before Sir Robert Porter met him at Tabreez, gave our Author an account of some very curious blocks of stone which he was shewn there, two of which he sketched very hastily. One of these was a block of very dark green granite, finely polished, twenty-two inches high and twelve wide ; one face of which was completely covered with hieroglyphics, roughly carved in relief, while two other sides were occupied with inscriptions in the cuneiform or arrow-headed character. The other relic was a white marble stone, found in the great mound of the palace, measuring ten inches in width and depth, and twenty in length, and hollow within. Three of its sides were rudely cut in low relief, exhibiting a human figure, but no traces of any inscription were discernible. The Babylonians are known to have employed both hieroglyphics and the cuneiform character ; but few specimens of the former have reached this country, and none in which the one appears as a translation of the other. Yet, such specimens, there can be little doubt, are in existence, and probably some with a corresponding inscription in Greek. The discovery of an alphabet as a key to the interpretation of these mysterious symbols of thought, would be of incalculable service to the historical inquirer ; and such an alphabet, excavation may yet bring to light. Brick and stone were the earliest materials employed for the preservation of human thought and human transactions. This is an undoubted fact, independently of what may be said concerning the pillars of Seth. And such were the durable materials employed by the learned men of Babylon. The Chaldean priests informed Callisthenes, that their astronomical observations were recorded on baked bricks ; and fragments of written bricks and tiles meet the traveller at every

step amid these interesting ruins. It appears from our Author's account, that, in the erecting of many of the immense piles which he examined, great care must have been taken by the builders to preserve the integrity of the inscriptions.

' On inspecting the fragments accessible to examination,' he says, ' I found that the face of every brick, (that is, the surface where the inscription is stamped,) was invariably placed downwards; and, where bitumen had been used, the backs of each course so disposed, were then covered with a layer of bitumen, on which reeds were spread, or laid in regular matting; and on this careful preparation, the face of the succeeding course of bricks was bedded; which preserving management in some measure accounts for the astonishing fresh state in which the inscriptions on their surfaces are generally preserved.' p. 360.

What else, then, would a Babylonian library be, than a pile of written brick?—In like manner, Ezekiel was commanded to take a tile, and to portray on it the city of Jerusalem*; a direction which might seem strange to an English reader, but which evidently refers to the usual mode and materials of hieroglyphic writing. From the Birs Nimrood, among the most conspicuous objects, is seen the reputed tomb of that prophet, to whom the word of the Lord came "in the land of the Chaldeans, by the river Chebar." The Jews of Hillah, true to the national character which ever exhibited itself in garnishing the sepulchres of their dead prophets, and in persecuting living ones, hold the *Nebbi Kaffel* or tomb of Ezekiel in the highest veneration.

We must not attempt to follow our Author in his journey into 'the primeval wilds of nature,' the mountain region of Courdistan. His account of this expedition forms one of the most entertaining portions of the volume, but it will not admit of an abstract. We shall, therefore, merely throw together a few notices of the principal objects of interest. At Kirkook, a little way out of the direct road to Sulimania, our Author visited the naphtha springs mentioned by Strabo. They consist of ten pits or wells, seven or eight feet in diameter, and ten or twelve deep. Like the springs at Bakou on the Caspian, described by Jonas Hanway, those of Kirkook rise and fall according to the moisture or dryness of the weather.

' Close to its wells lies a great pool of stagnant water, very muddy, and covered with a thick scum deeply tinged with sulphur. On going

* Ezek. iv. 1.

a few hundred yards to the eastward, on the summit of the same hill, we were conducted to a flat circular spot, measuring fifty feet in diameter, full of small holes, to the number of a hundred at least; whence we saw issue as many clear flames without an atom of smoke, but smelling most sulphureously. In fact, the whole surface of this perforated plot of ground appeared a crust of sulphur above a body of fire within; and experiment seemed to prove it, for one of my escort dug a hole into it with his dagger, to a depth of ten or twelve inches, when, on this fresh aperture being made, a new flame instantly burst forth, rising for some time to a greater height than any of the others.' p. 441.

The Courds are genuine highlanders, lawless, fierce, and independent; yet, not unsusceptible of generosity and the wild virtues. They are divided into distinct and frequently hostile clans, their general character varying considerably in point of civilization. The wild Amadi and Bitlisi, and the still more lawless and ferocious Rewandoozi, are the legitimate representatives of the ancient Carduchians; 'probably in neither manners nor language much changed since Xenophon traversed their country in his way to Armenia.' The vast Alpine chain in the bosom of which their fertile and romantic valleys lie, extends from the stupendous Ararat, to the shores of the Persian Gulf. At one of his halts, our Author fell in with a party of sociable wanderers, one of whom, to amuse the Frangy, produced, after supper, 'a small pipe similar in shape and tone to a flageolet, on which he is stated to have played several airs, 'resembling our Irish melodies in slowness of movement, and tender melancholy expression, with the certain peculiarity of strain usually attached to the ancient harp of Green Erin; while,' we are told, 'the execution of this wild Courd, in precision and taste, might have honoured the best professor in Europe.' Sir Robert is abundantly poetical—we know not whether he is musical; but the value of this anecdote altogether depends on the relater's judgement and ear. At Soak Boulak, a Courdish town, out of 700 houses, 300 are inhabited by Nestorian Christians; and in the south-western districts, near Mosul and the Van, they are said to abound in so considerable numbers as to have bishops appointed over them. But like their fellow Christians of Armenia, they are behind, rather than superior to the Mahommedans, both in knowledge and practice.

In journeying through Eastern Courdistan, on the third day after leaving Tabreez, our Traveller fell in with a large encampment of that ubiquitous race the Gipsies; known in Persia under the name of the *Kara Shee* or black race. Their physiognomy, their profession, and their vagabond

mode of life, all agree, according to our Author, with those of their European brethren, except that these tribes were orthodox Mahommedans. They professed not to know from what country they originally came, but were certain it was not Persia. And Sir Robert is almost equally certain, that they are the posterity of the children of Ephraim, who fled into Egypt in the time of Pharaoh Hophra, and were afterwards led away captive by the Babylonian invader. All that we can say on this point, is, that it would not be much more difficult to prove that they are, than to prove that they are not. We should be glad, however, to know, how it is that these 'dark sybils,' as our Author calls the female fortune-tellers, good Mahommedans as they are, generally mutter their oracles 'over a few torn leaves of a *Frangy* book,' or else the blade-bone of a sheep; as if fortune-telling had some special connexion with Frangy literature or Frangy credulity.

Armenia, through which our Author's homeward route led him a second time, of all the countries of the East, presents the most melancholy spectacle, in the comparatively recent date of its ruins, and the still fresh traces of the depopulating sword. At Eski Julfa, whose utter ruin by Shah Abbas, dates no further back than A.D. 1603, a very beautiful relic presented itself in the remains of an ancient chapel and tomb. The latter is richly ornamented, and forms a fine specimen of the style of Armenian architecture in the eleventh or twelfth century. The whole city is now a collection of vacant ruins; and the contrast between its silent streets and populous cemetery, must be very striking. After the place had lain about a hundred years in almost forgotten solitude, seven poor Armenian families, we are told, wandered towards the spot, and peacefully established themselves amid its desolated walls. Their descendants now compose thirty-five families, who live there unmolested. The head of one of these acted as our Author's guide. Having visited the tomb of the anonymous female saint, which stands apart, his conductor led him across the site of the city beyond its western gate, where the great cemetery of the ancient inhabitants is situated.

It consists of three hills of considerable magnitude; all of which are covered as closely as they can be set, leaving the length of a foot between, with long upright stones; some as high as eight or ten feet, and scarcely any that are not richly and laboriously carved with various devices in the forms of crosses, saints, cherubs, birds, beasts, &c. besides the names of the deceased. The most magnificent graves, instead of having a flat stone at the feet, present the figure of a ram rudely sculptured. Some have merely the plain form; others decorate its coat with strange figures and ornaments in the most elaborate carv-

ing. The form of this animal appears to have been a favourite type in sepulture throughout Armenia, after the introduction of Christianity I shall not exceed the fact, when I say, that thousands of grave-stones marked this awful depository of the old Armenian race. Indeed the various recollections which present themselves to the mind in this particular quarter of the East, continually suggest the idea of treading over some vast tomb. And it is so, for here the first fathers of all the families of the earth were buried; here immense empires rose and crumbled into dust; here we find the remains of cities whose founders died in the infancy of the world, and the monuments of people sunk so long into the depths of time, that the name of their nation is no more remembered.' pp. 613—15.

But Sir Robert does not seem to be aware, how much more closely this indefinite sentiment is brought home, by such a spectacle as the cemetery at Julfa, than by all the sublimer monuments of a race too remote and unknown to be brought into contact with our sympathies. The ruins of Babylon and Thebes inspire a sublime emotion, calling up our wonder and admiration at the stupendous wrecks of departed greatness, and sending imagination far back into the romantic twilight of history. But it is by such scenes as tell of recent devastation and of individual suffering, by the tomb-stone rather than by the pyramid, that we are reminded of the realities of our own condition, and made to sympathize in the common lot as that which must soon be our own. We must make room for the description of the singular pile, called the Kayargast or Seven Churches, which, 'cloven into the very heart of the mountains,' 'raises its sacred fane amid ruins and graves at its feet.'

* Standing in deep solitude, and many parts unimpaired, the effect was indeed that of "the church in the wilderness," solemn and impressive. The Armenians, who may well look upon it as the type of themselves in a Mahomedan land, regard it as a place of pilgrimage. Several ancient martyrs are buried there, whose names now only live in the book of heaven; but the great point of interest with the present worshippers, lies in the belief that Saint Gregory himself (the great tutelar angel of Armenia) took refuge from persecution within the caves of this holy ground. The legend goes further, in asserting that he not only disappeared thence in a most mysterious way, but, though all know his journey was to heaven, yet he is to revisit the spot again, and then, most inexplicably, expire. Several of my escort, being Armenians in faith as well as birth, found themselves now engaged in a double duty; that of military service, and paying their homage at the sacred shrine. This is done in the form of sacrifice, the pilgrims taking a sheep or goat to the door of the church, where they cut off its head; when, the remainder of the flesh being thus consecrated, it is divided amongst them, and carried home to be distributed in holy morsels to their respective friends. This custom is

evidently of Jewish, or, of Pagan origin; and the probability of its having been adopted here, from some old custom of the sort attached to the valley by its old heathen masters, is something supported by the devotees not being able to say why they do it, or that it is enjoined by any ordinance of their religion.' p. 631.

That this heathen rite (for as such we have no hesitation in considering it) might originally have been borrowed, like many others, from the Jewish institutions, is very possible. But we have many similar instances of the perpetuation of Pagan rites among the nominal converts to a spurious Christianity. Even in Europe, the orgies of Bacchus and Ceres still survive in the festivals of the Sicilian Catholics, and the identity of the Romish and the classical idolatry, with a mere substitution of name in the object, has been extensively substantiated. It is, we think, highly probable, that the sepulchral rams noticed by our Author in the burying-grounds of Julfa and Ouroumia, have some connexion with this singular rite. But, whatever be its derivation, the existing practice can be viewed in but one light,—as an act of blind heathenism, of debasing and idolatrous superstition, incompatible with the rudest notions of the Christian religion.—Sir Robert proceeds :

‘ The outward boundaries of this venerable pile are castellated, one side of which is formed by the high rocks of the mountains. Within the walls rises the great church, inclosing under its dome most of the seven from which it takes its name. On entering, you find a line of separation, that makes two chapels. They are supported by strong columns and circular arches, exactly resembling in forms and ornaments, our Saxon architecture. The sides of this sanctuary are overspread with large alabs, fixed against the walls at small distances from each other, and all richly sculptured with crosses, fret-work, and various legends in the old Armenian character. A door leads from the largest of these chapels into a third, hewn entirely out of the solid rock of the mountain. The roof is hollowed in the form of a dome, and lighted by a circular aperture from above. All the interior of this subterranean chapel is carved in pilasters, connecting arches, crosses, and wreathing ornaments. The height, from the ground to the top of the dome, is about thirty feet, and its length and breadth a square of seventeen feet ; but it possesses an additional space of eight feet, in the form of a recess divided by two arches, beneath the floor of which are disposed several low vaulted graves, filled with human bones. The sides of this little rocky chapelage, like the walls of the greater, are covered with carved crosses, legends, and flower-like ornaments. Just above the two arches, a very singular piece of sculpture presents itself; the head of a goat of a prodigious size, holding in its mouth a ring, to which is attached the ropes or chains that secure two lions ; beneath the beasts, an eagle appears with open wings, having in his talons a lamb. A fourth chapel opens

from this again into the depth of the rock, excavated in the same way, domed and pillared. Its style is superior to the other, and bears the appearance of having been left unfinished, many red lines being drawn on the smooth stone, as if intended to mark where pilasters, arches, and fret-work were yet to be formed. In this *sanctum sanctorum*, a large altar is hewn standing within a recess on elevated ground, and approached by a flight of steps. All this part, where finished, was profusely covered with the usual sacred emblems, Armenian characters, &c.

On repassing all these chapels, and regaining the entrance, we proceeded a little onward by the rocky wall on the outside of the church; and then ascended the cliff a short way, in the side of which we found a door, leading into another excavated holy place, domed like the former, but much more spacious. This measured a square of thirty-five feet, divided by four massy columns, and received light from above by a large round aperture in the dome. The natives who went over the scene with me, spoke confidently of the manner in which the excavations had been made; and described the process as having been begun with the opening of the round holes at the top of the rock, whence the workmen dug downwards. Above this fifth chapel, ranges of small cells are cut in the side of the cliff, apparently for the residence of monks; and on each side of the gate leading out of the great church court into the valley, two very large rooms appear. Beyond the walls, and in various parts of the rocky acclivities, huge natural caverns exist, besides other excavations, with doorways and openings for admitting light; but the paths to them were now too broken and precipitous to allow of our ascending. My guides told me, that some of these places had been the stationary habitations of certain devout hermits; while others were the labour of holy pilgrims, who, for shorter seasons inhabiting the caves of St. Gregory, assisted in the good work of preparing similar abodes for more numerous visitants to the same blessed shrines.' pp. 631—4.

Where, on the wide surface of the globe, shall we find the elaborate work of art, which is not, at the same time, the monument of human wickedness or human folly? From the days of the builders of Shinar, downwards, what pyramid, or mausoleum, or temple, or fortress, or castle, or abbey, now remains to excite the admiration of these degenerate days, but owes its origin either to superstition or to violence? Ambition and idolatry have ever been the two great master-masons, whose works of terrible or melancholy magnificence cover the earth; their chief use, to serve as the landmarks of history, or to point a moral lesson; and their chief interest arising from their being monuments and symbols of what can please only by virtue of being past. The lesson which forces itself upon us amid the shapeless piles of Babylon, still meets us in the caves of St. Gregory. They were Babel-builders all.

Here we must take leave of our Author, with sincere ac-

knowledge of respect, thanking him for the abundant materials he has collected for our information and amusement. If he is not entitled to rank in the highest class of scientific travellers, his enterprise, his general intelligence, and the good use he has made of his pencil, together with the peculiarly interesting character of the countries he has traversed, render his work a valuable addition to our literature. His observations on the present military and commercial relations of Persia, on the policy and growing dominion of its formidable neighbour, and the enlightened views of Abbas Mirza, the prince royal, are highly deserving of attention. But it is a topic on which we cannot now enter. It is but just to add, that Sir Robert loses no opportunity of throwing light on sacred geography, or of illustrating the holy Scriptures.

Art. II. *Memorial de Sainte Hélène*. Journal of the private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena. By the Count de Las Cases. Parts III. and IV. 8vo. pp. 754. London, 1823.

M. DE LAS CASES does not gain ground upon us. It requires talent of no inferior kind, to keep up the interest of series after series of loose and gossiping conversations, without having the air of colouring or retouching; and this species of dexterity does not seem to be possessed by the Count in any very high degree of perfection. The impression produced upon our minds by these memoranda, amounts to a strong suspicion, that an understanding, more or less explicit, existed between Napoleon and his Memorialist. These memoirs, in fact, all tend to one point; the Ex-emperor is continually on his defence. The different events of his career, as they pass in review, are exhibited in the most favourable light, and no opportunity is lost of endeavouring to disprove or to neutralize the representations of his enemies. We meet with but little of that fair confession and exposure of personal error, which is to be found in other works of the same kind. On the contrary, there is something rather annoying in the perpetual recurrence of panegyric or extenuation. Even the campaigns of Russia and Germany, those enormous and impolitic hazards, are vindicated as master-pieces of military enterprise and combination. Amid all this exaggeration and diminution, there is one assertion of such apparent singularity, that, even on the supposition of its correctness, it should in policy have been suppressed. In the different official statements published by the French Commander, relating to his Italian campaigns, the disproportion between his means and his successes, is so

excessive as to excite a strong suspicion that the first are greatly under-rated, and the latter much over-estimated. We are, however, told in these memoirs, that the reverse was the case; and sundry reasons, not always satisfactory, are assigned for the unusual and unsuspected practice of giving a diminished calculation of the enemies' strength and loss. For instance, in the details of the brilliant manœuvres connected with the battle of Castiglione, we learn that, instead of 20,000, as stated in the report, Marshal Wurmser had brought with him a reinforcement of 30,000 men; and it is intimated in explanation, that 'the inequality of strength between the two armies was always so great, that the French general, in his reports, frequently thought it necessary to diminish the number of the enemy, lest he should discourage his own army.' We can perfectly understand the expediency of doing this in 'general orders,' issued during marches, or on the eve of battle; but the necessity for thus falsifying 'reports' drawn up after victories obtained and dangers dissipated, escapes our comprehension. It is, indeed, quite clear to us, that either with Napoleon or with his Biographer, or with both, there was a prevailing anxiety to represent every thing in the most favourable point of view; and this conviction has materially abated the gratification which we might have otherwise derived from the perusal of this journal. But, after making the necessary deductions for all these as well as for other defects, enough will remain to command attention. If these memoirs do not give us the truth simple and unadorned, at least they contain much that tends to illustrate the character of the conspicuous individual to whom they relate; and we shall now proceed to select from their various and desultory contents, such particulars as appear to us most deserving of notice.

Las Cases having referred to the report that Napoleon commonly wore a shirt of mail under his exterior vestments, the observation led to the mention of a number of little circumstances connected with the private and personal habits of the Emperor. 'I was perhaps,' he observed, 'the only sovereign in Europe who dispensed with a body guard.' Free access was given, and petitions were delivered into his own hands by conspirators against his life. Georges was supposed to have obtained admission to his presence, and his person was in extreme danger from the desperate resolution of Cerachi the sculptor, to whom he sat for his bust, and from the 'fanatic of Schoenbrunn.' He attributed his safety, in a great degree, to his unsettled habits. His occupations kept him much in his cabinet; he never dined out, was seldom at the theatres, and usually made his appearance at unexpected times and places.

Napoleon seems to have regretted that, after the battle of Waterloo, he did not venture on the bold step of dissolving the Legislative Body, and assuming the Dictature. When he was asked whether, with the concurrence of the Senate, he could have saved France, he rapidly traced the following plan, which, romantic as it appears, might, in his hands, have been realised with full success.

“ In less than a fortnight,” continued he, “ that is to say, before any considerable mass of the allied force could have assembled before Paris, I should have completed my fortifications, and have collected before the walls of the city, and out of the wrecks of the army, upwards of eighty thousand good troops, and three hundred pieces of horsed artillery. After a few days firing, the national guard, the federal troops, and the inhabitants of Paris, would have sufficed to defend the entrenchments, I should have had eighty thousand disposable troops at my command. It is well known how advantageously I was capable of employing this force. The achievements of 1814 were still fresh in remembrance. Champaubert, Montmirail, Craonne, and Montereau, were still present in the imagination of our enemies; the same scenes would have revived the recollection of the prodigies of the preceding year. I was then surnamed the *hundred thousand men*. The rapidity and decision of our successes gave rise to this name. The conduct of the French troops was most admirable. Never did a handful of brave men accomplish so many miracles. If their high achievements have never been publicly known, owing to the circumstances which attended our disasters, they have at least been duly appreciated by our enemies, who counted the number of our attacks by our victories. We were truly the heroes of fable.”

“ Paris,” he added, “ would in a few days have become impregnable. The appeal to the nation, the magnitude of the danger, the excitation of the public mind, the grandeur of the spectacle, would have drawn multitudes to the capital. I could undoubtedly have assembled upwards of four hundred thousand men, and I imagine the allied force did not exceed five hundred thousand. Thus the affair would have been brought to a single combat, in which the enemy would have had as much to fear as ourselves. He would have hesitated, and thus I should have regained the confidence of the majority. Meanwhile I should have surrounded myself with a national senate or junta, selected from among the members of the Legislative Body; men distinguished by national names, and worthy of general confidence. I should have fortified my military Dictatorship, with all the strength of civil opinion.” Part III. pp. 21--23.

Fouché was described by his old master as an incurable *intrigant*. ‘It was to him a necessary of life;’ and he was perpetually on the alert for opportunities of gratifying his propensity to underhand dealings. The misfortunes of Napoleon in 1815 are, in a considerable degree, imputed to his mischief-

ous practices. Talleyrand makes a better, though not a very respectable figure.

"M. de T.....," said the Emperor, "waited two days and nights at Vienna for full powers to treat for peace in my name; but I should have been ashamed to have thus prostituted my policy; and yet perhaps my conduct in this instance has purchased my exile to St. Helena; for I cannot but allow that T..... is a man of singular talent, and capable at all times of throwing great weight into the scale."

Napoleon observed, that a celebrated actress (Mademoiselle Raucourt) had described him with great truth. "If you ask him a question," said she, "he is an iron chest from whence you cannot extract a syllable; but if you ask him nothing, you will soon be unable to stop his mouth—he will become a regular gossip." This was a foible which, at the outset, destroyed the confidence of the Emperor, and made him waver in his opinion of T..... "I had entrusted him," said Napoleon, "with a very important affair, and a few hours after, Josephine related it to me word for word. I instantly sent for the minister to inform him that I had just learned from the Empress a circumstance which I had told in confidence to himself alone. The story had already passed through four or five intermediate channels."

"T.....'s countenance," added the Emperor, "is so immoveable, that nothing can ever be read in it. Lannes and Murat used jokingly to say of him, that, if while he was speaking to you, some one should come behind him and give him a kick, his countenance would betray no indication of the affront."

M. de T..... is mild and even endearing in his domestic habits. His servants, and the individuals in his employment, are attached and devoted to him. Among his intimate friends, he willingly and good-humouredly speaks of his ecclesiastical profession. He one day expressed his dislike of a tune which was played in his hearing. He said, he had a great horror of it; it recalled to his recollection the time when he was obliged to practise church music, and to sing at the desk. On another occasion, one of his intimate friends was telling a story during supper, while M. de T..... was engaged in thought, and seemed inattentive to the conversation. In the course of the story, the speaker happened to say in a lively manner of some one whom he had named, "That fellow is a comical rogue; he is a married priest." T....., roused by these words, seized a spoon, plunged it hastily into the dish before him, and with a threatening aspect called out to him, "Mr. Such-a-one, will you have some spinage?" The person who was telling the story, was confounded, and all the party burst into a fit of laughter, M. de T..... as well as the rest.

The Emperor at the time of the Concordat, wished to have M. de T..... made a Cardinal, and to place him at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. He told him, that his proper destiny was to return to the bosom of the church, to refresh his memory, and to stop the mouths of the declaimers. T....., however, would never

agree to this; his aversion to the ecclesiastical profession was insurmountable.' Part III. pp. 34—36.

Napoleon distinctly admitted that he had no intention of remaining at Elba, though his real motives are attempted to be concealed by a cloud of *galimatias*, for which we suspect that we are indebted to the exceedingly bad taste of his sentimental Biographer.

Sir Hudson Lowe does not appear to more advantage in these memoirs, than he does in those of Mr. O'Meara. The sketch of his person is sufficiently uninviting, and the description of his manners is still less attractive. Admiral Cockburn is less roughly handled, and we infer from the concessions of Las Cases, that he conducted himself with entire propriety. In a conversation which was suggested by the terms of the convention between the Allied Powers of Europe for the secure detention of the Ex-emperor, the latter made the following observations.

“ Setting aside the fortuitous events which are beyond the reach of human foresight, I calculate only on two uncertain chances of our liberation: first, that the Sovereigns may stand in need of me to assist in putting down rebellion among their subjects; and secondly, the people of Europe may require my aid in the contest that may arise between them and their monarchs. I am the natural arbiter and mediator in the immense conflict between the present and the past. I have always aspired to be the supreme judge in this cause. My administration at home and my diplomacy abroad, all tended to this great end. The issue might have been brought about more easily and promptly; but fate ordained otherwise. Finally, there is a last chance, which perhaps is the most probable of all: I may be wanted to check the power of the Russians; for, in less than ten years, all Europe may perhaps be overrun with cossacks, or subject to republican government.”

Nápoleon laughed heartily when told of the reply made by a grenadier to his officer, who was contrasting the punctual pay of the Bourbon government, with the irregular disbursements of the Imperial administration. ‘Your pay,’ said the officer, ‘was in arrears; he was in your debt.’ ‘And what did that signify,’ retorted the old soldier, ‘if we chose to give him credit?’ When speaking of the various ambassadors whom he had employed, he described M. de Narbonne as the only one who had answered his expectations in that character. In less than a fortnight, he had penetrated the mysteries of the Austrian cabinet. His aristocratical name and manners placed him on a higher level than the Ottos and the Andreossis, and not only procured for him a readier access and a more cordial welcome in the saloons of the nobility of Vienna, but opened

to him channels of information which to them were hermetically closed. The following anecdote occurs in illustration of the minuteness with which Napoleon inspected the expenses of his household.

‘ On one occasion, when he returned to the Tuileries, which had been magnificently fitted up during his absence, the individuals who attended him, eagerly drew his attention to all the new furniture and decorations. After expressing his satisfaction at every thing he saw, he walked up to a window overhung with a rich curtain, and asking for a pair of scissors, he cut off a superb gold acorn which was suspended from the drapery, and coolly putting it into his pocket, he continued his inspection to the great astonishment of all present, who were unable to guess his motive. Some days afterwards, at his levee, he drew the acorn from his pocket, and gave it to the individual who superintended the furnishing of the palace. “ Here,” said he, “ Heaven forbid that I should think you rob me, but some one has doubtless robbed you. You have paid for this at the rate of one-third above its value. They have dealt with you as though you had been the steward of a great nobleman. You would have made a better bargain if you had not been known.” The fact was, that Napoleon having walked out one morning in disguise, (as he was in the frequent habit of doing,) visited some of the shops in the Rue Saint Denis, where he priced ornaments similar to that which he had cut from the curtain, and inquired the value of various articles of furniture like those provided for the palace: and thus, as he said, he arrived at the result in its simplest form. Every one knew his habits in this respect. These, he said, were his grand plans for ensuring domestic economy, which, notwithstanding his extreme magnificence, was carried to the utmost degree of precision and regularity.’ Part III. pp. 77, 78.

Napoleon was severe, but just in his criticisms on the dramatic genius of Voltaire. He expressed his conviction that the author of *Zaire* had been considered as the great man of his age, only because all the rest were pigmies; and he pointed out the instances of bad taste which are continually presenting themselves in the tragedies of that versatile writer, claiming for himself the credit of having revived the public admiration for Corneille and Racine. As one of the various resources for amusing the Ex-emperor, every individual of his suite was accustomed to ransack his memory for amusing anecdotes; and among other personages who were brought forward in these narratives, the Persian and Turkish ambassadors were described in their habits and characters. It is affirmed, that they both attended mass without scruple, though the Persian Asker Khan, was by far the more liberal and enlightened man. On one occasion they dined together at the house of Cambacères, when they were observed to watch each other closely ‘ with

‘ regard to the wine, just as two catholic bishops seated at the same table, might be expected to keep a vigilant look out, lest either should be tempted to eat meat on a Friday.’

‘ At a concert given one day by the Empress Josephine, Asker-Kan with his long-painted beard was one of the company. He seemed to be heartily tired of the music, and fell asleep standing with his back against a wall, his feet thrust forward, and resting against an arm-chair which stood in the corner by the fire-place. Some one, by way of joke, drew the chair away softly, so that his Excellency had well nigh fallen down his whole length on the floor, and being thus roused from his slumber, he roared out lustily. Asker-Kan could more readily enter into a joke, than the Turkish Ambassador; but, on this occasion, he was thrown much out of humour, and as we could only understand each other by gestures, the scene was most ludicrous.’ Part III. pp. 107, 8.

The manœuvres of Wurmser and Alvinzi for the purpose of relieving Mantua, with the counter-operations of Napoleon, terminating in the victories of Castiglione, Arcole, and Rivoli, and in the final surrender of the fortress, are described with great distinctness and detail, from the dictation of the Emperor. Making every deduction for probable exaggeration, we have found these narratives extremely valuable as illustrating the views and motives of the French Commander, whose decision and rapidity exhibit a striking contrast to the uncertain and ineffective tactics of the Austrian generals. In a subsequent part of his Journal, Las Cases introduces a curious parallel, as drawn by Napoleon, between himself and Cromwell. We should insert it here, were it not for its length, and its palpable omissions and misrepresentations, all, of course, to the disparagement of Oliver. On another occasion, recapitulating the merits of his generals, he treated them very unceremoniously. Massena, Augereau, Brune, and many others were, he said, ‘ merely intrepid depredators.’ Oudinot, Murat, Ney, were brave men, but ‘ common place’ officers. Moncey was characterised as ‘ an honest man ;’ Macdonald as ‘ distinguished for firm loyalty.’

‘ Soult also had his faults, as well as his merits. The whole of his campaign of the South of France was admirably conducted. It will scarcely be credited, that this man, whose deportment and manners denoted a lofty character, was the slave of his wife. When I learned at Dresden our defeat at Vittoria, and the loss of all Spain through the mismanagement of poor Joseph, whose plans and measures were not suited to the present age, and seemed rather to belong to a *Soubise* than to me, I looked about for some one capable of repairing these disasters, and I cast my eyes on Soult who was near me. He said, he was ready to undertake what I wished ; but entreated that I would

speaking to his wife, by whom, he said, he expected to be reproached. I desired him to send her to me. She assumed an air of hostility, and decidedly told me, that her husband should certainly not return to Spain; that he had already performed important services, and was now entitled to a little repose. "Madam," said I to her, "I did not send to you with a view of enduring your scolding. I am not your husband; and if I were, I should not be the more inclined to bear with you." These few words confounded her; she became as pliant as a glove, turned quite obsequious, and was only eager to obtain a few conditions. To these, however, I by no means acceded, and merely contented myself with congratulating her on her willingness to listen to reason. "In critical circumstances, madam," said I, "it is a wife's duty to endeavour to smooth difficulties. Go home to your husband, and do not torment him by your opposition."

Part III. pp. 231, 2.

The worthy Count, not satisfied with taking every occasion of alluding to his 'Atlas,' at last makes a grand burst, and fairly thrusts in twenty pages, not worth abstracting, of strange details respecting its immense sale and popularity. Among the miscellaneous notes of the daily occupations at Longwood, we find the following.

'After dinner, the Emperor asked what we would read, and we all decided for the Bible. "This is certainly very edifying," said the Emperor, "it would never be guessed in Europe." He read to us the book of Joshua, observing at almost every town or village that he named, "I encamped there; I carried that place by assault; I gave battle here," &c.' Part III. p. 315.

Napoleon once related a variety of circumstances by which his life had been endangered. In one instance, he narrowly escaped drowning. On another occasion, while he was driving six-in-hand,

'the horses were startled by Aide-de-camp Caffarelli, inadvertently crossing the road in front of them. Before the Emperor had time to recover the reins, the horses set off at full speed, and the calash, which rolled along with extreme velocity, struck against a railing. The Emperor was thrown out to the distance of eight or ten feet, and lay stretched on the ground with his face downwards. He was, he said, dead for a few seconds. He felt the moment at which life became extinct, which he called the *negative moment*. The first individual of the suite who alighted, immediately revived him by a touch. He observed, that the mere contact suddenly restored him to life, as, in the night-mare, the sufferer is relieved as soon as he can utter a cry.'

'Another time, while hunting the wild boar at Marly, all his suite was put to flight; it was like the rout of an army. The Emperor,

with Soult and Berthier, maintained their ground against three enormous boars. "We killed all three; but I received a hurt from my adversary, and nearly lost this finger," said the Emperor, pointing to the third finger of his left hand, which indeed bore the mark of a severe wound. "But the most laughable circumstance of all was, to see the multitude of men, surrounded by their dogs, screening themselves behind the three heroes, and calling out lustily;—*Save the Emperor! Save the Emperor!* while not one advanced to my assistance." Part III. pp. 324—6.

The Fourth Part of the Journal commences with an account of the campaign of Italy in 1797, between Napoleon and the Archduke Charles. It is exceedingly interesting, but it would require a long and voluminous investigation, before it could be reduced to its just value as material for history. The situation of Prince Charles, the quality of his troops, his means of enterprise, his failures, are all represented in a point of view suited to the purposes of his antagonist. Enough, at the same time, appears on the face of the transactions, to correct the impression which, as we remember, was, at the date of the operations, strong on the public mind in this country. It was believed, that Napoleon had completely entangled himself and his army; that Joubert's division covering his rear, and securing his communications, had been cut up by the Austrian general Laudohn; and that while retreat was problematical, with Prince Charles in his front, advance was impossible. Under these circumstances, it excited astonishment, that the cabinet of Vienna should consent to the treaty of Leoben, and the good people of England were not deficient in the usual imputations of cowardice and treachery. The statement of the Journal, though it does not altogether disprove the existence of a state of things hazardous to the French army, completely vindicates the Austrian policy. Napoleon was justified in negotiating, by the absence of previous cooperation and diversion on the part of the French troops on the Rhine; while the Imperial administration, fully aware of what was necessarily unknown to Bonaparte, that the divisions of Hoche were at length in motion, and conscious of their want of strength to resist the simultaneous attack of the Rhenish and Italian armies, eagerly closed with the proposals of peace.

Chateaubriand does not seem to have stood high in the opinion of the Exiles. Previously to the publication of that strange compound of rant and *esprit*, the "*Genie du Christianisme*," he is said to have published in London a work 'of a tendency decidedly anti-religious.' The bookseller Dunlap, who had been a benedictine monk, and whom we know to have been a man of considerable talent and tact, remon-

strated strongly against the erroneous calculations which led Chateaubriand to the adoption of this mode of seeking notoriety. He represented to him, that infidel declamations were both unreasonable and out of place; that the time had gone by in which they had been favourably received; and that, instead of attempting to revive a feeling which had become languid, the surest method of attracting attention would be, by standing forward as the advocate of religion. The hint was taken, and the thermometer ascended forthwith through all the intermediate degrees, from zero to boiling heat—from incredulity to fanaticism*. A speech in which this singular man had defended the system of permitting the clergy to inherit, on being read at Longwood, drew from Napoleon the following curious comment.

“Allow the clergy to inherit,” said he, “and nobody will die without being obliged to purchase absolution; for, whatever our opinions may be, we none of us know where we go on leaving this world. Then must we remember our last and final account, and no one can pronounce what his feelings will be at his last hour, nor answer for the strength of his mind at that awful moment. Who can affirm that I shall not die in the arms of a confessor, and that he will not make me acknowledge myself guilty of the evil I shall not have done, and implore forgiveness for it?” Part IV. p. 94.

It is affirmed, that the public displays of excessive anger in which Napoleon sometimes indulged, were by no means the effect of momentary irritation, but the method which he deliberately adopted to produce a strong and general impression, without putting himself under the necessity of inflicting actual punishment.

‘One day, at one of his grand audiences, he attacked a colonel with the utmost vehemence, and quite in a tone of anger, upon some slight disorders of which his regiment had been guilty towards the inhabitants of the countries they had passed through, in returning to France. During the reprimand, the colonel, thinking the punishment out of all proportion to the fault of which he was accused, repeatedly endeavoured to excuse himself; but the Emperor, without interrupting his speech, said to him in an under tone, “Very well, but hold your tongue. I believe you, but say nothing.” And when he afterwards saw him in private, he said to him: “When I thus addressed you, I was chastising in your person, certain generals whom I saw near you, and who, had I spoken to them direct, would

* We happen to know, that when resident in Suffolk in his *chrysalis* state of a French teacher, the Viscount’s character did not stand very high for unimpeachable veracity.

have been found deserving of the lowest degradation, and perhaps of something worse." Part IV. p. 102.

At another time, while on the parade, a young officer, in extreme agitation, stepped from the ranks, complaining of slight and ill-treatment. He had, he said, been five years a lieutenant, and had failed in his efforts to obtain promotion. 'Calm yourself,' replied the Emperor, 'I was seven years a lieutenant, and yet, you see that a man may push himself forward for all that.'

An extremely interesting conversation was terminated by a request from Napoleon, that young Las Cases would bring the New Testament, in which he read from the commencement to the conclusion of the sermon on the mount. 'He expressed himself struck with the highest admiration at the purity, the sublimity, the beauty of the morality it contained; and we all,' says the Count, 'experienced the same feeling.' In the same conversation, which had turned immediately on the nature and necessity of religion, the Ex-emperor spoke on the subject with 'warmth and animation.' He avowed his conviction of the existence of a God, but spoke of all systems of religion as 'evidently the work of men.' Priests, he stigmatised as the inventors and supporters of fraud and falsehood. So indispensable, however, to the character of man, did he consider some kind of religious belief, that he made it the basis of all his institutions. 'Such,' he observed, 'is the restlessness of man, that his mind requires that something undefined and marvellous which religion offers; and it is better for him to find it there, than to seek it of Cagliostro, of Mademoiselle Lenormand, or of the other soothsayers and impostors.' It was suggested, that he himself might possibly become devout: to this he rejoined with an 'air of conviction,' that he feared not; that he regretted his incapacity for the consolations of piety; but that the 'strength of his reason' rendered him unfit for religious impressions. Some of his observations on this occasion were so extraordinary that we cannot trust them to any other expressions than his own.

"The sentiment of religion is so consolatory, that it must be considered as a gift of Heaven. What a resource would it not be for us here to possess it! What influence could men and events exercise over me, if bearing my misfortunes as if inflicted by God, I expected to be compensated by him with happiness hereafter! What rewards have I not a right to expect, who have run a career so extraordinary, so tempestuous as mine has been, without committing a single crime; and yet, how many might I not have been guilty of! I can appear before the tribunal of God, I can await his judgement without fear.

He will not find my conscience stained with the thoughts of murder and poisonings, with the infliction of violent and premeditated deaths : events so common in the history of those whose lives have resembled mine. I have wished only for the glory, the power, the greatness of France. All my faculties, all my efforts, all my moments, were directed to the attainment of that object. These cannot be crimes : to me they appeared acts of virtue ! What then would be my happiness, if the bright prospect of futurity presented itself to crown the last moments of my existence !”’ Part IV. pp. 131, 2.

Much surprise has been felt at the impolitic pertinacity which induced Napoleon to leave a large and veteran army locked up in the fortresses of Germany. In these memoirs, he is made to censure the want of enterprise on the part of his generals, who remained inactive within their fortifications, instead of combining their garrisons, and taking the field in the rear of the combined armies. When discussing the events of the 18 Fructidor, he sketched the character of the members of the Executive Directory. The commanding stature and animated manner of Barras, gave him, he said, the appearance of a man of eloquence and determination, to neither of which qualities he had the smallest pretension. La Reveillere Lepaux, short and distorted, was a disinterested and well-disposed man, but smitten with the mania of founding a new religious sect. Himself, his wife, and his daughter were, in the language of Napoleon, ‘ three paragons of ugliness.’ Reubel was a lawyer, and a man of talent in his profession. Carnot is said to have had ‘ neither experience nor practice in the affairs of war,’ but to have possessed ‘ great strength of mind.’ Le Tourneur was a man of ‘ narrow capacity and little learning.’ The first Englishman who gave Napoleon a favourable opinion of his nation, was Lord Cornwallis ; the next was Fox ; and he added to those illustrious names, that of Admiral Malcolm. Bailli, he characterised as a ‘ miserable politician,’ and La Fayette, as ‘ another simpleton,’ the constant ‘ dupe of men and things.’ It would be inexcusable to omit the two following specimens of Napoleon’s talent for joking. Having spoken of the number of oxen in the island, Las Cases goes on to observe that

The subsistence and consumption of these oxen, constitute a great portion of the public interest in the island. A single beast cannot be killed without the previous order of the Governor ; and it was stated by one of our people, that the owner of one of the houses or huts of the island, speaking to him on the subject, said, “ It is reported, that you complain up yonder, and consider yourselves unhappy ; (he spoke of Longwood ;) but we are at a loss to make it out : for it is said, that you have beef every day, while we cannot get

it but three or four times a year, and even then we pay for it at the rate of fifteen or twenty pence a pound." The Emperor, who laughed heartily at the story, observed, "You ought to have assured him, that it cost us several crowns." *Crowns* in English, and in several languages of the continent, means also a piece of money.

I observed latterly, that it was the only pun I had till then heard from the Emperor's mouth; but the person to whom I made the remark, said he had heard of his having made a similar one, and on the same subject, in the isle of Elba. A mason employed in some buildings, which were to be constructed by the Emperor's order, had fallen and hurt himself; the Emperor wishing to encourage him, assured him, that it would be of no consequence. "I have had," said he, "a much worse fall than yours; but look at me, I am on my legs, and in good health." Part IV. pp. 164, 5.

There is a good deal of interesting conversation about the negotiations of Tilsit, the intimacy of the French and Russian Emperors, and the ineffectual efforts of the Queen of Prussia to obtain the restoration of Magdeburg. We are not, however, sufficiently satisfied of the correctness or the completeness of some of his statements, to make room for them here. The meetings of the Council of State are extremely well described by Las Cases, and he introduces a number of little circumstances which give a lively idea of the habits of the Emperor. He encouraged entire freedom of sentiment, but when the discussions were protracted, or when his mind wandered from the speaker, he exhibited significant signs of inattention; his eye wandered vacantly round the hall, he cut pencils to pieces with his penknife, or pricked with the point, the arm of his chair and the tapestry which covered his table, or scrawled with his pen or pencil on the paper before him. Sometimes he indulged himself with a regular nap, with his head on the table, while the deliberations proceeded. He took snuff incessantly, and when his box was empty, still continued the mechanical motion of dipping his fingers into it. The Count is at considerable pains to prove that his master was naturally extremely susceptible of tender emotions, but that he habitually repressed all exhibition of them; and when surprised into any manifestation of feeling, he would have recourse to little artifices for the purpose of concealment. The anniversary, in 1816, of the battle of Waterloo, drew from him the following exclamations.

"Incomprehensible day," said he in a tone of sorrow.....
 "Concurrence of unheard of fatalities!"Grouchy!.....
 Ney!.....Derlon!.....was there treachery, or only misfortune?..
 Alas! poor France!".... Here he covered his eyes with his hands.
 "And yet," said he, "all that human skill could do, was accom-

plished!..... All was not lost until the moment when all had succeeded!"

A short time afterwards, alluding to the same subject, he exclaimed: "In that extraordinary campaign, thrice, in less than a week's space, I saw the certain triumph of France and the determination of her fate slip through my fingers. Had it not been for the desertion of a traitor, I should have annihilated the enemy at the opening of the campaign. I should have destroyed him at Ligny, if my left had done its duty. I should have destroyed him again at Waterloo, if my right hand had not failed me. Singular defeat, by which, notwithstanding the most fatal catastrophe, the glory of the conqueror has not suffered, nor the fame of the conqueror been increased; the memory of the one will survive his destruction; the memory of the other will perhaps be buried in his triumph."

Part IV. pp. 252, 3.

The remarks of Napoleon on the use of artillery, must be important. He suggested, that there should be as much uniformity as possible in the range and calibre of the pieces, and that their employment in battle should be incessant. No calculation of expense should be permitted to interfere with the maintenance of a continual fire. Having himself often been in imminent danger from spent balls, and aware of the effects which his death would have had on the campaign, he inferred from these circumstances, the importance of keeping up an unceasing fire. The danger, he said, was less at a short, than at a further distance: at 300 toises, the shot will frequently pass over the head; at 600, they will strike somewhere. He adverted to the impossibility of making artillery-men keep up their fire on masses of infantry, while they themselves were under the cannonade of an opposite battery. The following extract contains some interesting particulars relating to the death of the Duke of Montebello.

* During the dinner, speaking of dress, it was said, that among the number of great personages of that time, none had carried the *ridicule* in that point further than Murat; and yet, some one observed, his dress was for the most part so singular and fantastic, that the public called him king Franconi*. The Emperor laughed very heartily, and confessed that certain costumes and manners sometimes gave to Murat the appearance of a quack operator or a mountebank. It was added, that Bernadotte also took infinite pains with his dress, and that Lannes bestowed much time upon his. The Emperor expressed himself much surprised at what he heard respecting the two latter: and this led him to repeat how sincerely he regretted the loss of Marshal Lannes. "Poor Lannes," said he, "had passed the night

* Director of a theatre at Paris similar to Astley's here.

which preceded the battle, in Vienna, and not alone. He appeared on the field without having taken any food, and fought the whole day. The physician said that this triple concurrence of circumstances caused his death: he required a great deal of strength after the wound, to enable him to bear it; and unfortunately nature was almost exhausted before.

"It is generally said," the Emperor observed, "that there are certain wounds, to which death seems preferable; but this is very seldom the case, I assure you. It is at the moment we are going to part with existence, that we cling to it with all our might. Lannes, the most courageous of men, deprived of both his legs, would not hear of death; and was irritated to that degree, that he declared that the two surgeons who attended him, deserved to be hanged for behaving so brutally towards a Marshal. He had unfortunately overheard them whisper to each other, as they thought without being heard, that it was impossible he could escape. Every moment, the unfortunate Lannes called for the Emperor. "He twined himself round me," said Napoleon, "with all he had left of life; he would hear of no one but me; he thought but of me: it was a kind of instinct! Undoubtedly, he loved his wife and children better than me; yet, he did not speak of them: it was he that protected them, whilst I on the contrary was his protector. I was for him something vague and undefined, a superior being, his providence, which he implored!"

Part IV. pp. 351—358.

We do not deem it necessary to occupy much space in criticising these volumes, having so recently given an estimate of the former *livraison*, which is equally applicable to this. On the whole, as we have already intimated, we think the third and fourth parts inferior in interest to those which preceded them; and we hope to find in the succeeding publications, rather less of Count Las Cases and his unceasing 'Atlas.'

Art. III. 1. *An Essay on Faith*. By Thomas Erskine, Esq. Advocate. &c. 12mo. pp. 142. Price 8s. Edinburgh. 1822.

2. *A Series of Sermons on the Nature and Effects of Repentance and Faith*. By the Rev. James Carlile, Assistant Minister in the Scots Church, Mary's Abbey, Dublin. 8vo. pp. 320. London. 1821.

THERE is a very general dislike, especially among religious persons, to the name of metaphysics; and if by metaphysics we understand the art of close thinking, it must be admitted that there is a not less general distaste for the thing. But such persons are little aware how very large a proportion of the matter which they admit into their minds, and mix up with their opinions, under other names, is nothing better than purely metaphysical doctrine. If theological writings were

strained of metaphysics, they would be reduced to at least half of their bulk; and though the abstracting of all that is philosophical would make sad havoc with our divinity systems, which are half made up of abstract propositions, and definitions, and distinctions, and inferences, still, were the thing possible—but why imagine the case? Men will speculate on these points, and will prefer indolent speculation to practice in religious matters, do what you may. Our very children speculate upon them, and stretch out their little hands after the fruit of the baneful tree of good and evil knowledge, with the same vicious appetite as the first sceptic, though we feed them from the tree of life. Without a figure, they learn to be metaphysicians before they are Christians; to reason before they know. And knowledge is the only cure for the evils which knowledge has introduced. The only antidote to the venomous bite of some reptiles, is said to be their blood. And there is a reptile scepticism and a reptile philosophy still twining round the tree of knowledge, whose bite few can escape, and which must be made to furnish their own antidote. It was not intended to convey a high panegyric upon metaphysics, when a celebrated writer remarked, that their chief use is, to undo the mischief which metaphysics had produced. But this is precisely true, and it is no mean or unimportant service which is assigned to them. Clear ideas and simple feelings, which will always go together, are the only remedy for the misty views, and muddy notions, and indistinct feelings which have been generated by a sophisticated theology and a shallow philosophy.

Every age has had its controversy. The best times for the Church have been, when the controversy has been chiefly maintained with her enemies. But even in the Apostolic days, St. Paul had to combat the Judaizing teacher within, as well as the Sadducee and the philosopher without the Church. In the days of St. John, there were many anti-Christians, answering to both our Socinian and Antinomian false teachers. Afterwards, the Fathers of the Church had to defend their cause against Jewish and Pagan assailants; but the secular establishment of Christianity was the signal for renewing an intestine warfare. The Homoeousian dispute supplied work for councils and controvertists, for pens and swords, during more than three centuries. The Pelagian, if it did not last so long, employed more learning, and has left deeper traces in theology. The disputes of the Schoolmen followed. The Reformation recalled the attention of pious men to the defence of the citadel. But no sooner had the danger subsided, than questions of church-government came up, which have lasted till the present day;

the Calvinistic controversy, so far as it is to be considered as an intestine dispute, being identified with them.

Independently, however, of these broad questions of metaphysical or ecclesiastical strife, there have always been springing up little sectional disputes within the bosom of the several cantons of Christ's visible kingdom. We will not give this appellation to the controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, or to that between the Gomarists and the Remonstrants, for, in both cases, the fundamental truths of Christianity were at stake. But the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were fruitful in a series of brisk theological squabbles, which have filled our dictionaries with the names of almost as many modern *isms* as swell the fearful catalogue of ancient heretics. To say nothing of the long-standing Baptist controversy, we have had Baxterians, Neonomians, Antinomians, Wesleyans, Sandemanians, with their subdivisions, some of them old heresies under new modifications, till every doctrine of the Christian system has been appropriated by some party or other, as the text of a specific controversy. At last, it has come to this, that the Christian world is called upon to decide this most curious question, What is *Faith*?

This is a question to which the well known answer, *melius sentire quam scire*, would properly apply. Or we might say with the philosopher, when asked for a definition of something equally difficult, and as little requiring to be defined, 'If you ask me, I do not know; if you do not ask me, I well know.' But this will not do for theologians, or for Reviewers. The controversy respecting the Scripture doctrine of Justification by Faith, dates from the days of the Reformers; the Reformation from Popery, so far as doctrine was concerned, mainly consisting in the revival of that cardinal article. But this grand, essential question must not be confounded with the hair-splitting, scholastic disputes which have been raised about the proper definition and character of faith itself;—whether it be a duty or a privilege; whether it be the duty of all, or only of some; whether it be a voluntary or an involuntary act; whether the mind be active or passive in believing; how many sorts of faith there are, &c. &c. On the slightest glance, these will appear to be questions which could never have been mooted except in a lazy and luxurious interval, and during the absence of those outward dangers which would have provided the Church with more serious employment. Some errors and corruptions are like the plague, which may attack a person in full health; but these over-refinements and insane subtleties are the symptoms of moral hypochondriasis: they shew a morbid predisposition in the subject, arising too often from a full

habit and improper diet. With the enemy at the gates, there would have been no leisure for starting such queries. But it holds good of divines as well as of children, that

‘Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do.’

These abstract questions would never occur to a plain Christian intent on his work: they are philosophical problems under a theological guise, and have little to do with practical Christianity.

‘Theological writers,’ remarks the Author of the admirable *Essay on Faith*, ‘have distinguished and described different kinds of faith, as speculative and practical,—historical, saving, and realizing faith. It would be of little consequence what names we gave to faith, or to any thing else, provided these names did not interfere with the distinctness of our ideas of the things to which they are attached; but as we must be sensible that they do very much interfere with these ideas, we ought to be on our guard against any false impressions which may be received from an incorrect use of them. Is it not evident that this way of speaking has a natural tendency to draw the attention away from the thing to be believed, and to engage it in a fruitless examination of the mental operation of believing? And yet, is it not true, that we see and hear of more anxiety among religious people about their faith being of the right kind, than about their believing the right things? A sincere man, who has never questioned the Divine authority of the Scripture, and who can converse and reason well on its doctrines, yet finds perhaps that the state of his mind and the tenor of his life do not agree with the Scripture rule. He is very sensible that there is an error somewhere, but, instead of suspecting that there is something in the very essentials of Christian doctrine which he has never yet understood thoroughly, the probability is, that he, and his advisers if he ask advice, come to the conclusion that his faith is of a wrong kind, that it is speculative or historical, and not true saving faith. Of course, this conclusion sends him not to the study of the Bible, but to the investigation of his own feelings, or rather of the laws of his own mind. He leaves that truth which God has revealed and blessed as the medicine of our natures, and bewilders himself in a metaphysical labyrinth.’

A popular theological dictionary, after defining faith to be an assent, a judgement, and a persuasion, enumerates seven distinct sorts of faith; to wit, ‘Divine faith,’ ‘human faith,’ ‘historical faith,’ ‘the faith of miracles,’ a ‘temporary faith,’ ‘faith in respect to futurity, and ‘faith in Christ.’ This assent, persuasion, and judgement, becomes, in the mean time, ‘that by which we assent,’ a ‘moral principle,’ and lastly, an ‘act of the understanding.’ The Author of a recent system of divinity distinguishes faith into two kinds; ‘the mere operation of the human mind,’ and the ‘genuine faith of the Gospel.’

which he characterizes as a Divine gift. This is obviously no definition or explanation of the nature of faith: it only refers us to its origin. Equally philosophical is the distinction between faith as a duty; and faith as a privilege. But if some writers have erred by making the subject too complex, and by classifying with a sort of botanical nicety, the imagined varieties of the general principle, others, in the attempt to simplify it, have gone into a more perilous extreme. Mr. Walker of Ireland denies that justifying faith is an act of the mind at all; for thus sagely and logically he reasons. 'An act is a work; the man who believes, does something; that is, his mind works; but to him who worketh, the reward is reckoned not of grace, but of debt; and it is of faith that it might be by grace: so then, faith cannot be an act, or else salvation by faith, would be salvation by works.' It is difficult to believe, that this almost facetious reasoning was not meant to turn the whole subject of justification by faith to ridicule. It is precisely what we should have expected an acute jesuit to have framed for this purpose, and hardly deserves a serious answer. The reasoner would hardly deny that *hearing*, listening, is an act of the mind; but "faith cometh by hearing," and justification is by faith: and if so, whether believing be an act or not, as listening is, and an act is a work, salvation would still, according to this Hibernian logic, turn upon a work. Again, to speak of the act of receiving would, on this reasoning, be a solecism, since that would imply that receiving is a work done by the party, not a benefit conferred upon him. The question is, as Mr. Carlyle justly remarks,

'as if we should dispute whether a beggar who comes to our door, and asks an alms, is, in his doing so, working for his bread, and earning what we may give to him by his industry. According to the determination of Mr. Walker, it is impossible to give a beggar a free gift, independently of any work done by him to deserve it, unless he shall lie as still as a stone till we shall put the money into his pocket, or the food into his mouth: for, if he move hand or foot to receive it, or if he ask it, or even think about it, he would entirely vitiate the freeness of the gift, and turn it into wages given to him for his work. He would cease to be a pauper depending upon charity, from the moment he began to beg.'

Such absurdities are scarcely deserving of being encountered with the formalities of serious argument. But, in combating these notions, Mr. Carlyle, though his sermons are distinguished by clear, just, and Scriptural views of the great subjects of which he treats, and display considerable ability, yet falls into the opposite fault of embarrassing the subject with scholastic and technical distinctions. In his appendix, he gives

as his general conclusions from a long philological investigation of the meaning of the word, that *faith* signifies a general confidence, or a belief of facts fitted to excite confidence; then, it is a reliance founded on a belief; next he tells us, that *saving* faith has for its immediate object, a *person*, not *truth*; further, that it is equivalent to what is expressed by trust, reliance, and confidence in the Old Testament; and lastly, he uses these strange expressions:

‘It appears that, besides what may be called *the passive or neuter* state of believing, trusting, having confidence, &c. there may be *acts of faith*, namely, committing our eternal interests in trust, to Jesus Christ.’

What is meant by the neuter state of believing, we are really at a loss to imagine. But the whole series of propositions is a strange tissue of in and out assertions. Faith consists in believing facts, and yet it is different from such belief, is founded upon it; that is, it does and it does not consist in believing such facts: faith is founded upon faith; not upon itself, but upon another sort of faith; so that we have here two sorts of faith, one built upon another, but neither of them very clearly defined. And at last it turns out, that one of these sorts of faith is not an act, but a state, out of which acts originate. Really, we must recommend Mr. Carlyle to cancel this whole dissertation in his next edition; and if he must refine on these points, let him first study Thomas Aquinas.

What is the objection to the plain declaration of Scripture, that “whosoever believeth in the Son of God shall not perish, but have eternal life?” What is the difficulty respecting this simple statement, that its terms should be treated as so mysterious, and that a question should be raised, whether what they convey is absolutely true? To believe in the Son of God must mean, if it means any thing, to receive him in the character of the Messiah, to receive all that he taught either in his own person or by his apostles, to receive the whole truth as truth; and whosoever does this, it is unequivocally declared, shall be saved. Now, what difference does it make, whether we represent the object of this believing, to be the person of Christ, or the facts relating to his person, when the ideas are in fact inseparable? It is true, that a person may believe certain historical facts respecting our Lord’s advent, and certain doctrinal facts, if we may use the expression, concerning his person, who yet does not, and shews by his conduct that he does not, in the Scriptural sense, believe on Christ. But the truth is, that such an individual does not believe *all* the facts, nor, as concerns himself, the most material facts

relating to the character and work of the Saviour. His mind has not received the whole truth. Whether it arise from prejudice, or ignorance, or inconsideration, or any other source of error, what such persons have taken up with, is an erroneous, because a partial and defective notion of the Gospel. Their conceptions, far from answering to the object or to the facts, are essentially different from the reality. They may believe all that they themselves connect with the words of the statement, that Christ died for sinners; but they do not believe in what the words really imply. 'The Gospel,' Mr. Erskine somewhat paradoxically remarks, 'consists not in the facts; but in the meaning of the facts.' He explains himself.

'The Gospel is a general name for an object which consists of several parts, and contains various appeals to the moral understanding of man. But this general name may cover a great many different impressions and beliefs. And yet, there is but one impression that can be the correct representation of the object: all the rest must be false in a greater or less degree. And it is only the true impression that can be profitable to us. And what is that true impression? This is only another way of putting the question, What is the Gospel? for the true impression must be a correct representation of the Gospel in all its meaning. This is the important point; for if we really understand what the Gospel is, and understand it as a truth, we need not be very solicitous about the *mode* in which we believe it.'

This is a most correct and important view of the subject; and Mr. Erskine has performed a highly valuable service to the religious world, in seizing this point, and pouring upon it the light of his acute and eloquent reasoning. Bringing to theology a mind untrammelled by systems, yet, versed in the rules of philosophizing, and the intricacies of law, he has been able to detect at once and to lay open the fallacies which have perplexed many simple-minded persons all their lives, fettering the preacher in his exhibition of the Gospel message, and robbing the diffident, self-suspicious Christian of his peace. The only defect of the volume, is, the occasional want of simplicity and clearness in the phraseology. The Author's views are always simple, simple because comprehensive and profound; and the master-mind is evident in this, that the thoughts, when once clearly apprehended by the reader, appear to him so obvious, that he is ready to persuade himself they are familiar to him, although, so far as moral truth can be new; that is, in the mode of stating it in its true relations, they are strictly and strikingly original. We transcribe another passage which more fully develops the sentiment of the foregoing extract.

"We shall be saved from much perplexity and error in our inquiries into the nature and exercise of faith, by keeping in mind what is its design or end. We are not commanded to believe merely for the sake of believing, or to shew our ready submission to the will of God; but because the objects which are revealed to us for our belief, have a natural tendency to produce a most important and blessed change on our happiness and our characters. *Every object which is believed by us, operates on our characters according to its own nature.* If therefore, we have taken a wrong view of revelation, that wrong view will operate upon us, and produce a bad effect on our characters. This shews the importance of a correct knowledge of the truth contained in revelation. A man's character is formed by his belief."

The application of this remark must not be limited to the two grand classes of believers and unbelievers. It supplies the key to the sad imperfections and discrepancies which are observable in the characters of Christians themselves. There is not a heresy nor a moral inconsistency, which may not be traced to a defective view of truth; in other words, to an imperfect belief. It has been usual to explain cases of the latter kind by saying, that the faith of such persons is not in operation; and the same reason is assigned for the want of spiritual comfort which has been the lifelong complaint of pious individuals. But the more correct statement would be, that, in either case, it is a mutilated representation of Christianity which such persons have embraced; and hence, the influence of the whole truth is prevented from bearing upon their characters. We cannot believe more than we know of, and therefore, imperfect knowledge will necessarily intercept between the truth and our characters, as really as positive unbelief. The moral difference between simple ignorance and unbelief lies chiefly in this; that the believer will be influenced by all that he does know, while the unbeliever is nothing the better for all the light which shines around him. A man may understand and believe enough of the truth, to be saved by it, who yet does not believe it, owing to erroneous views, or it may be a criminal inconsideration, in all the fullness of its meaning, in all that is essential to a correct practical impression of the Gospel. This is doubtless the case with the speculative antinomian, and with many others of a more orthodox creed, whose unbelief relates to the *facts* bearing upon personal holiness.

But what! it may be said, is there no such thing as an inoperative, inefficient faith? Does not St. James speak of a dead faith—a faith which does not bring forth works? May we not describe faith itself, and distinguish a true faith, by its qualities and effects as well as by its objects? The only genuine test of faith is its fruits or its qualities; and so that

belief which has no influence upon the conduct, we may assuredly give the name of a negative, a dead faith. But why is it unproductive, but because the abstract truth such belief embraces, is not adapted to produce any beneficial impression? "Thou believest that there is one God: thou dost well: the demons also believe and tremble." q. d. This is no more than the demons believe; and what is such a belief in itself adapted to inspire, but fear and trembling? If all who believe thus much, tremble not, it is only because they have not that knowledge of the whole truth which the demons have. The apostle here expressly characterizes a dead faith by its object: that object is represented to be an abstract proposition relating to the being and unity of God, which never has been found, when taken by itself, to have any moral influence on the heart and character. The Gospel consists not of abstract propositions, for then it would not be adapted to effect any beneficial change on individuals or on society, but of all-interesting facts, which cannot be believed in their actual relation to ourselves, without producing the scriptural fruits of faith. A dead faith, then, a barren unproductive orthodoxy, though true and sincere as far as it extends, (for it is supposed that it may be as real, as accurate as that of the devils,) yet, cannot in the nature of things be a faith in the whole truth. We say that such persons do not truly believe, and there is no just objection to the expression; but the meaning is, that what they believe, falls infinitely short of that saving truth, which is God's instrument for regenerating the character.

'It is possible,' remarks Mr. Erskine, 'to believe not only in the facts, but also in the system of Christianity as a philosophical theory, and yet be destitute of faith in the truth. There is something very striking in the relative suitableness which exists between the susceptibilities of the human mind to receive certain impressions, and the power of Christian truth to make an impression; and it is conceivable that a man may be captivated by this intellectual and moral harmony, and take much pleasure in tracing it through all its detail, and yet derive no more profit from it, than from the examination of any curious piece of material mechanism. This can easily be explained. The object of his belief is, not the Gospel itself, but the adaptation of the Gospel to its purpose. This is the shape which the idea of the Gospel assumes in his mind, and from this he derives his impression of it. *He is occupied by the metaphysics of religion, as the formalist is occupied by the ceremonies.*

'As it is possible to believe in the philosophy of the Bible without believing in its substantial truth; it is also possible to believe in its poetry, without any saving consequences. There is much high poetry in the Bible. There is a sublime in the God set forth in it, altogether unrivalled; there is a strange and beautiful combination of

overwhelming omnipotence and the sweetest tenderness; there is an intimacy of union and endearment spoken of between this God and his creatures, which, when stripped of all that is offensive to nature, may take a strong hold of the imaginative faculties, and give a high species of enjoyment to the mind. This enjoyment is of the same kind as that which a finely strung mind derives from the treasures of Milton's genius. The truth of the Gospel is not in this case the object of belief. The love and justice of God, manifested in the cross, have not impressed the mind—for their impression could only be joy, and gratitude, and awe. Alas! that a pleasing reverie should ever be mistaken for the counterpart of the Divine character in the heart of man! The person whom I am supposing, believes in the simplicity, and beauty, and awful magnificence of the revealed system of religion, and in the touching propriety of the form under which it has been communicated. But he does not understand it as a thing on which the alternative of his own happiness or misery through eternity depends. He does not understand it as exhibiting to him the character of that Being who deals out to him every breath that he draws, and appoints for him every event which he meets in the race of his existence; who surrounds him continually, and from whose enveloping presence he can never retire himself for an instant through eternity; who marks every passing thought and dawning desire, and who will for all these bring him one day into judgement; he does not understand the Gospel as a message from heaven, inviting him, through the atonement of Christ, to approach this great Being as a gracious Father, from whose love nothing but his own obstinate apostacy can separate him; who has promised to make all things work together for good to his children; and who, by this message of mercy, has converted the appalling attributes of his infinite nature into reasons of filial confidence. Unless the history of the past facts of the Christian system be connected with its present importance; unless the work finished on Calvary, be perceived in relation to the personal fears and hopes of ourselves as individuals; we do not understand, and therefore cannot believe the Gospel.

‘There is a belief in Christianity as a subject of controversy, which deserves a severer censure than merely that it is incapable of doing any moral good. The great facts of Revelation are not the object of which this belief is the impression. The real object of faith in a believer of this order, is, that his view is right, and that of his opponents wrong. The impression from this object is naturally, approbation of himself and contempt of others.’

Now, if a person should choose to describe such a limited belief in Christianity as these cases imply, by the several names of a metaphysical, a poetical, a speculative, or a controversial belief, it would not be worth while to find fault with his expressions, provided that he took care to explain, that, by a metaphysical faith, he meant a faith in metaphysical truth, by a speculative faith, a faith in certain speculations concerning the truth, and so forth. There can be no objection to telling such

half-believers that their faith is not of the right kind, provided that we shew them that this arises from its not embracing the right object, and provided that we direct them to that object, instead of sending them to examine the nature of the mental operation of believing. A certain phraseology has obtained on this subject, and has identified itself with some of our best theological works, which it would be in vain to proscribe; it cannot now be got rid of. Such phraseology is capable, however, when properly explained, of being entirely reconciled with the statements on which Mr. Erskine insists. His object is simply this; 'to withdraw the attention from the act of believing, and to fix it on the object of belief, by shewing that we cannot believe any moral fact without entering into its spirit, meaning, and importance; that we cannot believe in our own danger without apprehension, or in our own deliverance without joy.' It is one strong recommendation of the view which he takes of faith, and, indeed, a presumption in favour of its correctness, that, unlike the generality of preceding writers, he rests no part of his argument on definitions and peculiarities of phraseology. Could definitions have precluded mistake, or banished controversy, the inspired writings would no doubt have abounded with them. But we recollect only one instance in which any thing approaching to a definition has been given by the most philosophical of the apostles; and in that, he describes faith by its effects: it is that which gives substance to things hoped for, and renders visible things unseen.

No man ever obtained a clearer notion of faith by hearing it defined, but many a reader has been perplexed and stumbled by having a scholastic definition laid at the threshold of a practical subject. We have been accustomed to be told by divines, that justifying faith is 'an appropriating persuasion,' in opposition to 'a mere assent;' and again, that saving faith includes 'not only the common belief of the articles of the Christian religion, and a persuasion of the truth of God's word in general, but also a particular application of the promises of the Gospel to our souls.' This language is objectionable, not because it will not admit of a correct sense, but because it pretends to define faith, considered as a mental operation, apart from its object. Such positions have the appearance of logical precision, but there is, in fact, an utter want of metaphysical accuracy, in this technical use of words. What is mere assent? What is an appropriating persuasion? What is a particular application? Do not these words as much require to be defined, as faith and believing? Is any good likely to be done by substituting such mystic technicalities in place of the simple language of Inspiration? Examine these terms, assent, applica-

tion, &c. and they will be found to convey only half-ideas. To make the affirmation respecting them intelligible, or correct, an ellipsis must be supplied : *e. g.* Faith is not a mere assent to —, but an appropriating persuasion or particular application of —. And the ellipsis being supplied, we might dispense with some of these words, and say : By justifying faith we understand, not only the belief of the articles of religion as abstract propositions, but, the belief of our own personal need of an interest in Christ, and of the promises of the Gospel. That faith consists in a mere assent, as the Sandemanians maintain, may either be conceded or denied, according as we understand what it is to which it is an assent. To make it consist in an assent to any abstract proposition, is to contradict common sense, and to subvert the Gospel. If it be understood as implying a cordial assent to the whole Gospel, we cannot dispute that this faith must justify the believer ; but we object to what we consider as a highly injudicious choice of expressions. The words assent, persuasion, belief, reliance, all mean the same thing—believing ; but they in strict accuracy apply to different objects : we *assent* to a request, a proposal, or a statement ; we are *persuaded*, by argument or by reflection, of certain conclusions ; we *believe* in a report ; and we *rely* on an engagement or promise. The belief that Jesus is the Son of God can be called with no propriety an assent, unless we view it as an abstract proposition of the same nature as, Mahommed was the son of Abd'allah. An assent to all that the words are meant to convey, does constitute, in fact, a saving faith ; but the word assent is improperly applied to such a truth, inasmuch as it does not express the operation of mind which the fact, if received, must excite. It is an inadequate, an almost irreverent mode of expression, far beneath the dignity of the subject, inapplicable to the object of belief. What should we think, if we heard it said, that a man, on being told that his house was on fire, assented to it, gave his assent to the fact ? or that a criminal, on being told that his reprieve was issued, assented to it ? No one can assent to the whole Gospel as truth, who is not persuaded of its authority, does not believe in all the Divine declarations, and does not personally rely on the word of the Saviour.

But then comes the word *assurance*—another cabalistic phrase, which has puzzled and alarmed many a timid Christian, like the handwriting on the wall of the Babylonian palace. The Apostle has spoken of “ the full assurance of faith.” That there are degrees of faith, no one can question ; but to suppose that the assurance of faith, or an assured faith, can relate to a different object from that to which faith in its

simplest exercise, relates, is a notion to which Scripture yields no support. On this point, there are some excellent remarks of Dr. Thomas Goodwin's. 'Some,' he says, 'have held, that faith is a sensible assurance, and others have held the contrary. There is a double mistake in the point. I shall shew it in a word. First, It must be granted, that in all faith there is assurance, *but of what?* Of the truth of the promise. If a man doubt, if he waver, as St. James saith, in the truth of the promise, he will never act (exercise) his faith. But the question here is about the assurance of a man's interest; that is not always in faith. Again, all faith is an application of Christ, but how? It is not an application that Christ is mine *actually*, but is a laying hold upon Christ to be mine. It is not a logical application, in way of a proposition, that I may say Christ is mine; but it is a real one: I put him on, I take him to be mine; and that is the better of the two.'

Those of our readers who are conversant with the theological writings of the last century, will appreciate the admirable good sense displayed in this passage. It presents a striking contrast to the language of Boston, and some other popular divines. The former begins his definition of faith with these words: 'Be verily persuaded in your heart, that Jesus Christ is yours.' This, we must consider as unauthorized and pernicious language. It is not in these terms that the proclamation of the Gospel runs; and that is the truth to which faith is to be directed. The persuasion which the believer is entitled to cherish, that is to say, the hope shed abroad in his heart as the fruit of faith, is with no propriety confounded with the belief which the hearer of the Gospel is commanded to exercise. And even with the regard to the Christian who has "received the Atonement," we much prefer the Scriptural statement of his assurance, that he is Christ's, to that which represents Christ to be his. After all, our objection lies more against Boston's expressions, than against what we judge to have been his meaning; for, in another place, he thus unobjectionably expresses himself: 'Make no doubt of the pardon offered, or of the proclamation, bearing that every one of us may safely return to Christ; but thereupon draw near to him in full assurance of faith.' To do justice to a writer, and even to understand him, we must know what error he is combating, what was the prevailing heresy, real or supposed, of his day. The Protestant, in opposing the Romish theologian, (on this same subject of assurance for instance,) the Calvinist in combating the Pelagian, the opponent of Sandemanian error on the one hand, or of Antinomianism on the other, will be found occasionally employing a language true and even unobjection-

able in reference to the opinions they are combating, but not absolutely true in reference to the opposite errors which their words may seem to favour. With regard to such writers as Boston, the Erskines, and others of the old school, we may have occasion to find fault with some of their statements, but never with their real drift and main object; which is more than can be said of their opponents.

We have had occasion to quarrel with Mr. Carlyle's metaphysics, but we cordially approve of his theology; and there is one sentence in his tenth sermon, which admirably expresses all that we have been contending for with respect to the nature of faith. 'Faith,' he says, 'derives its efficacy from its introducing truth into the soul.' This is in strict accordance with the language of St. James: "Of his own will begot he us with the word of truth." Truth is in every instance the instrument of regeneration, as it is the means also of sanctification and comfort. The only way of strengthening faith, where it exists, is by bringing the mind into closer contact with the truth. Mr. Carlyle very justly remarks, that 'repentance always depends on some change of views.' There is in every such case, new light introduced into the understanding, new apprehensions of truth, and this as the result of faith. The genuineness or evangelical character of repentance, will depend on the measure of truth introduced into the mind, with regard to the character and claims of God. There is much barren knowledge, which goes under the general name of belief, but is, in fact, derived from reason, more than from the Divine testimony in the Scriptures, and implies no direct operation of faith. Yet still, it is knowledge, or truth brought into contact with the mind, which in every case operates the change on the heart and character. "For this is life eternal; to know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent."

We regret that, after giving this just view of the subject, Mr. Carlyle should, in his third sermon, attempt to make out a distinction between faith and belief. 'We put faith,' he says, 'in a man's skill, integrity, and ability to discharge his debts; but we can use belief only in respect to his testimony, or some testimony respecting him.' To 'put faith' in a man's skill, is at least an unusual expression: it would be quite as correct to say, that we put faith in his testimony. If his testimony relates to any thing which concerns us, and our conduct turns upon its truth, and we believe his testimony, we confide in his testimony, or we confide so far in his competency and veracity. It is but a varied way of expressing precisely the same thing. But it is a mistake to say, that

belief can be applied only to testimony: we believe a man's promise, which is, to be sure, his testimony of what he can or will do, but it is not usual to consider a promise as a testimony. These are verbal refinements unfit for the pulpit, even were they accurately drawn. Scripture doctrine cannot depend upon the etymology of a word. Mr. Carlyle admits, that 'faith' is sometimes equivalent to belief.' It would be strange, indeed, if it were not always so. How can we believe any fact, the knowledge of which is derived purely from testimony, without believing in the testimony on which it rests, and exercising confidence in the testifier? Unbelief, through all its modifications, involves the rejection of some part of the Divine testimony. We transcribe with much satisfaction, the following remarks.

'It is this reluctance to believe the testimony of God, which induces men to adopt those endless shifts and expedients observable among them; for the purpose of evading those peculiar doctrines of Scripture which rest entirely on the credit of God's declarations. When a doctrine can, in any degree, be established by a process of reasoning, they are not so averse to it; because they can rest their belief on the results of philosophical investigation; by which means they not only avoid submitting implicitly to the testimony of God, but, at the same time, gratify the pride of their own understandings. But they shew an unconquerable aversion to those doctrines which are purely subjects of Revelation; so that, when they are brought up to them, they recoil and give back, and cannot be persuaded seriously and heartily to receive them. They dare not, indeed, avowedly discredit what they acknowledge God to have revealed. They have been driven out of the bare-faced effrontery of charging God with falsehood; but still their indwelling sin, their deep-rooted enmity to God, rises against an unequivocal, explicit submission to his testimony: they start aside from it, and fall upon a thousand expedients to evade such an act of homage to his moral character. Many say in their hearts, and some even with their lips, that there is no God. Some contrive to remain in profound ignorance of what God has revealed, and by this means avoid believing it. They take their views of Revelation from teachers after their own hearts, and thus, instead of putting faith in God's veracity, they put faith in their teachers, or in their own imaginations. Others introduce philosophical reasonings among the truths of revelation, as they say to explain them, but which in fact supersede them. Others detach portions of Scripture from their connexion with the context, and build theories upon them, which they give out as the dictates of Revelation. Some even pretend, that to believe literally what is declared in Scripture, would be dishonourable to the character of God; and thus, on pretence of concern for his honour, they would compliment him out of his veracity, and treat him as one who had spoken unadvisedly. Others get rid of the matter at once, by

denying the plenary and literal inspiration of Scripture ; thus leaving no testimony of God to be believed.'

We have been particularly pleased with Mr. Carlile's sixth sermon, on the connexion between repentance and faith ; but the length to which this article has already extended, forbids our making further citations. It is followed by two sermons on the present imperfection of the knowledge of believers, and on the effects of the perfect vision of God. Justification by faith is the subject of sermons ix. and x. In the succeeding two, the doctrine is vindicated in its bearing on the interests of morality. The active exertion of man in working out his salvation, is the subject of sermon xiii. ; and one on the privileges of a life of faith, completes the series. The volume, on the whole, is highly creditable to the Author, and, with the single exception of some of the statements respecting the nature of faith, has our warm approbation.

There are a few other questions connected with the subject of faith, into which we have not room, and others into which we have no inclination to enter. The writings of Andrew Fuller and Thomas Scott have, we trust, put to rest the discussions respecting the warrant of faith. As to those who affect to raise a doubt whether it is the duty of every man to believe in the Divine testimony, we are afraid that we should not have the requisite patience to deal with such Bedlam theology.

Art. IV. *Love, a Poem, in Three Parts. To which is added, the Gleaner, a Satirical Poem.* By E. Elliott. 8vo. pp. 180. London. 1823.

AS the former productions of Mr. Elliott have escaped our attention, we deem it but due to him to take this early notice of his present volume. An author who ventures upon the publication of a third volume, must either have found some favour in the eyes of the public, or must have a self-upholding confidence which generally leads to success at last. Whether this volume succeed or not, we have little hesitation in saying, that its Author is capable of producing what will live. He is unquestionably a man of genius ; and though genius is in itself no valid passport to fame, but must be countersigned, it is at least the means of obtaining it.

But alas ! for the man who stakes his peace on the chances of this Lottery ! How many accidents must conspire to bring a man of merit into immediate notoriety, and to fasten his name on the treacherous recollection of the public ! And if it be only to enjoy a moment's popularity, and then become

waste paper, what high-souled candidate for literary immortality would not rather starve on his proud hopes all his life long, if he could be assured of a niche in the Abbey at last? Strange is the power which the mind has, to make even an imaginary futurity preponderate over the realities of the present. It may be said of posthumous fame, as philosophers have reasoned concerning death, but said more truly, that where we are, it is not, and where it is, we are not:—it is a phantom with which we can never be brought into contact, since it dates its existence from our non-existence. And yet, to leave this shadowy heir behind, this imaginary perpetuation of ourselves, with which we can have no conscious connexion, is the object for which how many have toiled in secret all their days, with the self-satisfaction and devotion of the childless miser! But man must have an object capable of filling his mind; if not an infinite, it must be an indefinite one, and if not a reality, an object of his own creation. To supply this craving want of the mind, implanted in us for the wisest purpose, it is by a sort of necessity that individuals of a certain order are driven to invent objects for themselves, made up, like the false Una of Archimago, of painted air. Deprive such a man of his shadowy mistress, and what has he left? The poet who lives on the hope of fame, is a sort of intellectual opium-eater, who has taken up with a stimulant instead of food, and who only wakes from his delirium to joyless vacuity. The only safe mode of treatment would be to change the stimulant, to substitute wine for the poison,—to introduce, if possible, a reality into the mind instead of the delusion; to make an infinite object take the place of one which has no dimensions, no boundary, only because it has no real existence. Nothing short of this can save the mind from preying on itself, and becoming the victim of despondency. For the hour of bitter disappointment will come, when either the sense of failure or neglect, or the emptiness of the object, or the jealousy attendant on possession, and the dread of being forgotten, will press upon the mind the conviction that it has embraced an unsatisfying portion. “I have now but one book,” said poor Collins, “but that is the best.” Fame was then nothing to him, but he had hold of the substance. Like a shipwrecked man, he clung to this plank, and it landed him.

How strangely are we digressing! And yet, not so widely as it may seem; for, beginning the present volume at the end, as we are apt to do, we had not read far before we grew melancholy over our Author's satire. We ought, we know, to have laughed at seeing the game-cocks of Parnassus, pulling each other's immortality to pieces. Lord Byron has found out that

Cowper is no poet, and that Pope is the greatest of poets. He says this partly out of hatred to Cowper's religion, and partly to spite Mr. Bowles. If the Author of the Task is no poet, of course Southey and Wordsworth have no pretensions to the name; nor has his Lordship any thing to bestow on the LAKERS more courteous than his contempt. Mr. Southey has shewn himself quite able to fight his own battles: he has returned nickname for nickname and railing for railing. Mr. Bowles, too, has collected up himself into the most strenuous attitude of lofty defiance, and though foully set upon at once by Lord Byron, Mr. Gilchrist, and the Quarterly Review, has discovered more energy than is to be found diffused through his whole poetical works. This gentleman has been, assuredly, most abominably misrepresented, as well as most unmercifully ridiculed; but he seems so heartily to enjoy the wordy fight, and to abuse his adversary with so much gust and good will, that we cannot pity him. Mr. Elliott, however, fired with generous indignation at having all that he holds sacred in poetry, attacked by the noble Giaour, has stepped boldly forward with his sling and stone to lay the blasphemer low. We appreciate his motives: he is evidently sincere and in earnest, for he writes in a passion; and under this genuine inspiration, he has struck out some reasonably smart lines, and dealt some pretty hard blows. But the eloquence of the satirist is so nearly akin to that of Billingsgate, that the successful display of the gift almost partakes of a disgrace. Had Lord Byron written nothing after his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," his fame as a writer would have been that of a second-rate Churchill, who is remembered only to be despised. Mr. Elliott writes under the influence of better motives: his cause is good, but his course is wrong. He affects to depreciate Lord Byron's genius, speaks contemptuously of his literary merit; which can have but one effect, that of making himself ridiculous. He is not cool enough for a satirist. He attempts to be forcible, and he becomes outrageous. For his own sake, we exhort him to desist from pursuing this one by-road to fame, the dirtiest and the crookedest which climbs Parnassus, that of personal satire and invective. But Lord Byron is fair game were he fairly hunted, though we doubt whether the whole pack will run him down. Our readers shall have a specimen of the sport.

' More Giaours? more Corsairs? what! and more to come?
 Lords! can one thread stretch out "to th' crack of doom?"
 How like thy heroes are to one another!
 Selim is Harold's, Conrad's younger brother;

Juan is Lara in his morning hour,
And conjuring Manfred is Childe, Corsair, Giaour.
What infinite monotony is thine!
Write what thou may'st, 'tis Giaour in every line.
Nay, be a nuisance-monger of some mettle;
Vary thy weeds a little, and plant nettle!
Is there no hated purity to lash?
No merit, struggling without friends, to quash?
No helpless woe, no woman to abuse?
No envied bard, no parson to accuse?

* * * * *
‘ Then came thy drama
Thou may'st not write as Shakspeare wrote, though Scott may;
But—if thou can'st—mend, and be half an Otway.

‘ Is *this* thy Drama of the Unities?
For *this* shall ages guard thy chisel'd bust?
Oh, what a fall is here—from smoke to dust!
From Juan to the Doge! Didst thou, for this,
Sneer at dead Southern over Salamis,
With merit in the bark that left thee there,
And merit in the purse that paid thy fare;
Is *this* the inspiration thou hast brought
From that famed land, whose name gives wings to thought?
Go, and at Bloomfield, Nature's Artist, sneer,
Since chance, that makes a cobbler, makes a peer;
Go, meet at Porter's hackney garreteers,
And emulate their longitude of ears;
Or, bray o'er Skiddaw a patrician strain,
Though Wordsworth's ass disdains to bray again;
Or, in thy Argo, heave a tuneful groan,
While brazen sorrows melt a heart of stone;
Or rhyme thy doggrel Juan, with vile ease;
But cease to ape the Muse of Sophocles!

‘ Oh, Greece! I name thee with a feeling dread
And mournful, as the kiss we give the dead;
For thou art number'd with the yesterdays
That hear no more the voice of mortal praise!
Yet, if indeed thy stillness grasps a sword,
If Freedom is to thee no lifeless word,
If thou but sleep'st, wake! The odour'd hours
Still sprinkle, as of yore, thy hills with flowers,
And still “ Hymettus hears the hum of bees :”
When wilt thou wake, land of Miltiades?
Oh, never, never! for, in sadness bow'd,
Nature but strews the wild thyme o'er thy shroud.
’Tis not the soil that lifts man's glories high,
And gives a record to eternity,
But Freedom's spirit, that inhabits there,
With soul-inspiring ocean, earth, and air.

Yet—where the skies, the seas, the mountains speak,
 In tones that bring the heart's blood to the cheek ;
 Where dust is immortality, and mould
 An incarnation of the great of old ;—
 Men of Plataea, Men of Marathon,
 Rise, and deplore the Grecian glories gone !
 Then shake the earth from each prophetic brow,
 And say, shall Britain be what Greece is now ?
 Without sage, sculptor, patriot, pencil, pen ?
 A land where human beings are not men ?
 Oh, ask yon slaves why gaze they on the plain,
 Rich with their fathers' blood, and rich in vain ?
 Oh, ask, why look they on their servile feet,
 As if they fear'd in chainless Heaven to meet
 Th' upbraiding glances of the eagle's eye,
 Ascending to the sun of Liberty ?
 Then hear the Bards of these portentous times,
 When Milton's verse is scorn'd for Lara's rhymes ;
 And say, did Greece sit tamely down in chains,
 Till Pella's tragic voice was drown'd by ribald strains ?'

pp. 157—159.

These are not tame or common-place lines ; we regret that they occur in bad company. We now turn with pleasure to a more poetical topic—"Love."

The poem bearing this title is divided into three parts, each part consisting of three books. It is partly didactic, partly narrative, the stories being introduced as illustrations of the passion in its diversified operations. 'My intention,' says Mr. Elliott, 'was, to write a poem on the social affections, not a philosophical Essay.' How he has succeeded, will be better shewn by extracts, than by any formal analysis, which, as the Author has not furnished any, we may be excused from supplying.

'Love, 'twas my heart that named thee ! sweetest word
 Here, or in highest Heav'n, pronounced or heard !
 Whether by seraph near the throne above,
 Or soul-sick maiden in the vernal grove,
 Or matron, with her first-born on her knee,
 Or, sweeter, lisp'd by rose-lipp'd infancy !
 Yes, Love, my heart did name thee ! not because
 Thy mandate gave the bright-hair'd comet laws ;
 Nor that thy hand, in good almightiest, showers
 The everblooming, fiery-petall'd flowers
 Wide o'er the fields of hyacinthine Heav'n ;
 But that to me thy richest smile hath giv'n
 Bliss, tried in pain. And, 'mid my rosy boys,
 In joy and grief, I sing thy griefs and joys.

' Bless'd is the hearth, when daughters gird the fire,
And sons, that shall be happier than their sire,
Who sees them crowd around his evening chair,
While Love and Hope inspire his wordless pray'r.
Oh, from their home paternal may they go,
With little to unlearn, though much to know!
Them may no poison'd tongue, no evil eye
Curse for the virtues that refuse to die,
The generous heart, the independent mind,
Till truth, like falsehood, leaves a sting behind!
May temperance crown their feast, and friendship share!
May pity come, Love's sister spirit, there!
May they shun baseness, as they shun the grave!
May they be frugal, pious, humble, brave!
Sweet peace be their's, the moonlight of the breast,
And occupation, and alternate rest,
And, dear to care and thought, the rural walk!
Their's be no flower that withers on the stalk,
But roses cropp'd, that shall not bloom in vain,
And hope's bless'd sun, that sets to rise again!
Be chaste their nuptial bed, their home be sweet,
Their floor resound the tread of little feet;
Bless'd beyond fear and fate, if bless'd by thee,
And heirs, oh, Love, of thine eternity!

' Young Devotee, whose fond and guileless heart
Feels, for the first time, Love's delicious smart!
Now—while the sun his crimson radiance showers,
And stars the green night of the woods with flowers,
That, hung, like rubies, on each trembling thorn,
Outshine the myriad opals of the morn—
Now take thy lonely walk of ecstasy;
The sun is in the west, young Devotee!
Or, wilt thou seek thine idol proud and fair,
To throw thee at her feet, and worship there
The might serene of beauty on her throne,
And feel her powers almighty o'er thy own?
Then—as a cloud, athwart the desert cast,
Relieves the wretch who tracks the sand aghast—
If but a ringlet tremble on her cheek,
Or, if her lips but move and seem to speak,
Or, evening brighten in her eye divine,
How sweet a pain, young Devotee, is thine!

' Oh, bless'd, who drinks the bliss that Hymen yields,
And plucks life's roses in his quiet fields!
Though in his absence hours seem lengthen'd years,
His presence hallows separation's tears.
Oh, clasp'd in dreams, for his delay'd return
Fond arms are stretch'd, and speechless wishes burn!
Love o'er his fever'd soul sheds tears more sweet
Than angels' smiles, when parted angels meet:

To him no fabled paradise is given;
 His very sorrows charm, and breathe of heaven.
 And soon the fairest form that walks below
 Shall bless the name of parent in her woe;
 Soon o'er her babe shall breathe a mother's pray'r,
 And kiss its father's living picture there,
 While the young stranger on life's dangerous way
 Turns with a smile his blue eye to the day.
 But where shall poesy fit colours choose
 To paint the matron morning sprinkling dews
 O'er half-blown flowers, that pay their early breath
 In tribute to the Lord of life and death,
 Who bids the lucid blush of nature glow,
 Till angels see another Heav'n below,
 Dimples the deep with every breeze that blows,
 And gives its sweet existence to the rose?
 ' Maternal Love, best type of heavenly bliss!
 Thou shew'st the joys of brighter worlds in this,
 When sons and daughters rush to thy embrace,
 And Love is painted on each rosy face!
 Ev'n in the vale of poverty and gloom,
 Thy joys, like heath-flowers on the moorland, bloom.' pp. 3—7.

We think that we have not many readers who can peruse these lines, and not feel powerfully interested on behalf of the Writer. They bespeak intense feeling, and a heart susceptible of the best emotions of our nature. In the following extract, the Poet takes up the complaint of Goldsmith; and as we are not now discussing questions of political economy, we shall not stop to settle the point between the poet and the philosopher.

' Star of the heart! oh, still on Britain smile,
 Of old thy chosen, once thy favour'd isle,
 And by the nations, envious and unblest'd,
 Call'd thine and Freedom's Eden in the west!
 Then hymns to Love arose from every glen,
 Each British cottage was thy temple then.
 But now what Demon blasts thy happiest land,
 And bids thine exiled offspring crowd the strand?
 Or pens in festering towns the victim swain,
 And sweeps thy cot, thy garden, from the plain?
 Lo, where the pauper idles in despair,
 Thy Eden droops, for blight and dearth are there:
 And, like an autumn floweret, lingering late,
 Scarce lives a relic of thy happier state,
 A wreck of peace and love, with sadness seen,
 That faintly tells what England once hath been!
 Amid coeval orchards, grey with age,
 Screen'd by memorial elms from winter's rage,

Scarce stands a shed, where virtue loves to be,
 A hut of self-dependent poverty,
 Where want pines proudly, though distress and fear
 Stain thy mute votary with too sad a tear;
 And yet I feel thine altar still is here—
 Here, where thy Goldsmith's too prophetic strain,
 'Mid the few ruins that attest thy reign,
 Deplored the sinking hind, the desecrated plain.
 ' Alas, sweet Auburn!—since thy Bard bewail'd
 ' Thy bowers, by Trade's unfeeling sons assail'd,'
 How many a village, sweet like thee, hath seen
 The once-bless'd cottage joyless on the green!
 Now e'en ' the last of all thy harmless train,
 The sad historian of the pensive plain,'
 Now ' e'en that feeble, solitary thing'
 Hath ceas'd ' to bend above the plashy spring';
 And her fall'n children breathe their curses deep,
 Far from that home of which they think, and weep.
 Where myriad chimneys wrap their dens in shade,
 They rob the night to ply their sickly trade,
 And weekly come, with subjugated soul,
 Degraded, lost, to ask the workhouse dole.
 Slow seems the gloomy Angel, slow, to bring
 His opiate cold to hopeless suffering;
 And when in death's long sleep their eyes shall close,
 Not with their fathers shall their dust repose,
 By hoary playmates of their boyhood laid
 Where never corpse-thief plied his horrid trade:
 Not in the village church-yard lone and green,
 Around their grave shall weeping friends be seen;
 But surly haste shall delve their shallow bed,
 And hireling hands shall lay them with the dead,
 Where chapmen bargain on the letter'd stone,
 Or stumble, careless, o'er the frequent bone.
 ' Oh, ill exchanged for every curse of wealth,
 Are rural manners, manliness, and health!
 How long, O Love! shall loveless Avarice sow
 Despair and sloth, and ask why curses grow?' pp. 20—22.

There is unquestionably considerable power in the Author's poetry: what it chiefly wants is, the softer graces. His strength is sometimes violence, and his pathos partakes too much of horror. The subjects of his Tales are all deeply tragic: they interest, like Crabbe's poetry, more than they please. The second tale is thus finely introduced.

' Scarce have I reach'd the midway of my song:
 My languid lines drag mournfully along
 Their gloomy length; and tears, in heavier flow,
 Stain the recording page of sin and woe.

Yet must I sing of one who, wise in vain,
 Sow'd hope and love, and reap'd despair and pain.
 No fancied Muse do I invoke, to aid
 The song that tells of trusting truth betrayed;
 Be thou, my Muse, thou darkest name of woe,
 Thou saddest of realities below,
 Love!—But I called not thee, thou Boy of guile,
 Cruel, though fair, that joy'st to sting and smile!
 Sly urchin, wing'd and arm'd, too, like the bee,
 And tress'd with living gold—I call'd not thee!
 But thee, sweet profligate, who gavest all,
 Peace, Earth, and Heav'n, for poison'd fire and gall!
 Thee, thee, thou weeping Magdalene, I call!
 Alas! o'er thee hath rush'd th' avenging blast;
 Through thee the arrows of the grave have pass'd!
 Avaunt! thou palest daughter of Despair!
 If thou art Love, what form doth Horror wear?
 Yet, stay! I know thee: in thy faded eye
 The light of beauty lingers—soon to die:
 Known by the worm that feedeth on the heart,
 Stay, guilty Magdalene! we must not part
 Till I have told this saddest tale of thine,
 And steep'd in tears each slow, complaining line.
 For what is sinful passion, but the lamp
 That gilds the vapours of a dungeon damp,
 And cheers the gloom awhile, with fatal light,
 Only to leave at last a deeper night,
 And make the darkness horror? Yet, for this,
 This shadowy glimmering of a troubled bliss,
 Inscrutable man, peace, joy, and hope foregoes;
 Reckless, he plunges into cureless woes,
 Buys fleeting pleasure with enduring pain,
 And, drunk with poison, weeps to drink again.'

pp. 55, 6.

We make room for one more extract, as a specimen of our Author's sprightlier strain, and with this we shall take our leave of him, simply recommending him, in the event of the volume's reaching a second edition, to suppress the *Giaour*, and to cancel some of his satirical notes.

' Sad Laura! dost thou mourn with me
 The year's autumnal spring?
 Sigh'st thou, this second wreath to see
 Of woodbines blossoming?
 So late, so pale, with scentless breath,—
 Like lingering Hope, that smiles in death,
 And, e'en when life is o'er,
 Leaves on Misfortune's ice-cold face,
 The sweetness of its last embrace,
 To fade, and be no more?

Lo, June's divested primrose sports
 A silken coil again ;
 And, like late-smiling sickness, courts
 The coy morn, but in vain !
 Lo, half the elm's rich robe is gone !
 The ash, a living skeleton,
 Deplores his yellow hair ;
 Yet, while the beech-leaf rustles red,
 And while the maple bows her head
 In mournful honours fair ;
 Methinks the armed gorse appears
 More golden, than when May
 Left April dying in her tears
 Beneath the plummy spray ;
 And, for her lover's triumph won,
 Danced with her bluebell anklets on.
 And bless'd his burning eye.
 Come, Laura, come ! and hear the thrush,
 O'er Autumn's gorse, from budding bush,
 Pour vernal melody !
 Come ! and beneath the fresh green leaf
 That mocks the aged year,
 Thy bard, who loves the joy of grief,
 Shall weave a chaplet here ;
 Not pluck'd from Summer's wither'd bowers,
 Not form'd of Autumn's hopeless flowers—
 Yet sad and wan as they :
 Here, still, some flowers of Eden blow ;
 But deadly pale and stain'd with woe,
 Like guilt, they shun the day.
 While Folly treads beneath his feet
 The daisy of the vale ;
 Love's rose, though sick at heart, is sweet,
 Joy's leaf is fair, though pale.
 And worth admires, resign'd and meek,
 The tear-drop on the violet's cheek,
 And Hope shall death survive ;
 But, like the gorse, all thorns and gold,
 Pride bids the sickening sun behold
 How blushing virtues thrive !

pp. 47—49.

Art. V. *The Scripture Character of God ; or Discourses on the Divine Attributes.* By Henry Foster Burder, M.A. 8vo. pp. 256. Price 7s. London. 1822.

WE are glad to be reminded, by the volume before us, of the good old times, when it was customary for our non-conforming ancestors and others, fully to instruct the people committed to their care, in that most essential branch of the-

ology which relates to the perfections and government of the Infinite Mind. Without going so far as to assert, that this momentous part of revealed religion is absolutely overlooked by the theologians of the day; we yet have our suspicions, that the topic is too slenderly dwelt upon, and that not a few of the crudities which are palmed on the public, in the shape of Christian instruction, are to be traced to the meagre extent of the student's research into this exhaustless mine of spiritual wisdom. It must be obvious to every one accustomed to reflect on the different branches of Christian theology, that the whole fabric of revealed truths rests on the revealed character of the Deity. Hence it were easy to shew, that the prevailing heresies, both of ancient and of modern times, have originated in a defective or distorted view of what God is, according to the discoveries which he has vouchsafed of himself in the inspired record. The creed of every man, and of every Church, must of necessity take its hue from what is believed and felt in relation to God. Even the *minutia* of our *credenda*, will greatly sympathise with what we most firmly hold, as essential to the character of Him whom we worship, and to whom we feel ourselves amenable. Of what immense importance is it, then, that the ministers of religion should enter deeply into the study of what God has said concerning himself! We must pronounce that Christian teacher to be "a novice" in his sacred profession, who has not laid the basis of his theological studies and successes, in a minute acquaintance with the unchangeable excellencies of that adorable Being, to whose honour he has professedly consecrated all his intellectual and moral powers. No wonder that a vapid and declamatory mode of instruction should obtain in the land, if the rising ministry will attempt to reach, *per saltum*, that distinction in their work, which a graver generation believed to be the legitimate result of patient and laborious investigation. The multiplication, in our day, of facilities for entering the sacred office, has no doubt contributed to swell the list of clerical triflers, and to render the study of theology less formidable than it would otherwise have appeared, to many a mind whose native flippancy stood in need of no additions. Now, although this is the almost unavoidable abuse of what is in itself good and desirable, yet, we cannot but retain a favourite conviction of our minds, that solid distinction can spring only from genuine acquirement.

We are disposed to congratulate the religious public on the appearance of the able discourses under consideration; not only because we decidedly like the subject, but also on account of the influential situation of the highly respected Author. If, with the correct and simple taste of the present age, we could

see revived, in some measure at least, the massive and fervid theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we should most heartily congratulate those who preside in the schools of the prophets. We are so much emancipated from system in the present day, that we are in great danger of discarding the love of order. It is, ther efore, most meritorious, on the part of those who have the superintendence of the rising ministry committed to their care, to endeavour, by all possible means, to form their minds to habits of close and connected thought; that when they take their place in the churches, they may relinquish the petty attempt at popularity, by means of a few common-place topics, for the more honourable and useful course of teaching their flocks the intimate dependence of one revealed truth upon another, and the necessary harmony of *all* revealed truths with the character of God. This, however, will not be realized unless the habit of preaching in a series can be revived. By preaching in a series, we do not mean preaching, like some of the old Anti-burghers of Scotland, for twelve months from one text, and thence attempting, in an awkward and disadvantageous manner, to drag in the whole system of revealed truth, "the solemn league and covenant" itself not excepted. This method has the semblance of order, with scarcely any of its advantages, and is, withal, most tedious and wearisome to those who are doomed to listen to it. Indeed, we have seen it diffuse a spirit of slumber over the face of a congregation, which all the charms of the *sneeshin-mill* could scarcely overcome.

We think it possible to preach in a series, without resorting to such an expedient, and without throwing an air of insupportable dulness over the performance. But, in this case, great wisdom must be exercised in the selection and arrangement of subjects; and every approach to the wintry region of metaphysics must be stercorally avoided. A variety of series might be found very useful in keeping up the attention of a people; and would, in most cases, be vastly preferable to a mere analysis, or even to a fully digested system, of divinity.

Mr. Burder's volume is a very good specimen of the kind of connected teaching we should like to see prevailing. If it does not aspire to the philosophic elevation of Howe, nor possess the quaint grandeur of Charnock, it is yet distinguished by the inestimable qualities of simplicity of style, precision of thought, and unexceptionable correctness of sentiment. The Author has, in a considerable measure, guarded against the *invidious* method of discussing the Divine Attributes; although perhaps, in this particular, he has not altogether avoided the defects of his predecessors in this department. There is a way

of handling this awful subject which is truly objectionable. We have sometimes heard an attribute of the Deity illustrated in that detached and abstract manner, that our minds have been ready, until they recovered from the illusion, to conceive of every other perfection of the Most High as absolutely suspended during the active display of the one which has been the object of special regard. In this way, frequently, every distinct attribute of the Divine nature has been examined in its turn; and when the laborious process has been gone through, the Eternal Majesty has been considered as possessing an essence distinct from all that has been represented as constituting his moral character. This unwieldy and unphilosophical mode of treating the character of God, has excited many prejudices against the truth; and is only surpassed, in want of discretion and good taste, by that still more preposterous method of instituting a sort of warfare amongst the Divine attributes, and then bringing in the scheme of mediation by Jesus Christ, as a sort of pacificator between justice and mercy. This may do as a hyperbolical figure of speech; but it is very mawkish divinity, and has often caused the enemy to blaspheme.

We are very far from thinking that Mr. Burder has given any countenance to these extravagancies. His volume is throughout judicious, and cannot fail to be read with interest and profit. It consists of twelve Discourses, arranged in the following order.—I. The Eternity of God.—II. The Omnipotence of God.—III. The Omniscience of God.—IV. The Wisdom of God.—V. The Holiness of God.—VI. The Justice of God.—VII. The Sovereignty of God.—VIII. The Goodness of God.—IX. The Patience of God.—X. The Mercy of God.—XI. The Love of God.—XII. The Faithfulness of God.

The texts are remarkably well selected, and a most commendable regard is, in general, paid to those features of a subject which distinguish it from every other one in the series. With all the Author's care, however, there is now and then a recurrence of the same train of thought, with little other variety than that which language has put upon it. We do not pronounce this to be a fault, for, indeed, it seems next to impossible to avoid it. We know of no book on the Divine Attributes at once so short and so well written.

We shall now at once proceed to furnish a few specimens of the manner in which the work is executed, as well as of the sentiments which every where pervade it. In discussing the Eternity of God, Mr. B. takes occasion to infer from it, the blissful prospects of the redeemed.

'Where,' says he, 'and in what circumstances, and in what so-

ciety, shall the Christian eternally be placed? He "shall be for ever with the Lord!" The dwelling-place of Him who is the Architect and the Proprietor of the universe, must doubtless be fixed in a region of surpassing glory. The place prepared to be the inheritance of the saints in light, will be worthy of the glorious riches of him by whom it is bestowed. In that world, what an assembly will there be of perfected spirits, in glorified bodies—in their number countless—in their character God-like—their intellect all light—their souls all love—their language all praise! Worthy will they be to find admission to the society of the angels of God. But this comprehends not all their bliss; no, nor even the ingredient of highest value in the cup of salvation. "Where I am," said Jesus, "there also shall my servant be." It is his presence which constitutes heaven. The best description of heaven is, *the place where Jesus reigns*. It is his own description. "Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me." The prayer was heard, and shall be answered to its full extent. Into his joy shall they be introduced, and his presence they shall never quit. He is the sun of the world which shall be their joyous abode, and amidst the irradiations of his favour they shall forever dwell. Who can tell what communications of blessedness he shall perpetually convey into their redeemed and purified spirits, or with what rich and boundless stores of knowledge, he shall fill their expanded and ever expanding capacities! pp. 18, 19:

The fearful prospect of the impenitent, as arising out of the eternity and immutability of God, is portrayed with equal interest and fidelity.

'Never let it be forgotten, that his purposes of judgement are as immutable as his purposes of mercy. "Hath he said, and shall he not do it? hath he spoken and shall he not bring it to pass? Has he not appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness? Are not the heavens and earth reserved unto fire, against the day of judgement, and perdition of ungodly men?" And will not they who are unprepared for the arrival of that day, with unutterable consternation and agony of despair, "say to the rocks and to the mountains, fall on us and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" Ah, with what upbraidings of awakened conscience, and with what gloomy and awful forebodings, will they then reflect on the eternity and immutability of God, when they receive that tremendous sentence:—"Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels!" Oh, is there at present a possibility of escaping the wrath to come? Will you not then flee from that wrath, with the utmost eagerness of anxiety? Will you not flee for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before you in the Gospel? Blessed be the God of love, that he "sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth in him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed

in the name of the only begotten Son of God. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life : but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life ; but the wrath of God abideth on him." pp. 20, 21.

The ninth Discourse, which treats of the Divine Patience, will be found eloquent and impressive ; it is, upon the whole, as fair a specimen of the Author's talents, as any one in the volume. We select the following paragraph, on the subject of Idolatry, as supplying an illustration of the guilt of man and the forbearance of God.

And has there been a less conspicuous exercise of Divine Patience to our world *since the period of the Deluge*? Amidst the multiplied and affecting indications of its awful depravity, apparent throughout the long succession of its ages, fix your thoughts on one characteristic feature—on one with which all the rest have been intimately associated—I mean *its abominable idolatry*. The author of our being—the former of our world—the God of our mercies—justly claims the love and the homage of every heart he has created, and views, with deepest indignation, the transference of that homage to any competitor for his throne. Yet, as early as the days of Job, who lived probably even before the time of Abraham, the worship of the East was transformed from the God of Heaven to the luminaries which his hands had formed. The very ancestors of Abraham were themselves the worshippers of idols. Take, then, a rapid glance of the vile idolatries of our world, from that period to our own. Associate together in your minds the Moloch, and the Baal, and the Dagon of Canaan—with the Mars, and the Venus, and the Bacchus of Greece—with the Vishnoo, and the Juggernaut, and the Kalee of India—with the horrid idols of the vast empire of China—and with the mis-shapen loaves of the islanders of the South. Associate these in your minds, with the thousands and the tens of thousands of imaginary deities, which have been, in other countries and in various ages, the objects of idolatrous adoration—think of their disgusting forms and odious characters ; of the abominable rites with which they have been worshipped ; and of the scenes of oppression and extortion, of impurity and of blood, which the precincts of their temples have presented to the eye of man, and which the interior of those polluted structures has presented to the eye of Him who seeth in secret. Think of the continuance of this awful and unhallowed system, with different degrees of turpitude and grossness, from the days of Job and Abraham to the present hour. And then form your conceptions of the Patience of that God who has exercised long-suffering and forbearance under such provocations as these.' pp. 180, 181.

Mr. B.'s views of the Sovereignty of God, as stated in the seventh Discourse, are very perspicuous, and, theologically considered, very correct and scriptural. Had he treated this awful feature of the Divine character as a modification of various perfections, rather than as in itself a separate one, we should have been somewhat better pleased. The subject, how-

ever, is handled in a manner so decidedly practical and spiritual, that we consider it as adapted, in no ordinary degree, to the great ends of pulpit instruction. Not having room for further extracts, we shall present to our readers the general outline of the Discourse. The text is taken from Luke x. 24; from which Mr. B. takes occasion, first, to consider the Nature of the Divine Sovereignty. 'By the Sovereignty of God,' he observes, 'I understand, not merely his Supremacy, but also his Prerogative to act according to his will and pleasure, without assigning to his creatures the reasons of his procedure.' Having given this definition, our Author makes two observations, in order to guard against any misconception of our Lord's meaning in the text.—1. That 'in the exercise of Sovereignty, the Ruler of the world is never arbitrary or capricious.'—2. 'That it would be unreasonable to expect or to desire that the principles which guide the Divine procedure should, in every instance, be made known to us.' Mr. B. then proceeds, secondly, 'to shew the necessity of referring to the Sovereignty of God many parts of the Divine procedure, of which no explanation can be given:' such as 1. 'The unequal distribution of the bounties of Providence.'—2. 'The great diversities of natural endowments.'—3. 'The disparities of early education.'—4. 'The differences undeniably existing among men in point of personal religion.' This doctrine thus stated, is employed—1. To inculcate gratitude for the gifts of God.—2. It is considered as a preservative against pride.—3. The Author guards his hearers against those unscriptural views of the Sovereignty of God, which would be derogatory to his honour and inimical to our peace.—4. He urges the exercise of the most obedient submission to the Divine will.

The volume bears, on every page, the marks of care in the composition, and of an intimate acquaintance with Divine truth. Novelty, considering how often the topic had been fully discussed, was not to be looked for; but we consider the Author as having performed a very acceptable service to the public.

Art. VI. *Relics of Literature*. By Stephen Collet, A. M. 8vo. pp. 400. Price 15s. London, 1823.

GEOFFREY CRAYON shrewdly remarks, in reference to literary antiquarianism, that 'the nonsense of one age becomes the wisdom of another.' Time is the veritable alchemist, who transmutes mould, and decay, and rust to gold.

Any tatter, chip, or fragment, of whatever material, rises into dignity and value, if it be only fortunate enough to be a relic. A file of old newspapers, if they be but old enough, or even a stack of old Reviews, if their dulness and petulance be a century old, and the criticisms tolerably obsolete, shall furnish a fund of amusement. What then will be the estimation in which lucubrations of a more enlightened and benignant character will be held, when pages such as ours shall be fondly dwelt upon by future antiquaries, as the concentrated wisdom of a distant age, and the merit of our anonymous labours shall be divided among the illustrious names which shall have reached the ear of posterity! There is comfort in the thought.

These 'relics of literature,' as they are termed for the sake of a good title, though many of them are relics which never belonged to literature,—they are, however, nothing the less curious or precious on that account; and it is quite usual to collect relics, and to fix upon a name for them afterwards—these scraps and fragments of other days form a very amusing portfolio. 'In making the selection,' the Editor tells us,

'he has been as anxious to avoid the dry and barren technicalities of bibliography on the one hand, as he has been not to make it a mere collection of "elegant extracts" on the other. He trusts, however, that there will be found some articles that are rare, others that are curious, and many that are interesting; and should there be a few that do not come under any of these classes, he trusts to the public indulgence for a lenient censure. The Editor has been careful, wherever it was in his power, to mention the source whence his information has been derived. The several articles to which the letter A is subscribed, were collected by him in the course of a visit which he paid to the United States of America; of these, a few were culled from the public journals of that interesting country, and others were kindly communicated to him by private friends.'

As a specimen of these Transatlantic relics, we give the following.

'TOLERATION.

'(From the "CHRISTIAN DISCIPLE," an American Publication.)

'In a conversation with a few friends on church government, a clergyman who was of the party said, "No one was entitled to administer the offices of the church, who had not received episcopal ordination; for wherever the episcopal succession is preserved, there only is a true church."—"Nulla ecclesia sine episcopo." Tertullian.

'The opinion of another gentleman being required, he replied, "There is in the history of one of the Indian tribes, in America, an anecdote somewhat analogous, which, with permission, I will read." Taking down a book, he apparently read from it; but, in truth, re-

peated from memory the following pleasing apologue of his own composition.

“As the sun was hastening to cool himself in the placid waters of Lake Erie, Commemoroonah, sachem of the Tuscaroras, sat at the door of his wigwam, scouring his red-rusted scalping-knife. Bambarrah, his faithful squaw, was preparing hominee for the supper of her lord; whilst their sons were striving, who, with truest aim, could direct the tomahawk.

“At this interesting moment, three envoys approached, bearing a talk from Alpequot, the renowned sachem of the Chippewas, which they thus delivered:

““Brother, when the great Spirit created tobacco for the solace of red men, he delivered to Animboonah, father of the Chippewas, a torch, which he had lighted at the great day-star. The Chippewas have not suffered this celestial spark to be extinguished; but from it have all our pipes been ignited for ninety-nine thousand five hundred and fifty moons. This therefore, and *this only*, is the true canonical fire; all other is unholy and damnable. (A belt of wampum.)

““Brother, I send you a portion of this sacred fire, preserved by *uninterrupted succession*, that with it you may light your pipe, and diffuse the blessing through your nation. (A belt of wampum.)

““Accept this, and the Chippewas and Tuscaroras will smoke together the calumet of peace, as long as the Wabash shall pour its silver waters into the dark torrent of the Ohio. Reject it, and instantly shall the red war-hatchet be dug from its repose; and the warriors of Tuscarora shall be given as a feast to the sons of Animboonah. (A belt of wampum.)

““Decide! for Alpequot will suffer no pipe to be smoked that is not lighted from the fire *uninterruptedly derived from the great day-star*.” (Three belts of wampum.)

“To this courtly message, Commemoroonah returned this talk:

““Brothers! Chinquolinga, my grandfather, whose girdle was always hung with the scalps of Chippewas, received from William Penn, the white sachem, an amulet, which enables us to draw fire *immediately* from the great day-star. With this the Tuscaroras are accustomed to light their pipes. (A belt of wampum.)

““Our young men are expert at the tomahawk; our squaws are ingenious at roasting prisoners; and the arm of Commemoroonah has not lost its vigour.” (Three belts of wampum.)

“In the succeeding moon, the scouts of Tuscarora gave notice of the approach of Alpequot; Commemoroonah prepared an ambuscade; a battle was fought; and the bones of the Chippewas now lie bleaching on the plains of Muskingum.” pp. 71, 2.

An original letter of Washington's to the Marquis de Chastellux, on his marriage; a humorous paper entitled ‘The Scots-man in America;’ and some very tolerable poetry, will be found in this class of papers. The following spirited little poem is stated to have been written in Bermuda.

‘ THE SNOW-SPIRIT.

‘ No! ne’er did the wave in its element steep
 An island of lovelier charms;
 It blooms in the giant embrace of the deep,
 Like Hebe in Hercules’ arms.

‘ The tint of your bowers is balm to the eye,
 Their melody balm to the ear;
 But the fiery planet of day is too nigh,
 And the snow-spirit never comes here.

‘ The down from his wings is as white, as the pearl
 Thy lips for their cabinet stole,
 And it falls on the green earth, as melting, my girl,
 As a murmur of thine on the soul.

‘ Then fly to the clime where he pillows the death,
 As he cradles the birth, of the year;
 Bright are your bowers and balmy your breath,
 But the snow-spirit never comes here.

‘ How sweet to behold him, when, borne on the gale,
 And brightening the bosom of morn,
 He flings, like the priest of Diana, a veil
 O’er the brow of each virgin thorn.

‘ But think not the veil he so chillingly casts,
 Is the veil of a vestal severe:
 No, no! you will see what a moment it lasts,
 Should the snow-spirit ever come here.

‘ Then fly to his region, lay open his zone,
 And he’ll weep all his brilliancy dim,
 To think that a bosom as white as his own,
 Should not melt in the day-beam like him.

‘ Oh! lovely the print of those delicate feet,
 On his luminous path will appear:
 Fly! fly! my beloved, this island is sweet,
 But the snow-spirit cannot come here.’

p. 75.

Some letters of the Earl of Rochester are given, transcribed from the originals in the British Museum, ‘to shew the many amiable features which distinguished the domestic character’ of that great wit and great libertine. They do not shew this quite so clearly as they do, that he had an affectionate and devoted wife, whom he seems to have loved after a fashion, though he neglected her. But he writes to her to shew, he says, that ‘I myself have a sense of what the method of my life seems so utterly to contradict.’ And again, ‘It were very unreasonable should I not love you, while I believe you a deserving good creature.’ To some persons, such ‘con-

'fessions and apologies,' which almost every libertine is ready to make between the fits, may seem to aggravate, rather than to extenuate his polite ill-usage. The strongest palliation, perhaps, is supplied by the political motives which seem to have blended with his love of pleasure, in attaching him to a profligate court, where wit and debauchery were indispensable qualifications of a favourite. One of his notes is couched in these singular terms.

' Dear Wife.

' I have no news for you, but that London grows very tiresome, and I long to see you; but things are now reduced to that extremity on all sides, that a man dares not turn his back for fear of being hanged: an ill accident, to be avoided by all prudent persons, and therefore by

' Your humble Servant,

' Rochester.'

In another, he uses these expressions:

' So greate a disproportion betwixt our desires, and what is ordained to content them! But you will say this is pride and madness; for there are those so intirely satisfied with their shares in this worlde, that their wishes and their thoughts have not a farther prospect of felicity and glory. I'll tell you, were that man's soule tack't in a body fitt for it, hee were a dogg that could count any thing a benefitt obtain'd with flattery, fear, and service.

Is there a man, ye gods, whom I doe hate,
Dependance and attendance bee his fate;
Let him be busy still, and in a crowde,
And very much a slave, and very proude.'

The following 'curious letter,' is of a rather different kind: it is stated to have been found among the papers of Mr. Goldwyr, a surgeon of Salisbury.

' To Mr. Edward Goldwyr, at his House in the Close of Salisbury.

' Sir,

' Being informed that you are the only surgeon in this city (or county) that anatomises men, and I being under the unhappy circumstance, and in a very mean condition, would gladly live as long as I can; but, by all appearance, I am to be executed next March; having no friends on earth that will speak a word to save my life, nor send me a morsel of bread to keep life and soul together until that fatal day: so, if you will vouchsafe to come hither, I will gladly sell you my body, (being whole and sound,) to be ordered at your discretion, knowing that it will rise again at the general resurrection, as well from your house as from the grave. Your answer, Sir, will highly oblige.

Yours, &c.

James Brooke.

' Fisherton-Anger Gaele,

' Oct. 9, 1736.'

Talking of prisons, the following lines are some of the best which were ever cut upon glass: they are said to have been left as a memorial on the window of his cell, by a gentleman who, in 1715, passed some time in prison.

‘ That which the world miscals a gaol,
A private closet is to me,
Whilst a good conscience is my bail,
And innocence my liberty.’

Some entertaining specimens are given of a manuscript diary which the Editor rescued from the trunk-makers. We make room for an article or two.

‘ July 27.—Sir John Murray, late secretary to the Pretender, was, on Thursday night, carried off by a party of strange men, from a house in Denmark-street, near St. Giles’s Church, where he has lived some time.

‘ The following explanation of this curious affair appears in a paper of this morning :

Sir,

Friday, 4 o’clock.

“ As your profession renders you the innocent instrument of imposing upon the world the guilty falsehoods of anonymous writers, it will do you credit and me justice, to open the eyes of your readers, whose judgments are misled by a malicious representation of the supposed *enlèvement* of *sir John Murray*. The tender bonds of filial affection, joined to a friendly sympathy, are coercive motives to induce me to take every step that might prevent an insane parent from exposing himself to the people, in a state which renders him as ridiculous and contemptible, as his former conduct has made him criminal before them. To this effect, every delicate and legal step was taken; nor would the most distant knowledge of his unhappy situation have transpired, but from the malevolence of your anonymous authors, who are influenced to propagate their infamous falsehoods, from being withheld in the execution of their several projects, of imposing upon his weakness, and preying upon his substance, of which they and their coadjutors have already experienced the *douceurs*.

“ Let your readers therefore know, that a peace-officer, his two sons, and two servants, (neither ruffians nor braves) unarmed, and without violence, attended him, and prevailed upon him to leave a house, where the meanest mechanics of different denominations gratified their curiosity, and boasted of interviews with *mad secretary Murray*: the neighbourhood of which house, the very day he removed, were spectators of his insanity in the streets; that they neither rushed into, but were peaceably admitted into his apartment, nor bound, nor put a straight waistcoat upon, nor extorted a cry from him; that the neighbourhood were neither alarmed nor apprised of the affair, ’till some time after the coach left it; nor would have been so, but through the means of his late landlady: that he was, with every

mark of tenderness and respect, conveyed to, and placed under the care of Dr. Battie; and give them, if you please, for authority, the name of

“Your humble servant,

“ROBERT MURRAY.”

‘January 8.—The great bell at St. Paul’s tolled this morning, for the death of the princess dowager of Wales. In her last interview with the king, she wrung his hand very hard, and in words to this effect took her leave of him. “My dear son, you are the king of a great people; be, if possible, the king of a happy one; study the real welfare of your subjects, not the wishes of the factious; and may you gain a brighter crown in heaven, than that which I leave you on earth!”

‘January 22.—Died in Emanuel hospital, Mrs. Wyndimore, cousin of Mary, queen of William III. as well as of queen Anne. Strange revolution of fortune! that the cousin of two queens should, for fifty years, be supported by charity!

‘January 31.—Died, Henry Cromwell, Esq. great grandson of Oliver Cromwell, of illustrious memory.

‘May 19.—Dreadful fire at Amsterdam. The great theatre of this city has been burnt to the ground, and thirty-one persons have perished in the conflagration. The fate of Mr. Jacob de Neufville Van Lennep and his lady is particularly deplored. In the rush which every one made to escape from the flames, Mr. Lennep lost hold of his wife, and was carried forward in spite of himself, out of the reach of danger. So great, however, was his affection for his wife, that he was heard to declare, that unless she too were rescued, he must perish with her. Accordingly, he forced his way back into the house, offering, aloud, fifty thousand crowns to any one who would assist in saving her; but vain were all his efforts. Next morning, the wife and husband were dug from the ruins, locked in each other’s arms!

‘1774, April 4.—Died, Dr. Oliver Goldsmith. *Deserted is the Village*; the *Traveller* hath laid him down to rest; the *Good Natured Man* is no more; he *Stoops* but to *Conquer*; the *Vicar* hath performed his sad office; it is a mournful lesson, from which the *Hermit* may essay to meet the dread tyrant with more than *Roman* fortitude.

‘May.—Died, at Hagley, in Worcestershire, my old acquaintance John Tice. He had reached the extraordinary age of one hundred and twenty-five. His life was one of ease and comfort. The greatest misfortune (as he lately declared) which had ever befallen him, was the death of his *only friend* lord Lyttleton. He took that loss so much to heart, that he never left his room after until his death.’ pp. 306-12.

But there is no end to giving extracts from such a multifarious medley as the present. These may suffice as a sample. We will own that we have found the volume highly amusing after dinner, and have been pleased with the perfect unaffectedness of the Compiler. There are no antiquarian airs about him, no pretence to extensive reading, no oracular *dicta* respecting men and things; and if the volume displays no great research,—scarcely enough, we fear, to entitle Mr. Collet to add F.A.S. to his A.M.—it contains, upon the whole, much that is in-

teresting, with less refuse than usually goes to make up similar compilations.—We thought we had dismissed the volume; but the following paper has caught our eye, and as it seems quite as good as a great deal that is found in the Scotch novels, we shall make room for it.

‘ “WE HAVE A DOUGLAS YET.”

A Dialogue.

‘ The following lively effusion on the result of the famous Douglas cause, appeared immediately after that event in several of the Scottish newspapers. It has strong claims to preservation, not only for its natural simplicity and humour, but as a picture of the general exaltation with which the success of “The Douglas” was hailed by the Scottish nation at large. The Author is unknown. It was introduced by the following extract from a letter dated, Lochwinnoch, April 17, 1769.

‘ ———“ And we too, the inhabitants of this village, rejoiced exceedingly to hear that Mr. Douglas was——his mother's son! Our sayings and doings upon this occasion, were many, great, and various. A modern quarto could not contain the half of them. I send you only one scene betwixt two of our old women. It was taken down with care by an able hand who was ear witness of the confabulation.——“ I am, &c.”

‘ DIALOGUE.

‘ (*Elspeth sola, looking through a broken pane of her window.*)

‘ “What can a' this mean? The bells fa'n a ringen! the drums fa'n a beatten! the pipes fa'n a playen! the colours flyen! and a' the folk young and auld, rinne wi' their guns! What can it be? I hae seen nae sic sight, nae sic hurly-burly, sin Marr's year! It canna be the king o' France and the Pretender landed again, for the folks are a' in a joyfu' mood. It maun be some rejoicing about the King of Prussia. It canna be that neither, for its lang sin we heard aught about him. Pauli may hae beat the French, or eablens Wilks, that sinfu' fallow, hang'd himsel. It maun surely be some kind o' news frae our haired parliament. Wives, weans, lads, lasses, auld and young, a' o' fit!

‘ *Enter Janet.*

‘ *Jan. (To herself as she enters.)* That was ane and a half wi' a witness! Awa' wi' my whiskey! Awa' wi' the tow frae my very rock! The very carded tow frae my rock! But heal be his heart, he is ay for his kintry. (*To Elspeth.*) I'm e'en, Elspeth, comen herplen ben wi' my cards to clawt the naps out o' a pickle mair o't. What a souple trick, throw ye, has that loon, Rab-my-oye, played me? Is he nae aff wi' my tow for colfin, and to the cross wi' my graybeard o' whiskey?

‘ *Elk.* Wi' your graybeard o' whiskey, say ye?

‘ *Jan.* Ay, wi' my three-pint graybeard o' whiskey, and in a

guid hour to drink the parliament and Douglas, who has win his plea.

'*Els.* Say ye me sae? Say ye me sae, woman? Has Douglas win his plea? Has the parliament at London gi'en Douglas his plea? Fair fa' them! Fair fa' them, Janet! Oh, Janet, Janet, fair fa' them! (*Weeps.*) Oh Janet, Janet, Janet!

'*Jan.* O Elspeth, yes! O dear ay, yes! Douglas has e'en at last got the better o' them! Ah Elspeth! Poor man! Ay, aye! (*both weep.*)

'*Els.* O Janet!

'*Jan.* O Elspeth!

'*Els.* Janet, Janet, ay, ay!

'*Jan.* Yes, Elspeth! O ay woman! ay ay! you and I ha'e seen auld times! Monny monny changes! monny changes!

'*Els.* Ay, changes, woman! But O ye ha'e gi'en me a glad heart! Is it true? Can it be true? I fear it meikle!

'*Jan.* True! As true's the ain's in the lift. It's in black and white frae Edinburgh.

'*Els.* Black and white frae Edinburgh! frae Edinburgh, say ye? We manna think a's gospel that comes now frae Edinburgh. Baith his faither and mither war ta'en fra him, woman, at Edinburgh!

'*Jan.* That's o'er true, Elspeth; but there's guid and ill in Edinburgh, as well's in ither spats. I hae some liking yet for Edinburgh, for a' that's happened, tho' I ne'er saw it. Our kings lived there, woman; and our John's plea about the mailen is there, ye ken. He has win it woman, nae fewer than nine times! But was na't droll, that ere it had been there twa months, his ain man o' law threeped his name was Andrew! Andrew was Arthur's second son. The land, ye ken, was neither conquest nor purchase, but heritage; for it came by Arthur's step father's brither Thomas, and sae fa's to the auld son, and had our John been Andrew, he would ne'er ha'e seen a hair o't.

'*Els.* Gin ye lose as aft's ye ha'e win, ye'll rue that e'er ye tried it. But O, Janet, are ye sure Douglas has win?

'*Jan.* Scripture, Elspeth! downright Scripture! (*a volley at the cross.*) Do ye hear that? Do ye hear them now?

'*Els.* The guns! huzza! huzza! huzza! The drums! Thank heaven there's still a Douglas in our land. O how I like the king, the parliament, and the gallant name of Douglas! But was na't a fleshy trick to take awa' the eleven days? That was a wicked thing, Janet; that was a wicked thing, to change our terms, our fairs, our markets; to change the very Sunday to anither day! I wish the land may be forgi'en. I now heartily forgi'e them. Douglas, Douglas, makes up for a'!

'*Jan.* But, Elspeth, what shall I tell ye? Was nae Piercie his steeve friend?

'*Els.* Piercie, quothye? Piercie his friend? Eh! woman, was na that brave, gallant, o' noble Piercie? Let it ne'er be heard that

* Alluding to the alteration from the old to the new style.

Piercie proved his friend, when Scotland proved his foe! But come, cast awa' your cards, and lets ha'e a pint to the king, parliament, and noble name o' Douglas: nor shall we forget Piercie his gallant friend. (*A cheer at the cross.*) Huzza! huzza! huzza! (*Elspeth repeats after them.*) Three huzzas, Janet. Bless their honest souls! A's right now: this kintry will yet stand! I now forgie the very Union itself! But Janet, let's first birple out and see the fun, then we shall ha'e a warm bicker o' the best o't. (*In going out, both sing in turn.*)

' "Lord Douglas on a milk-white steed,
Most like a baron bold,
Rode foremost of the company,
Whose armour shone like gold, &c." '

There are some typographical errors which ought to have been noticed. A very gross one occurs at page 261: 'Quanto minus est cum reliquis' &c. for *reliquis*. Prefixed to the volume is a large folding plate containing forty-six autographs of royal, noble, and otherwise illustrious personages.

Art. VII. *Confessions of an English Opium Eater.* fcap 8vo. pp. 206. Price 5s. London. 1822.

WE have for some time hesitated whether or not to notice this strange production. As a biographical romance, in which light we were at first led to consider it, the volume contains so much that is objectionable and positively disgusting, that we should have not thought it advisable to give it a place in our pages. But as it aspires to the character of a medical document, we cannot altogether pass it over. An unauthenticated statement like the present, could not, indeed, be safely assumed as *data* for any conclusion of a scientific kind. The veracity and the competency of the witness, would require to be first ascertained; and in the present case, superadded to the usual fallaciousness of the accounts furnished by patients of themselves, we have the uncertainty arising from the patient's being an opium drunkard, and his discovering, notwithstanding his experience in the use of the article, great ignorance of his subject.

It is somewhat strange that he should have chosen to designate himself as an *Opium-eater*. From all that appears in the narrative, we have not been able to discover that he ever ate a grain of opium in his life. Had he called himself an English laudanum-drinker, the title of the volume might have been less attractive, but it would have corresponded to the fact. All his debauches appear to have been committed with the *tincture* of opium, never with the solid substance. In only one place, so far as we recollect, is there any reference to his having at any time made use of the crude opium. It occurs

at p. 132, where he states that he presented a quantity large enough to kill three dragoons and their horses, to a Malay, who bolted the whole at a mouthful. If this anecdote be fact, the Writer is, after all, by his own shewing, quite a moderate performer, in comparison. Garcias, in his history of Drugs and Spices, informs us, however, of a person who took ten drams of opium every day without experiencing any inconvenience. Zeviani mentions another individual who ate half a pound of opium daily with equal impunity, which is nearly as much of the solid substance as our Author ever consumed of the tincture. His utmost excess was 8000 drops a day, making, according to the calculation of his oracle, Dr. Buchan, 320 grains of opium; but, calculated according to the London College of Physicians, they would amount only to 210½ grains, which is nothing to boast of. Mustapha, the Smyrna Opium-eater, in swallowing three drams of it daily, had quite as much of the pernicious drug in his stomach at one time as our English laudanum-drinker.

From the Preliminary Confessions, we learn, that the Author had the misfortune to lose his parents early in life, and was left to the care of four guardians. He appears to have been at first spoiled, and afterwards neglected. He begins his career as a run-a-way school boy, and we find him a premature dotard at the age of thirty-six. One cloudless morning in July, he eloped from school, with twelve guineas in his purse, an English poet in one pocket, nine plays of Euripides in the other, a bundle under his arm, and his trunk carried by a groom. He directed his course to North Wales, where he wandered about for some time in Denbighshire, Merionethshire, and Caernarvonshire. Having at length spent his all money, he lived on charity and blackberries, till, weary of this meagre diet, he at length, 'by means which,' he says, 'I must omit *for want of room*,' contrived to transfer himself to London. We pass over the disgusting detail of his unfortunate life in the metropolis, which, with an excursion to Eton and Bristol, and the account of his fruitless attempts to borrow money of Jews, occupy full forty pages of these Confessions. Had the Author possessed any regard for the decencies of society, these pages would never have seen the light.

'Suddenly,' an opening is made for reconciliation with his friends. Our hero quits London for a remote part of England, and after some time, proceeds to 'the University.' Whether Oxford or Cambridge, the reader is left to guess. In the autumn of 1804, being in London, he commences the use of the baneful drug. His introduction to it, we shall give in his own words.

• From an early age I had been accustomed to wash my head in cold water at least once a day: being suddenly seized with tooth-ache, I attributed it to some relaxation caused by an accidental intermission of that practice; jumped out of bed; plunged my head into a basin of cold water; and with hair thus wetted went to sleep. The next morning, as I need hardly say, I awoke with excruciating rheumatic pains of the head and face, from which I had hardly any respite for about twenty days. On the twenty-first day, I think it was, and on a Sunday, that I went out into the streets, rather to run away, if possible, from my torments, than with any distinct purpose. By accident I met a college acquaintance who recommended opium.

Induced by this recommendation, he purchased some ladanum in a druggist's shop in Oxford street, and, on arriving at his lodgings, 'lost not a moment in taking the quantity 'prescribed.' How much, he does not think it worth while to inform us; but goes off into a sort of rhapsody, in exceeding bad taste, for a couple of pages, talking of 'an upheaving 'of the inner spirit' and 'an apocalypse of the world within, in language which seems itself run mad. He then proceeds, in a dogmatizing strain, to affirm, that 'all that has hitherto 'been written on the subject of opium, whether by travellers in 'Turkey, or by professors of medicine *ex cathedra*, is lies! lies! 'lies!' 'Worthy doctors, stand aside, and allow me to lecture 'on this matter.' *Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.* We are all attention. *Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hinc?*—First of all, 'reader, assure yourself, *meo periculo*, 'that no quantity of opium ever did, or can produce intoxication.' Ecco! there he is—Jove! Such, he informs us, 'is the doctrine of the true church on the subject of opium; 'of which church,' he adds, 'I acknowledge myself to be the 'only member—the alpha and the omega.' This idle misapplication of Scripture language is as unmeaning as it is profane. At least, if it means any thing, it can imply nothing less than that the Writer, as he was the first to broach, so, will be the last to maintain the doctrine in question; that, from its very absurdity, it will die with its originator. But if, when tired of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, our Author will turn to Brucker's "*Historia Critica Philosophiæ*," he will find that it is almost as difficult to invent a new absurdity, as to discover an important truth: his statement has neither novelty nor accuracy to recommend it. Orfila, in his *Treatise on Poisons*, says: * 'Nous n'admettons pas qu'il y ait identité d'action

entre l'opium et les liqueurs spiritueuses employées à forte dose.' 'Quelquefois,' he says, in another place, 'il produit une excitation très-intense.' That this excitement amounts to intoxication in the ordinary acceptation of the word, we can vouch most unequivocally, from instances which have come under our personal observation. We have seen a man reeling, staggering, and talking nonsense from the effects of opium, which we think quite enough to warrant any man's calling another drunk. But what says this Lecturer of the Faculty as to intoxication? It is, he says, and ought to be restricted as 'the expression for a specific sort of excitement connected with certain diagnostics.' *Aut insanit homo aut versus facit.* We smell the opium here. With such a definition, a man might truly be said to be drunk with green tea, or a beef-steak, or even cold mutton; for each of these produces a specific sort of excitement connected with certain diagnostics. But let us see how his assertion tallies with facts. At page 99, he acknowledges having met with one person, and he was a surgeon, who drank laudanum as well as himself, and 'who bore evidence to its intoxicating power,' such as staggered even our Author's incredulity. The Surgeon's enemies charged him with talking nonsense: the Surgeon's friends admitted the fact, and assigned as the reason, that he was constantly in a state of intoxication from opium. The honest Surgeon is thus made to speak for himself:

"I will maintain," said he, "that I *do* talk nonsense; and secondly, I will maintain that I do not talk nonsense upon principle, or with any view to profit, but solely and simply," said he, "solely and simply,—solely and simply, (repeating it three times over,) because I am drunk with opium; and *that* daily."

This we should have thought a clincher sufficient to convince or silence the most pertinacious sceptic. But our Writer is not in the least shaken by it. He contends, that his experience was greater than the Surgeon's by 7000 drops a day. Had it been greater by seventy thousand drops, his experience would avail as little in the argument as his definition; for every day's experience shews, that the quantity which is amply sufficient to intoxicate one man, will produce little or no effect upon another. We have seen a sexagenarian who, for twenty years of her life, had drunk a bottle of whiskey every day. We have seen her uncork the bottle, and drink out its contents, *partibus vicibus*, in eight hours, without evincing any symptom whatever of intoxication. As well might this aged toper maintain; that whiskey never does, and never can, produce intoxication; although we are not ashamed to confess, that we

should have little command over either our head or our feet, were we to entrust our stomach with a fourth of the dose. We are disposed to believe, however, that laudanum produced something very near intoxication in our Author himself; for he confesses (p. 109), that it sent him wandering forth, on Saturday nights, to all the markets among the poor, and to the Opera-house among the Italian girls. What else would have been the conduct of a Jack Tar half seas over?

Our Opium-eater next denies that the excitement occasioned by the use of this drug, is followed by torpor or a corresponding depression. Such an assertion is in direct contradiction to experience, as well as to an established law of the animal economy. The torpor may supervene at a longer or a shorter period after the exhibition of the preternatural stimulus, according to the nature of the existing cause, or the idiosyncrasy of the individual. But that period will inevitably arrive; and the efforts to keep it off by fresh supplies, will ultimately destroy the constitution. Of the truth of this remark, no stronger proof needs be given than the case of the unfortunate individual before us, as stated by himself. He confesses that he was in danger of becoming hypochondriacally melancholy.

‘And, at that time, I often fell into these reveries upon taking opium; and more than once it has happened to me, on a summer night, when I have been at an open window, in a room from which I could overlook the sea at a mile below me, and could command a view of the great town of L—, at about the same distance, that I have sat, from sun-set to sun-rise, motionless, and without wishing to move.’ p. 113.

If this be not torpor and depression, let the Author define what meaning he attaches to the terms.

We deem it unnecessary to follow the Author through all his common-place remarks, his night-mare dreams, and delirious visions. They are the usual concomitants of a premature old age and a battered constitution; and being also the common effects of opium, are classed by Linnæus, in his *Materia Medica*, under the head of *Phantastica*.

In the Appendix, the Author describes himself as having his mouth ulcerated, lower jaw constantly swelling, and many other distressing symptoms. It is recorded of Mustapha Shaton, the Opium-eater of Smyrna, that he seemed twenty years older than he really was; his complexion was very sallow, his legs small, his gums eaten away, and the teeth laid bare to the sockets. If the votary of dissipation can be taught by example, let him contemplate these affecting pictures, and learn timely wisdom. ‘The Opium-eater,’ remarks Dr. Russell, ‘is

'an object of pity and scorn.' We have known the baneful practice commenced early in life by young men at College, who have taken at first twenty or thirty drops of laudanum in their last cup of tea, morning and evening. When the physician prescribes for himself, he has a fool for his patient. The dose has soon been increased, and—they are all long since under the turf, having fallen, in the prime of life, the miserable victims of their folly.

As to the unhappy Author of this production, although his flippancy and dogmatism might justify severity, his situation disarms us. Had he not painted the pleasures of opium in such glowing colours, we should have been disposed to give him credit for intending, by this volume, to make some atonement for the misspent and irrevocable past. But the seductive picture he presents, is but too likely to tempt some of his readers to begin a practice, in favour of which he cites so many illustrious and noble precedents, and to outweigh the remote evils of what he represents as but an abuse of the habit. The work is written throughout in the tone of apology for a secret, selfish, suicidal debauchery: it is the physical suffering consequent upon it, that alone excites in the Writer a moment's regret. In a medical point of view, the work is quite worthless: in a moral point of view, it is truly affecting. Its literary merits we leave others to canvass.

Art. VIII. *Elements of Self-improvement*, comprising a familiar View of the Intellectual Powers and Moral Characteristics of Human Nature: principally adapted for young Persons entering into active Life. By Thomas Finch. 12mo. pp. 254. Price. 5s. London, 1822.

THE design of this neat volume is, to introduce the youthful reader to those inquiries which are connected with self-knowledge and the philosophy of the human character. 'Though a taste for reading,' remarks Mr. Finch,

'is now more generally diffused than at former periods, there is obviously in the public mind a growing disrelish, if not antipathy, for metaphysical analysis and elaborate disquisition. The prevailing thirst for biography and narrative, beyond comparison the most fascinating, if not the most instructive species of composition, is in danger of creating a superficial standard of self-improvement, equally unfavourable to erudition, originality, and sound judgement.'

• There is at least some foundation for these remarks. Such works as Watts on the Improvement of the Mind, Mason on Self-knowledge, or Locke's Conduct of the Understanding,

which have for their object less to impart information than to train the mind to habits of self-reflection, are, we apprehend, by no means so much in request as they once were, as instruments of education. Attempts have even been made to bring them into contempt. It is possible indeed, that some of the works alluded to, may have been better suited to the times in which they first appeared, than to the taste and attainments of the present age. But their real value consists in their teaching young persons to reflect, and, amid the multiplicity of objects of knowledge presented to their attention, not to overlook themselves. This part of education seems to us in the present day not much attended to. We have encouragement enough given to speculation; but speculation differs from reflexion, as widely as reverie differs from study. The consequence is, that too many young persons grow up very knowing, but very superficial.

The nature of Mr. Finch's attempt will be seen from the contents of the volume. They are as follow.—Chap. I. On the Importance of Self-knowledge.—II. On the Use of History, Observation, and Experience.—III. On the Self-knowledge derived from the Scriptures.—IV. On Impediments and Motives to Self-knowledge.—V. On the Natural Superiority of Man.—VI. On the Human Countenance.—VII. On the Organs of Sensation.—VIII. On the Influence of the Passions.—IX. On the Importance of the Memory.—X. On the Force of Imagination.—XI. On the Province of the Judgement.—XII. On the Resolutions of the Will.—XIII. On the Dictates of Conscience.—XIV. On Theological Scepticism.—XV. On the Superficial and Unthinking.—XVI. On Superstition and Illiberality.—XVII. On the Influence of Selfishness.—XVIII. On false Notions of Honour.—XIX. On Intellectual and Secular Superiority.—XX. On Excellence of Character.

We have been on the whole much pleased with the volume, and can safely recommend it as a very fit and useful book to be put into the hands of young persons. The Author's views, if not profound, are correct; the style, if not particularly nervous, is neat and even elegant; and the absence of any striking novelty, which, in a work for the young, is by no means a requisite, is amply compensated by the sound and judicious character of the instruction. We cannot take a better specimen of the execution, than the remarks which occur in the chapter on Scepticism, on the importance of the right use of the reasoning faculty.

When God endowed man with reason, it was designed that he should judge for himself what is right, and be guided by the dictates of his own judgement. To live without thought, is to sacrifice the

ruined on the altar of sensuality, and to degrade ourselves from the rank assigned us in the creation. But by attempting to think; we assume the faculty of reason; and by the perception of truth, and the adoption of sound principles, we think to a good purpose, and obtain the power of thinking with more comprehension, ease, and efficiency.

• It has, however, been commonly assumed by sceptics, and tacitly conceded by their opponents, that scepticism on theological subjects, whatever may be thought of its moral quality, is at least the indication of a superior mind. When a person, awaking from the slumbers of a blind belief, suspects the truth of his early prejudices, and by a rash and precipitate course of thinking, begins to doubt every thing which common people deem sacred; his friendship is hailed, and his name applauded by the sceptical fraternity, as a man whose mental powers scorn the trammels of popular opinion, and evince superior comprehension, clearness, and independence of thought. If the generality of christians are allowed to be sincere in their attachment to orthodox principles, their integrity is admitted at the expense of their understanding and discernment. Even the advocates of christianity in general, think it necessary to repel the charge of *deceit* and *imbecility*, so often assumed or insinuated in the writings of modern sceptics, by adducing the example of Milton, Locke, Newton, and a few other illustrious characters, whose mental superiority and disinterested concern for truth are proverbial. But in admitting the faith of such men, sceptics generally take care to insinuate, that they either embraced some modified form of christianity more congenial to reason than the common belief, or else had lost in some measure the vigour of their understanding, before their attachment to orthodoxy was avowed. So that, notwithstanding the respect due to their integrity and discernment, it seems to be concluded, that a steady faith discovers imbecility or prostration of intellect, while scepticism evinces perspicacity and strength.

• But no assumption can be more unauthorised, nor any delusion more remote from the truth. It must indeed with proper limitation be conceded, that he who never doubted a sentiment, never understood or properly believed it. Freedom of enquiry and the necessity of examination, presuppose the existence of doubt, and the want of positive demonstration. Without previous doubt, it is impossible to obtain the faith which results from evidence, or the knowledge which is gained by close application and sober reasoning. If, indeed, with the dawn of intellect, we possessed an intuitive perception, we might receive sacred knowledge without enquiry, and imbibe with the tales of infancy and the lessons of youth, some infallible system of moral and religious principles. But the rational belief of any doctrine presented to our attention, can proceed only from a conviction of its truth, produced by a discovery or perception of its evidence. Before any subjects can be rightly regarded as articles of faith or rules of conduct, we should therefore investigate their propriety, examine their importance, and be convinced of their agreement with the allowed standard of truth.

‘ But if the present state of human information, and the gradual way in which the mind usually obtains knowledge, render doubt in some degree necessary to the discernment of truth, it would be absurd to infer that scepticism is an evidence or effect of intellectual energy. On the contrary, its necessity argues a beclouded mind, and proves the absence of that superior comprehension of thought, which, like views taken from a panorama, would at once discern the whole landscape of truth. It argues the want of that perfection in the mental system, which would render laborious thought unnecessary, and perceive by intuition the whole bearing of a subject, the harmony of its different principles, and the weight of evidence adducible in refutation or support of a disputed doctrine.

‘ The sceptic doubtless thinks sufficiently to perceive the difficulties of a subject, or the objections which may be made to established and commonly received principles. But he has neither penetration nor capacity sufficient to discern the reasons which obviate those difficulties, or the weight of argument by which his objections may be overruled. He discovers a thinking mind, to be sure; but then he thinks in a partial manner, and having considered one side of a question, he comes at once to his conclusion, without taking comprehensive views of things, or using the means of an impartial and deliberate scrutiny. Not having the capacity to understand all mysteries and all knowledge, nor the modesty to perceive and acknowledge the limits of his understanding, he confounds the obscurity of truth with its non-existence, and mistakes the plausibilities of sophistry and error for sound argument and right reason. One day he imagines a certain conjecture to be true, and presumes the grounds of his opinion are incapable of refutation. But the next suggests to him a new difficulty, which overturns his confidence, and throws him back into the same state of doubt. He is like a man who undertakes to build himself a mansion, without first forming in his own mind a complete model of its apartments. Having laid the foundation, and made some progress in the superstructure, he perceives the want of propriety and convenience in his arrangements, and is obliged to pull down or new model the whole. But still misled by the same deficiency of judgment, he persists in building one day, and pulling down the next. In short, the sceptic is like a prisoner desirous of liberty, when he looks through the small aperture of his cell upon surrounding objects, and imagines he can see and describe the whole scenery. Not having sufficient strength of discernment to perceive distant objects, or to contemplate near ones in the full blaze of light, he either doubts every thing which lies beyond his own sphere of observation, or else depending on partial views and casual information, his mind is held in continual suspense, or bewildered in the mazes of his own scepticism.

‘ We may therefore conclude, that credulity and scepticism are both diseases of the mind, often existing in the same person at different periods, and indicating the same imbecility under different aspects. If credulity be the symptom of a lethargy which has no disposition to move, scepticism is the tottering motion of a paralytic, which indi-

cates weakness, and excites alarm. No benevolent spectator can observe his agitation and insecurity, without lamenting the disease which impaired his strength, or deprecating the dangers which await his movements.

‘ But in the origin and influence of scepticism, the moral as well as the mental powers are deeply concerned. It may sometimes chiefly arise from a constitutional tendency to doubt; or a certain activity and inquisitiveness of mind, without energy and decision; or a disposition to generalize, to be superficial, to follow imagination, to magnify difficulties, and to form hasty conclusions from partial views and weak arguments. But these causes of scepticism are frequently increased by the love of novelty, by a fondness for change, by an affectation of singularity, by a contempt of public opinion, by an ambition for intellectual distinction, by the pride and self-sufficiency of reason, by a dislike to the restraints of Christian principles, and by a secret wish for the moral latitude which seems allowable in a state of scepticism. When the taste and conduct are opposed to the obvious requirements and legitimate influence of a steady faith, a wayward fancy will soon find out objections sufficient to weaken its authority, or magnify the plausibility and force of the common objections, raised by unbelievers against the christian faith.’

In the chapter on the Will, we meet with a passage which, taken by itself, we should pronounce highly objectionable.

‘ Whether the will be entirely a mechanical force,’ says Mr. Finch, ‘ necessarily impelled to determine as it does by a series of irresistible causes; or whether it possess in its own nature an arbitrary self-moving power, a liberty to will or not to will the same thing at the same time, and in the same circumstances; are questions which have been often discussed, and warmly espoused by numerous partisans, but which still remain, and will probably remain till the end of time, undecided.’

That is, in other words, whether the absurdity of the Materialist, or the opposite absurdity of the old Scotists and Molinists, be true, still remains, and will always remain, undecided. Mr. Finch surely cannot imagine that we are placed in any such dilemma. This whole chapter is the least competently written in the book; but, with the exception of the above passage, there is not much that we should strongly object to. We recommend the Author, however, to reconsider the subject, respecting which he does not appear to have sufficiently informed himself. The passage which we had occasion to cite from Bishop Horsley’s Sermons, in our January No. (p. 33) is highly deserving of his attentive consideration.

Art. IX. *The Holy Bible*, containing the Old and New Testament: being a Revision of the Authorized Version, principally designed to facilitate in Families, the Audible or Social Reading of the Sacred Scriptures; illustrated with Notes, Historical, Geographical, and otherwise explanatory, and also pointing out the Fulfilment of various Prophecies. By William Alexander. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. Part I. Royal 8vo. pp. 132. Price 4s. 1823.

THE part of this proposed "Revision of the Authorized Version" of the Bible, now before us, is published by the Editor as a prospectus of the work. It contains a copious explanatory preface, and the first twenty-four chapters of the book of Genesis, as a specimen of the corrections and arrangements which he judges to be essential or desirable in an edition of the Sacred Scriptures intended for domestic use. The regular publication of the work is suspended till Midsummer, to allow of the Editor's collecting the state of opinion on the merits of his undertaking. 'If, by that time, sufficient encouragement should be given to proceed, it is intended to publish Part II., not later than the end of the year,' and to issue a part quarterly, till the completion of the whole design in twenty parts. We are willing that the Editor should have our opinion on the necessity and probable value of his labours, and therefore give his prospectus a preference in our consideration, which we should scarcely be able to afford it, if some authors whose works have been long waiting for our judgment, were to assert their claim to be heard.

The original and principal inducement for undertaking the present revision was, the Editor informs us, to facilitate the daily audible reading of the Bible in 'our respective family circles,' by the substitution of a phraseology more congenial to the views and genius of the present age of refinement, than in many cases is the language of the common version; combined with the design of furnishing a more comprehensive and less expensive production than most of the Bibles with Commentaries. It cannot be denied, that the Translation of the Bible in general use, is interspersed with expressions which are 'not adapted to modern delicacy,' and it is fair to attribute this circumstance to the facts assigned by the Editor:—the habits and feelings of the present age being extremely different from those of the people whose history the Bible relates, and those of our own nation more than *two hundred years ago*, when the Holy Scriptures were rendered into English from the Original Tongues. But the principle of correction may be overstrained in its application to passages of this kind. Extreme caution is scarcely ever more necessary to a translator or

reviser of the Bible, than in those instances in which he is contemplating alterations of its style in accommodation to the standard of modern taste. The blemish which he may be inclined to remove, may only become more evident and offensive by the innovations which he would sanction. 'There is no thing more indelicate,' Campbell has remarked, 'than an unreasonable display of delicacy.' We are not sure that, in the corrections which Mr. Alexander would introduce into his revised version, and of which some specimens are contained in this prospectus part, there is not a fastidiousness of discernment which we might place within the bearings of Campbell's censure. Let our intelligent readers decide on such examples as the following. 'And they were both naked.' 'And they were both without clothes.' 'They knew that they were naked.' 'They knew that they were not clothed.' 'I was afraid, because I was naked.' 'I was afraid, because I was not clothed.' 'Who told thee that thou wast naked?' 'Who told thee that thou wast not clothed?' What effect would the reading of these passages in the substituted phraseology, produce on the mind of a hearer familiar with the language of the common version? Not, we apprehend, such an effect as would be a recommendation of Mr. Alexander's change of expression. The terms of the common version are in these examples plain and forcible, and we think unexceptionable. Would it be an improvement in the sublime address of our Lord from the throne of judgment, to read, instead of 'I was naked, and ye clothed me,' 'I was without clothes, and ye clothed me?' Or, would the Editor read, in the complaint of Job, 'Without clothes came I out of my mother's womb, and without clothes shall I return thither?' There are passages in which a substitution of expressions more in accordance with modern feeling, may be allowed in a translator or reviser of the Bible; but such alterations as those which we have cited, will scarcely be valued as improvements.

As the Editor reserves his account of the poetry of the Hebrews for the second volume of his projected work, it would be altogether out of place for a reviewer of his prospectus to discuss the subject; but, from the specimens of metrical, or lineal arrangement, which occur in the pages before us, we should certainly judge that he has adopted a course of proceeding with the text, which is not reducible to any intelligible and consistent rules. Mr. Alexander includes in his lineal arrangement, the very first chapter of the Bible, which is twice given, once as prose, and once as poetry. Of the latter we quote a portion.

from the Aurora Borealis called the "Edinburgh Review;" and from a pamphlet entitled "Episcopal Innovations, &c." All against the Bishop of Peterborough. And also from the rays of criticism darted upon the Bishop of London, by one of the same great lights, which reflect upon itself, with perfect elasticity. By *Alma Lux*. 8vo. 3s.

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an attack in the 74th number of the Edinburgh Review, upon the Church of England. With a few remarks upon the injustice and inexpediency of a general commutation of tithes. The whole being supplementary to "a Defence of the Clergy of the Church of England." By the Rev. Francis Thackeray, M. A. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

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The Words of the Lord Jesus; or the Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion, as delivered in the Discourses and Conversations of the Son of God, during the personal Ministry upon Earth; arranged from the records of the Four Evangelists. By John Russett. 12mo. 4s.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MAY, 1823.

Art. I. *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle, translated, with an Exposition and Notes.* By the Rev. Thomas Belsham, Minister of Essex-street Chapel. 8vo. 4 vols. pp. 2247. London. 1822.

THE Unitarians of the present day manifest an ardour, and exert an activity, which they are probably willing should be regarded as pledges of a resolution on their part, to free the reputation of their body from the discredit of past indifference and supineness. They have made successful efforts to obtain the blotting out from the statute book, of those intolerant laws which proscribed their profession, and controlled, by disgraceful severities, the spirit of proselytism in the denomination. This liberty, we are quite sure, they have every right in its fullest extent to enjoy; as we are also sure, that no enlightened friend to Christian freedom can ever reflect on the tardy act of justice which has been rendered them, without satisfaction. If any profession of religion be considered as false and unscriptural, let it be opposed with as much earnestness as may be thought necessary; but let it be a moral opposition that is set in array against it. If the opinions be erroneous, we shall do more service in the cause of truth by detecting their error, than we ever could render it by the most copious use of invective. If they afford us the occasion of reviewing our own judgements, and of confirming us in our attachment to the truth, they have their use; and we may find in such a result, cause to be grateful for the circumstances which brought them under our notice. The refutation of error is but another expression for the advancement of truth; and as this must finally prevail, all grave and temperate discussion, and all exertions of religious zeal which comport with the sanctions of truth, are entitled, not merely to our forbearance, but

to our approval. Who then shall blame the demonstrations of Unitarian zeal? If they put into circulation their version of the New Testament,—if they distribute religious Tracts,—if they support home missions, (their fires of late have been rather paleing in this direction,)—if they patronise schools,—if they maintain academic institutions for the supply of ministers,—if they are availing themselves of the advantages which a cause may receive from its connexion with the periodical literature of the age,—if they publish commentaries on the Bible,—if they are eager and persevering in controversy,—who shall say that these are methods of proceeding which they are not at liberty to adopt? But they have no monopoly of these advantages; nor can they exert the influence of these moral means in any way that can invest them with superiority above others; this sort of instrumentality being as accessible to one class of religionists as to another.

We have commenced our article with this kind of preface, because we would refer appeals on religious questions to the judgements of our readers, rather than to their prejudices. We might perhaps gain the suffrages of some, by the vehemence of our exclamations against the denomination to which our previous remarks refer; but how often have the most passionate vociferations been directed against truth itself and its best supporters! Our warmest exprobrations would not carry us forward one step towards the refutation of error, or the discovery and advancement of truth. We might perhaps by some readers be considered as victorious in the field of controversy, were we to put forward an array of authorities, and to exhibit the catalogue of illustrious names which are ready to be produced as vouchers in favour of an assailed faith. *Errare me hercule malo cum Platone quam cum istis vera sentire*, is a sentiment which we may admire for its sprightly boldness, but which it might not be safe to applaud as a sober maxim. There is, then, only one method of doing justice in the cause of truth; to scrutinise the pretensions of those who profess to teach it, and to determine the character of the doctrines which they are engaged in propagating, by the most careful comparison of their agreements and disagreements with an admitted rule of judgement.

That rule is the New Testament, the supreme judge of controversy. And much has certainly been gained in favour of Christian knowledge, by the limiting of all religious questions to the evidence of the Evangelists and the Apostles. There seems to be now a common consent among Protestant controversialists to discard the testimony of Fathers and Councils, as insufficient authority to settle their differences, and, if in-

sufficient, unnecessary, since no appeal can lie to them from that higher tribunal to which the disputants remit their cause.

The work before us is the production of a laborious writer who has long been distinguished as the champion of Unitarianism. It has been of slow growth, and after many years of preparation, is now sent abroad with all the aids which the learning, polemical skill, and matured judgement of the Author could impart to it. A Unitarian Exposition of the Epistles of Paul, is, we believe, a unique kind of publication in our own times. Those portions of the New Testament have not, we apprehend, been much in favour with modern Unitarians. The authority and value of those documents as depositories of Christian doctrine, are fully established by Mr. Belsham in his preliminary dissertation; and though his observations do not always accord with our own view of the topics which he discusses, we receive with satisfaction the following statements, which are amply sufficient for every purpose to which those writings may be applied by theological controvertists, or by a critical and practical expositor.

‘ — The apostle carried in his mind at all times, in all places, and to the end of life, a complete and infallible knowledge of the doctrine of Christ; so that whatever he taught, or wrote, upon that subject, is to be received as true, and as of Divine authority.—Whatever the apostle teaches as Christian doctrine, whatever he announces as dictated by the spirit of prophecy, must be received as such by all who admit the claim of Paul as an apostle of Jesus Christ.’

In accordance with these sentiments, the Author, throughout the whole of his work, is careful to point out to his readers the proofs of the Apostle's authority. The grave and earnest manner of Mr. Belsham on this point, is strikingly in contrast with the rash and flippant notions of some other writers. To the sentiments of the following passage we give our warm approbation.

‘ I cannot close the exposition of this admirable epistle (2 Corinthians) without once more requesting the reader to direct his attention to the state of things at Corinth, to the posture of the apostle's mind at the time when he indited the epistle, to the mode of his address, and to the important conclusions which unavoidably follow from a general review of the whole.

‘ When we consider the critical state of the Corinthian church, the schisms which prevailed in it, the strong party formed against the apostle and his doctrine, the pains taken by an eloquent and artful opponent, to bring his person, his talents, his pretensions, and his labours into contempt; when we contemplate the state of the apostle's mind, his piety to God, his ardent gratitude to Christ, his

zeal for the diffusion and purity of the gospel, his affection for the Corinthians, his desire of reclaiming them from their errors, their follies, and their crimes, by the gentlest means; and his humble, generous, condescending spirit; when we further attend to the good sense which he discovers, and to the skilful manner in which he conducts his argument, to the irresistible evidence which he produces, and to the public and notorious facts to which he appeals in proof of his apostolic authority, and which he knew that his adversaries could not contradict; when we also consider the power which he claims of punishing refractory offenders by some miraculous act, his reluctance to exercise this power, his earnest desire that they would not put it to the proof, his willingness to suffer the suspicion of boasting of a power that he did not possess, rather than to establish the truth of it at their expense; and, at the same time, recollect his determined resolution to give complete satisfaction upon this head, to the utter confusion and dismay of his adversaries, if they would not be reclaimed by any other means: when, I say, we take all these things into consideration, it seems almost impossible to avoid coming to the following conclusions:—First, that this epistle is GENUINE; that it was written by Paul himself, and not by an impostor assuming his name. And therefore, Secondly, that the facts stated in this epistle are TRUE, and consequently, that the CHRISTIAN RELIGION IS OF DIVINE ORIGINAL; that the Apostle Paul was fully authorised and amply qualified to publish this heavenly doctrine to the world, that he justly challenges the most serious and attentive regard to his instructions, and that **THEY WHO REJECT HIS TESTIMONY REJECT IT AT THEIR PERIL.** Vol. II. pp. 651—653.

The theological system supported in these volumes, is detailed in the following paragraphs of the preliminary dissertation.

‘It is after mature consideration that the Author has adopted that theory of interpretation of the Epistles of Paul, which was first suggested by Mr. Locke, and afterwards amplified, confirmed, and illustrated by the late learned and laborious Dr. John Taylor of Norwich, in his celebrated ‘Key to the Apostolic Writings,’ prefixed to his Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans.

‘The general principle of which theory is, that, the children of Israel, who had been formerly the chosen people of God, having been cast off by him because of their great wickedness, and particularly for their rejection of the Messiah, believers in Christ, whether Jews or Gentiles, are now admitted into the same relation to the Deity which the Israelites once held; and those terms which were formerly applied to the state and privileges of the Israelites, are now used to express the state and privileges of Christian believers.....All who believe in Jesus as the Messiah, and who enter themselves as members of that community of which he is the head, are introduced into the same state of grace and privilege in which Israel formerly stood, and are entitled to the same honourable distinctions.—All these high and

honourable titles are applied to them in consequence of their having become members of the Christian community; and do not generally express moral character so much as an external state, a state of privilege and profession.'

Of a theory of theological interpretation applied to any part of the New Testament writings, which was 'first suggested' by Locke, we may be allowed to inquire, in the words of Mr. Belsham relative to Newcome Cappe's hypothesis of the Resurrection, 'If this be the true sense' of the Apostolic writings, 'how came it to escape every preceding interpreter, 'ancient and modern?' That the eighteenth century should have dawned upon the world, and the true meaning of the Epistles of Paul not yet have been discovered, must be deemed very surprising. It is easy to conceive that some passages of those books may be better understood in consequence of the advances which have been made in philology and emendatory criticism, and that to others a clearer light may have been held by modern expositors; but that the general meaning of the Epistles, the entire state and argument of the Christian doctrine as represented in them, should have escaped all the theological writers of sixteen centuries, and be for the first time published to the world in the posthumous works of Locke, is a statement which may appear well deserving of a note of exclamation. Possibilities, however, have a very ample range, and this 'theory of interpretation' may not be erroneous solely on account of its being 'first suggested' by a writer of the last century.

Following the guidance of Locke, and the more copious illustrations of the theory prefixed by Taylor to his Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans, Mr. Belsham maintains, That, 'in the language of a Jew, a heathen, as such, is called 'a sinner, whatever his moral character may be: he is out of 'covenant with God.' (Vol. I. p. 28.) That 'sinners are those 'who exist in an uncovenanted state.' (Vol. I. p. 73.) That 'sinners and heathens are convertible terms.' (Vol. II. p. 322.) That 'the word "sinners" occurs in a national, and not 'a moral sense, in many passages of the New Testament.' (Vol. III. p. 43. note.) Assertions of this kind are profusely spread through the present work; and much of the Author's explanation of the Apostolic doctrine, is dependent on the supposed correctness of the preceding and similar statements. Before we proceed in our examination of their solidity, we shall endeavour to ascertain the propriety of Locke's representations to the same effect: they occur in his note to Rom. v. 6—8, to which Mr. Belsham has more than once referred his readers.

‘*Ἀσθενεῖς*, without strength; *Ἀσεβεῖς*, ungodly; *Ἀμαρτανῶς*, sinners; *Ἐχθροί*, enemies: these four epithets are given to them as Gentiles, they being used by St. Paul, as the proper attributes of the heathen world, as considered in contra-distinction to the Jewish nation.’ Now, if these terms be ‘the proper attributes of the heathen,’ in the Epistles of Paul; if they be employed by him to denote a class of persons ‘in contra-distinction to the Jewish nation;’ what less should we be prepared to expect than the very frequent occurrence of these expressions? The occasions are not few in the writings of the Apostle, which would exhibit the readings in question, if they had that definite and appropriate meaning which is assigned to them by Locke, and by those who adopt his interpretation. What then is the fact? We shall, we apprehend, excite the surprise of those readers to whom the question is not familiar, by the production of the whole number of examples of the use of the terms adduced, and of the conclusion which they irrefragably support. First, then, there is but only one instance of the use of each of the words *ασθενεῖς*, *weak*, and *ασεβεῖς*, *ungodly*, respectively, in the whole of Paul’s Epistles, which can by any construction whatever be available in the consideration of the question as raised by Locke. These two examples, one of *ασθενεῖς*, and one of *ασεβεῖς*, both occur in Rom. v. 6; and they are not there used, we will venture to assert, as ‘proper attributes’ and distinctive appellations of the heathen. Nor has the word *ἐχθροί*, *enemies*, any such discriminating use in the whole New Testament. It is used in describing the parties or objects in hostility to the designs of Christ. In Coloss. i. 21, it is so defined by the accompanying expressions as to be not less proper in reference to Jews than to Gentiles,—“*Enemies (ἐχθροί) in your mind by wicked works.*” And in Rom. v. 10. “While we were *enemies*, Christ died for us,” is an account of persons among whom the Apostle, who was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, could include himself: Christ died for Jews as well as Gentiles, and the former, in a state of unbelief, were as much “*enemies*” as the latter. These two examples are the only ones which could be the subjects of Locke’s remarks; and in citing and commenting upon them, it is impossible, we think, to avoid the reflection, that those critics who are most liberal of their censures on the supposed slavish adherence of other men to system, are themselves forcing their way to a favourite hypothesis through forbidden ground. Who could imagine that the preceding statement of Locke’s was constructed of materials so utterly unfit for his purpose as are the passages that we have cited? And yet, these are the only ones!

We have already disposed of three of Locke's terms, and we now proceed to consider the usage of *αμαρτωλος*, '*sinner*,' having reserved this for distinct examination, because Mr. Belsham with great frequency refers to the use of this word as supporting the proposition, that '*They are called sinners, who live neither under the Mosaic nor under the Christian covenant; and who are therefore said to be in an unholy state, how excellent soever their moral character may be.*' Now, as we have paid some attention to this point, we feel ourselves quite prepared to affirm, that the word '*sinner*' is never, in the New Testament, applied to persons irrespectively of *moral reputation*; and that it is as frequently and as forcibly applied, in the Epistles of Paul, to persons under the Mosaic covenant, as to others who were not included in that economy. It is of no consequence whatever, our readers will perceive, in the present case, in what sense and application the word '*sinner*' is used in other portions of the New Testament: it is the manner in which it is employed by the Apostle Paul, that is our sole concern. We should be able to shew, that the usage of the New Testament is opposed to the interpretation given in the preceding extracts from Locke and Mr. Belsham, by an examination of every instance in which the word *αμαρτωλος*, '*sinner*' is found in the Gospels and Epistles, from which the moral signification of the term would be apparent. But, limiting our investigation to the Epistles of Paul, we venture to say that they contain no passage in which the term '*sinner*' is used in a national sense; that, in every example which occurs, a moral sense is comprised; and that the term '*sinner*' is alike, and for the same reasons, applied to Jew and Gentile. The word *αμαρτωλος*, '*sinner*,' occurs in the following passages. Rom. iii. 7. "For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory, why yet am I also judged as a *sinner*?" On which Mr. Belsham remarks: 'The apostle here shews the folly of the principle upon which his opponent argues, by reducing it to an absurdity; and by shewing the impious and *immoral* consequences to which it necessarily and directly leads.'—Chap. v. 8. "While we were yet *sinner*s, Christ died for us." In the paragraph of which this sentence is a member, it is the design of the Apostle to represent the state of believers, as such. Jews, equally with Gentiles, were subjects of the privileges which he enumerates: he includes himself in the description. The word '*sinner*s' describes the state of believers previously to their admission to a part in the blessings secured to them by the death of Christ; and it is clearly used in a personal and moral sense.—Chap. v. 19. "Many were made *sinner*s." A national and out of covenant

sense is here quite inadmissible. 'By the transgression of the first Adam, guilt was so far placed to the account of all his posterity,' is Mr. Belsham's comment on the text.—Gal. ii. 15, 17. "We who are Jews by nature, and not *sinner*s of the Gentiles."—"We ourselves also are found *sinner*s." In the former of these passages, the descriptive epithet gives the text its definite import; and in the latter, the term is applied to the case of believing Jews, and cannot, therefore, indicate the state of Gentiles.—1 Tim. i. 9. "For *sinner*s:" 'persons guilty of offences which the moral law of God denounces,' is Mr. Belsham's comment.—vs. 15. "To save *sinner*s:" Here the word is personal, and moral, and universal. These are the entire number of examples of the word '*sinner*s' which occur in the acknowledged Epistles of Paul. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, we find the following.—Chap. vii. 26. "Separate from *sinner*s:" 'free from all sin ceremonial and moral,' is Mr. Belsham's paraphrase.—Chap. xii. 3. "The contradiction of *sinner*s,"—the opposition of wicked men; and certainly, the most implacable of Christ's adversaries were the Jews.

We have thus gone through the Epistles of Paul, and have produced every example of the use of the word *ἁμαρτανός*, '*sinner*,' which they comprise. We may probably be thought by some readers to have bestowed unnecessary labour on this investigation; but it was impossible to dispose of the case satisfactorily in any other manner than by a scrutiny of the instances in which the word is used. The reader has now those instances before him, and he will be at no loss to 'explain the sense in which the word *sinner* often occurs in the New Testament.' No evidence, we will venture to say, was ever more completely at variance with the purpose for which it was brought, than these examples are with Locke's representation, that 'these epithets are used as the proper attributes of the heathen world, as considered in contradistinction to the Jewish nation;' as well as with Mr. Belsham's assertion, that 'they are called *sinner*s, who live neither under the Mosaic nor under the Christian covenant, and who are therefore said to be in an unholy state, how excellent soever their moral character may be.' Nothing can be more clear and plain than the fact, that, in the Epistles of Paul, the word *sinner* is never used in reference to persons possessed of moral excellence, as descriptive of their external state and character, and, that in every example of its application, moral delinquency is comprehended. It is truly surprising with what facility representations of the import of scriptural terms, which are altogether destitute of support from the authority of Scripture, pass current with even intelligent readers of the New Testament.

When our Lord said to the woman in Simon's house, who is called a sinner, "*Thy sins are forgiven,*" he unquestionably referred to her moral state, and conferred upon her a personal blessing which had no relation whatever to a transition from an external unholy state to a state of external privilege.

As Mr. Belsham assumes, that the term 'sinners' is to be understood, not in a moral sense, but as merely denoting persons who live neither under the Jewish nor under the Christian covenant; so he asserts, in accordance with Locke and Taylor, that the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith in Christ is to be considered as simply denoting admission into the Christian community; and that the terms applied to believers do not generally express moral character, so much as an external state of privilege and profession: saints are persons separated by their profession of Christianity from the rest of mankind, without any respect to moral character. But if, in the case of 'sinners,' the application of the term in 'a national and not a moral sense' has been shewn to be inadmissible; if the proof be clear, that, in the Apostolic Epistles, the expressions sinners and heathens, are never 'convertible terms;' if, in opposition to these assumptions, the moral sense of the term be apparent in the several instances of its use; it would seem to follow, that the transition predicated of converts to the religion of Christ, is a moral change, and that the expressions which denote their new relation, are referrible to moral character, and are intended to describe it. The commission which the apostles received from Christ, and to which we may confidently assure ourselves, they adhered in the discharge of their high office as ambassadors for Christ, directed them to preach the Gospel to every creature; and its solemn sanction was announced in the words which accompanied his charge: "He that believeth shall be saved—he that believeth not shall be condemned." That is to say, according to the theology of this "Translation and Exposition,"—*He who believes shall be saved*, shall be admitted to the privileges of the Christian community, shall be separated from the heathen externally without respect to moral character. *He who believes not shall be condemned*, shall remain under the disadvantages of a heathen state. Can this be the import of the commission? Does the former expression signify less than the whole of the benefits included in the spiritual and everlasting salvation of man? Does the latter sentence denote less than the entire negation of all the blessings of a spiritual and eternal salvation, and the punishment of the unbelieving for their resistance to the grace of God? Do the apostles ever teach that admis-

sion to the privileges of an external community is the import of the message which they every where delivered?

The Apostle Paul describes himself (2 Cor. v. 18.) as being reconciled to God, and as bearing the ministry of reconciliation. What was the nature and value of this blessing to himself? Was it considered by him as only admission into a state of external privilege, admission to the privileges of the Christian community without respect to moral character? Was it not a blessing personal, independent of relation to a community, and expressive altogether of a moral change? Now whatever the expression, being 'reconciled to God,' denotes in the case of the Apostle, it must signify in its application to every other individual; for there is no difference, and with God there is no respect of persons. What then would a heathen consider as being the import of the Apostle's entreaty, "Be ye reconciled to God—we pray you in Christ's stead?" Would not the apprehension be rising in his mind, and the feeling be springing up in his heart, that, by moral transgression, he was an enemy to God and in a state of extreme moral peril? What would his awakened conscience seek for its pacification? Would any thing short of the assurance of pardon allay the agitations of such a mind? And was any thing short of this given by the Apostles? The ministry of reconciliation purports, that "God in Christ is reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses."—*παράτιμα* is *moral offences*. There must be in connexion with the *rationale* and with the reception of this message from God to man, a real and striking change in all the moral relations of the individual who is the subject of this grace; he therefore cannot consider the amendment in his condition, as nothing more valuable than his being admitted into an external community.

But what, we would ask, is this Christian community, an admission into which is represented as being the privilege of believers? Christianity is not a national separation of a part of mankind from the rest of their species, as was Judaism. And with respect to the great purposes of Christianity, its specific ends and objects, the interests of persons professing the faith of Christ are never identified with their relation to an external community. There is, indeed, no other external community into which a person who believes the Gospel can be admitted, than the particular society of which he enters himself a member; and this society has no such privileges to confer upon him, as can furnish the designations which, on the authority of the New Testament, belong to Christians. If we find the Apostles addressing Christian communities as *called, justified, sanctified*, &c., the only proper manner of explaining this use

of such expressions would seem to be, that the individuals of whom those societies were comprised, were generally persons whose internal and moral state could be fitly represented by the terms. Such, for example, is the case in respect to the Romans, who are described by Mr. Belsham himself, (V. on Rom. viii. 9.) in a manner which exhibits their character as including much more than a state of external separation.

' But ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, seeing that the spirit of God dwelleth in you.—you are all sincere believers in Christ, and interested in the blessings of the Gospel: for though you may not be so much distinguished as other churches are by spiritual gifts and miraculous powers, yet it is evident that the spirit of the Gospel, which is the spirit of God, resides in you in a more important sense, in its moral influence upon your characters and lives.'

A community of persons thus under the influence of a moral power sanctifying their hearts, and perpetually operating towards the maintenance and increase of holiness in their lives, would be correctly designated by the strictest application of the terms which the New Testament writers have employed in describing them.

We have not room to prosecute this topic; which is one of the first importance, as it involves the entire question of the acceptance of a sinner with God, and the real character of the Gospel. Nor will our limits permit us to follow Mr. Belsham in his application of Taylor's system; a specimen of which may be seen in the following brief extract.

' For in it, the justification of God by faith, is revealed to faith. The Apostle through this whole epistle calls that state of privilege into which men are brought by the Gospel, JUSTIFICATION. In the language of a Jew, a heathen as such, is called a sinner, whatever his character may be: he is out of covenant with God. A Jew, being in a state of covenant, is holy. Under the new covenant, the heathen believer, as well as the Jew, is admitted into this holy state: from being a sinner he becomes a saint, selected and separated from the idolatrous and unbelieving world.'

' This justification, or state of privilege, is by faith; for by the profession of faith in Christ, a man is transferred from the community of sinners and heathens into the community of saints, and becomes entitled to the privileges of the Christian covenant.'

Of the value of this justification, we have the following account.

' Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.—Rom. v. 1.

' It was the boast of the conceited Jew, that he was holy, while the rest of mankind were sinners; that he was in a state of friendship

and peace with God, while others were aliens and enemies; that he was the favourite of heaven, while they were under a curse; and the Apostle's design in this eloquent passage is, to shew that believers in Christ possess all the privileges of God's ancient people, though they do not submit to the Jewish ceremonial.'

This justification is not, we apprehend, the *doctrina vel status vel cadentis ecclesie*; nor is this state of privilege the blessing of the Gospel. The Apostle would not, surely, state the privileges of Christian believers in accommodation to the notions of a 'conceited Jew;' nor describe peace with God as in relation to an external state, in which moral character was not comprehended. It must then be the pacification of the conscience in a state of personal friendship with God, that is the subject of 'this eloquent passage.' When the Apostle expresses the ardent aspirations of his mind, that he might be "found in Christ, not having his own righteousness" (or, according to Mr. B.'s reading, *justification*) "which was by the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ," is he to be understood as meaning nothing but his passing into an external state of privilege? Can any person read Philip. iii. 7—9. and have any other impression than that personal acceptance with God was the object of his intense solicitude? The Apostles were commanded to preach repentance and remission of sins in Christ's name to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. We should have imagined that this description of the objects of their ministry were sufficient to designate the economy in relation to which they laboured, as being more than a state of external privilege, and the circumstances of those to whom they tendered its blessings, as being different from a state of ceremonial disqualification, as emphatically a state of moral guilt and peril. But, according to Mr. Belsham's definition of Justification, the Apostle was solicitous to be admitted to 'all the outward privileges of the Gospel,' which, if practically improved, would entitle him 'to an interest in its spiritual and everlasting blessings.' Was not his being found in Christ identical with his interest in the spiritual and everlasting blessings of the Gospel? And was not his practice the result and effect of this interest?

In his note on Rom. ii. 14, 15. Mr. Belsham remarks, that
 'the apostle allows that the heathen, who are altogether ignorant of Divine revelation, may nevertheless, from the light of nature and reason, acquire a knowledge of the moral law of God, and live in the practice of its duties, so as to be approved and rewarded by his just and good Creator.' This statement is not more at variance with the text, than with the conclusion in the preceding part of Mr. Belsham's comment, that the

heathen 'without the aid of Revelation, possess the means of acquiring some knowledge of the moral law' of God, and 'possess a natural sense of right and wrong;' and it is entirely inconsistent with the exposition of a subsequent passage, Chap. iv. 15, 'that not a single individual has uniformly adhered to the law so as to claim justification by it, but every one by transgression has become obnoxious to its condemning sentence.' Nothing, indeed, can be more obvious than that the Apostle's argument, throughout the early chapters of this Epistle, requires for its support the fact of the entire degeneracy of mankind, and their consequent insufficiency to fulfil the obligations of the moral law of God for the attainment of a justifying righteousness. His conclusion is express, that, 'by the deeds of the law, no flesh shall be justified in the sight of God.' The general corruption of mankind would not be denied by either the Jewish or the Heathen moralists; and certainly the Apostle is to be understood as affirming a state of mankind much beyond that which would shew only a coincidence of opinion with them as to the extent of moral delinquency. Mr. Belsham's readers will frequently be perplexed with the explications of his commentary, and will have but little reason to consider themselves as delivered from the intricacies of other systems of doctrine which he has denounced as absurd. If the Apostle's argument on the degeneracy of mankind be 'properly national, not personal;' if 'a heathen may, from the light of nature and reason, acquire a knowledge of the moral law of God, and live in the practice of its duties, so as to be approved and rewarded by his just and good Creator;' it must be a contradiction to affirm, that 'every one by transgression has become obnoxious to the condemning sentence of the law of God.' Whatever may be the comparative virtues of heathens or of other men, in respect to each other, the Apostle's argument affirms their guilt, and utterly excludes the notion of individuals being approved and rewarded by their just and good Creator; a position which entirely supersedes the conclusion, that 'by the works of the law no flesh shall be justified in his presence.' And if 'a virtuous heathen' could thus be entitled to the approbation and reward of 'his just and good Creator,' then he had, by thus improving his antecedent blessings, 'his law of nature,' a claim, on the ground of merit, to obtain admission into the gospel covenant. But, says Mr. Belsham,

'the only mode of admission is by free grace or favour, through faith in Jesus as the Christ, offered by the unmerited mercy of God, equally to Jew and Gentile, without any regard to the requisitions of antecedent law.' Vol. I. p. 74.

From so zealous a Unitarian as Mr. Belsham, the readers of his Exposition who may be acquainted with his previous publications, will be prepared to expect, that no opportunity is lost for the introduction of remarks in opposition to the generally received opinions as to the design of Christ's death. The volumes before us are accordingly replete with explanations of that great fact, which are intended to deprive it of every kind and degree of importance as a sacrifice for sin. It was a confirmation of his mission; it ratified the new covenant; it had other uses, but no direct moral relation to the sins and the forgiveness of mankind. In this last sense we are satisfied that it ought to be regarded; and we rejoice in this great expedient of mercy for the guilty. It would have been easy for the Apostles to describe the death of Christ as being in confirmation of his mission, had that been its end; but they have not so described it, and the miracles which Christ wrought, were the proper and designed proofs of his mission. The ratification of the new covenant, is an expression which we are willing to understand, if it were intelligibly explained to us, as the effect of the death of Christ; but we cannot perceive that the New Testament attributes to the death of Christ the office of introducing mankind into a state of external privilege. The Apostles use with great frequency expressions relative to the death of Christ, which describe it as a sacrifice for sin; and these expressions they do not use as occasional illustrations of a subject; they do not occur in their writings as allusions, but as exhibitions of a doctrine, as declarations of a fact, and in the most intimate connexion with the vouchsafement of Divine mercy to the guilty, and as the basis of their faith and hope. It was surely of the greatest moment, that the Apostles, in delivering to the world the Christian doctrine, should state its greatest objects, its most essential articles, in terms which could not lead to any misapprehension of them. Both Jews and Gentiles had their minds imbued with sentiments derived from sacrificial institutions; and if the death of Christ in the Gospel economy, was not a real sacrifice for sin, how are we to account for the serious, uniform employment of terms in the New Testament, which, on any other supposition, could only lead the readers of its language into an entire misconstruction of its intent? It is no answer to this, to say, that the Apostles were trained up in Judaism, and wrote on this subject as Jews. As the inspired teachers of mankind, they would not, by the language which they used, furnish occasion for a complete misconstruction of their doctrine. Nor is it any explanation of the case, to allege, that the sacrifices of Judaism were parts of a ceremonial ritual, without reference to moral purposes: (a point which we do not

concede :) the Gentiles were the great majority of the persons to whom the economy of the gospel was published, and their sacrificial institutes were ever viewed as real propitiatory rites. But what other apprehension could Gentile converts have of the design of Christ's death, as stated in forms of doctrine proceeding from their inspired instructors, than that of its peculiar design and effect?

"Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood," (Rom. iii. 25,) is rendered by Mr. Belsham, and in the Improved Version, 'whom God hath set forth as a 'mercy-seat in his own blood;' and we are told by both, that the word *ἱλαστήριον* uniformly signifies a *propitiatory*, or *mercy-seat*, but never *propitiation*. If we produce from 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10, the very word which undeniably means a *propitiation*, *ἱλαστήριον*, then we are told that Christ is a *propitiation*, as, by his gospel, he brings sinners to repentance. Does *ἱλαστήριον*, *propitiation*, ever mean to bring sinners to repentance? Or would it be so understood by the contemporary readers of the apostolic epistles? We think not. But, if *ἱλαστήριον* should mean 'a 'mercy-seat,' the 'mercy-seat' signified nothing to the offender, but as it exhibited the blood of the victim that had been sacrificed. The mercy of God, in the forgiveness of the sins of men, is exercised in the removing of moral disqualifications, and in the restoring of mankind to a moral capacity of felicity and union to God. Now, in the New Testament, the death of Christ takes away sin—reconciles man to God—procures, and is the pledge of everlasting redemption: These great moral benefits are ascribed to the death of Christ; which we may well understand, if his death was a true propitiation for the sins of man. But, if that were not the design of it, then, to us it would appear altogether unaccountable, that the language of the New Testament is thus special and exclusive, and that the sacred writers have not used the indefinite phraseology which Unitarians employ on the subject; that they have not ascribed the greatest benefits which mankind receive from Christ, to his miracles, or his ministry, or his doctrine, or his example.

(To be concluded in the next Number.)

Art. II. *The Pyrenees and the South of France*, during the Months of November and December, 1822. By A. Thiers. 8vo. pp. 182. Price 6s. London. 1823.

THIS very lively and well written little work contains much acceptable and interesting information with regard to the

frontier provinces of France and Spain, and the position of affairs there up to last winter. The Author is evidently a man of acute observation and enlarged views. His sketches are extremely picturesque, and his remarks are not unfrequently distinguished by that *naïveté* which is almost as peculiar to the French as the word we borrow to express it. The picture he draws of the Army of Faith and the Regency of Urgel, is deliciously ludicrous, and would lead one to hope that the Spanish invasion may, after all, turn out a farce instead of a tragedy. The project which appears so chivalrous and so feasible at Paris, does not look quite so well at Perpignan. There, the august cause of the Bourbons of Spain, in the hands of Mata-Florida and the Trappist, puts on an appearance at once hopeless and ridiculous. Indeed, the shortest way to terminate the campaign would seem to be, to despatch M. le Visconte Chateaubriand to breathe the air of the Pyrenees, and confer with the Regency at head quarters.

M. Thiers complains that the South of France is but little known to the French themselves; that is, little is known about the state of the remote provinces at Paris. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should not know much about them in London. It is a track which our Tourists have not yet taken a fancy to explore, although it abounds with picturesque scenery. The contrast presented by the different nations, on passing out of France into Switzerland, from Switzerland to Savoy, and again from Savoy into France, must give peculiar interest to the journey. As our Author was slowly travelling the road from Chambery to Grenoble,—‘for in this good country of ‘Savoy,’ he says, ‘whose inhabitants derive so much happiness from themselves and so little from their Government, ‘industry is in the most miserable state, and the means of ‘communication rare and inconvenient,’—he was thinking what might possibly form the ‘ceremonial eulogy’ of the sovereign; a monarch barely possessing some mountains placed in the midst of the greatest states in Europe, ‘who, ‘with armies not his own, commands a people who desire no ‘longer to be his.’ An old man whom he fell in with, solved the query for him. ‘Do you know,’ said he with a serious tone and a grave look, ‘that the house of Savoy is a very great ‘one?’ Having nothing to say, our Traveller nodded assent. ‘Do you know,’ added the old loyalist, ‘that it has existed ‘for these nine hundred years? I was struck,’ says M. Thiers, ‘with those words as with a ray of light. Thus, I said to myself, there is no vanity discontented; each finds some ‘reasons for self-esteem.’

On approaching Grenoble, the physiognomy of the people is completely changed.

'You no longer see the broad flat forehead, the depressed nose, the large lips of the Savoyards: they have still the shape of the mountaineers, robust and rather thick; but their features are not so coarse, their countenances are more animated, and you see that you are approaching to France; that is to say, to that lively European nation, which, though alternately Flemish in the Low Countries, German in Alsace, Swiss in Dauphiné, Italian in Provence, and Spanish in the Pyrenees, still remains itself; and if it has not, like every nation in Europe, features strongly indicative of a single character, and the distinguished possession of a peculiar quality, has, however, a facility in assuming them all, and is particularly distinguished by the mixture and equilibrium of faculties; whence it derives correctness and extent of understanding in the sciences, purity of taste in the arts, and lastly, mobility and impetuosity of temper.'

p. 21.

Thus, we see, that there is no *national* vanity discontented.

The road from Grenoble across the Alps, M. Thiers describes to be as grand and picturesque as the finest part of Switzerland. From Gap to Sisteron, the Alps decline rapidly, the granite and primitive lime-stone giving place to a schistous earth and clay. The Durance rolls its scanty stream over black flints; and 'the aromatic vegetation of Provence does not yet indemnify the traveller for the barrenness of the soil and the disagreeableness of its forms.'

'The Southern races begin when you quit the Alps. The Lyonnese, though under a temperature which is very warm, are not a Southern race. The Dauphinese, though nearer the sun, have in them a great deal of the mountaineer; a race which is every where alike, and has a similar character under all latitudes. The Scottish Highlanders, who, if we are to believe Walter Scott, add to strength of body, great intrepidity of character, and, above all, extreme sharpness of intellect, have their exact counterparts in the Alps and the Pyrenees. The Lowlanders have therefore always a proverb to characterise that sharpness. The Provençals, for instance, who every day see among them inhabitants of the upper and lower Alps, making their fortunes by their intelligence and frugality, and gradually changing their coarse stuff for fine cloth, say with vexation, that they have nothing rough about them but their coat.'

We suspect that the word *rough*, is here used instead of *rude*, in the sense of uncivilized. M. Thiers,—for we presume that the composition is his own—writes, in general, admirable English.—The mountaineers extend to about Sisteron and Digne. In the plains of Lower Provence, we suddenly meet with a new race.

‘ Going down the Rhone, (misprinted Rhine) it is at Montelimart and Orange, that we first perceive the change : at Avignon it is complete. The features of the countenance are less marked; the eye is more sunk, and ardent in its expression; the hair is almost always black or chestnut; the motions more sudden; the way of speaking more rapid; and frequent and expressive gestures are almost always used to point out the object.’ p. 32.

Marseilles, once famed as the Gallic Athens, the successor to the Italian Republics in the commerce of the Levant, has, within the past thirty years, undergone a singular change of fortunes and of character. M. Thiers pronounces this most loyal and monarchical place, as it has been deemed since 1812, to be in fact the most democratical of French cities. It is still full of institutions purely democratical, and which attest its ancient independence and mode of civic government. Marseilles is the place where you most frequently hear the expression, ‘ At Paris they do not know this or that.’ It is in fact, or at least was, an opulent commercial city, with a free port and a population chiefly maritime, drawing its resources from the sea, and disposed to look down with contempt on the more quiet and less enterprising classes of the nation. The port and territory of Marseilles were free and exempt from all duties; barriers being established at the distance of two leagues, at which such goods as were intended for the interior, paid the duties from which they had been exempt on importation. This insulation of its territory contributed to detach it from the rest of France. The difficulty caused by the barriers was the occasion of there being little communication with the interior, except for important articles of commerce; and thus, says M. Thiers, all those ties by which one part of a country is attached to another, were broken. But Napoleon, with his ignorant depreciation of commerce, and the blockading system, were the ruin of Marseilles. All the great things which the Imperial Government did for France, were either injurious or useless to the Marseillaise merchants; and hence the loyalty of this once republican community at the return of the Bourbons.

‘ It must be allowed,’ says M. Thiers, ‘ that if, in 1814, Marseilles gave vent to its sentiments in a terrible manner, it cannot be accused of ingratitude; for far from having participated in any of the advantages of the imperial regime, it had on the contrary only borne its hardships and privations. It is here the proper place, to make a distinction, which will explain many events, the causes of which have not been perceived. Two interests have arisen in France, which, although confounded in the general class of industry, are not the less distinct, and though now reconciled, were, however, once opposed; these are the commercial, and the manufacturing interests.

The first suffered severely during the long interruption of our maritime communications, and was nearly annihilated; the second gained almost every thing by the exclusion of foreign productions, and by the extraordinary efforts that were made to find substitutes for what we no longer received from abroad; it was besides especially protected by Bonaparte, who wished in this manner to indemnify France for her other privations. Then it was that the prejudice was first formed (and which is not yet wholly removed) of an exclusively national commerce; then the strangely exaggerated principle was laid down, that a nation must constantly try to render itself independent of foreigners, and numerous other similar opinions, which are now recognized as errors, but which the luminous discussions of our latest writers on political economy have not yet been able to overthrow. These two interests have thus become opposed to each other, because they were unequally treated by the late government. In 1814, when the commercial interest conceived hopes of seeing the ocean (from which they had been so long excluded,) again open to them, it enthusiastically hailed the change that was effected, and the peace which followed it. The manufacturers, on the contrary, who saw their protector overthrown, and were thereby deprived of the advantages of the monopoly, which the blockade had given them, were alarmed; Bordeaux, Marseilles, and all the maritime cities of our two shores, were seen to manifest a joy, in which Lyons, and the towns in the interior, did not participate in an equal degree. There was yet another reason for this difference. Commerce in its most extensive ramifications, had existed before the new order of things, and it may be said to have more affinity with the old, than with the new regime. Manufactures on the contrary, though very flourishing formerly, have received a new existence within these thirty years: they have owed almost every thing to the progress of science and knowledge, and have therefore a connection with the new ideas which commerce has not. The merchants however soon found out, that it was not sufficient to have the seas opened, but that they wanted protection abroad, and independence at home; they have approximated to the manufacturers, who have felt their regrets diminish, and had their fears allayed; thus both have come to an understanding; they have become sensible of their mutual dependence on each other; and that if the merchant is necessary to the manufacturer, to export his produce, the merchant has no less need of the manufacturer, to employ or to work up his importations from distant countries. They no longer reproach each other with being anti-national, or attached to despotism; and they have become reconciled, in common attachment to internal and external independence. The conflict of these two interests has been particularly remarkable at Marseilles.

pp. 50—52,

The commerce of the Levant has passed into other hands. The Greeks, who, from mere pirates, have of late become active merchants, have engrossed a considerable share of it; and to their advance in commerce may chiefly be ascribed the revival

of a spirit of independence in that country. It has given them a taste for industry, and a confidence in their maritime strength; and it bids fair to furnish them with the only effectual means of asserting their freedom. Commerce has ever been the harbinger of civilization, and the parent of civil liberty. The Italian Republics, the Hanseatic cities, England, all afford, in the history of their past greatness, the most striking illustrations of the fact. It will be not a little remarkable, should we witness the same causes which successively originated on the shores of the Mediterranean, of the Adriatic, and of the German Sea, free and independent states, again put in operation on the coasts of Greece, and giving birth to new republics in the native land of freedom and of letters. Homer was right in making Neptune the ally of the Greeks, when Mars fought against them.

As soon as you quit the plains of Provence for those of Languedoc, on crossing the Rhone, you are made sensible, by a new pronunciation and a change of costume, that you are approaching Spain. The red girdle, and the reddish brown bonnet thrown backwards, announce the costume of Catalonia. The old Romance language, which, mixed with the Italian in Piedmont, with the French in Provence, with the Spanish in Languedoc, forms, in turn, the Piedmontese, the Provençal, and the Languedocian, becomes, on entering Roussillon, almost pure Catalanian. But the large Moorish features are not yet distinguishable in the natives, nor have they the haughty, indolent air of the Spaniards: their countenances are lively and animated. The shoals of refugee monks, whom our Traveller encountered at Narbonne, indicated that he was drawing near the scene of action. 'Sir,' said the good landlady of the inn at which M. Thiers stopped, 'it must be agreed that there are too many of these monks, and that a few less would be better. Surely every body prays, and nobody works in Spain.' 'I was surprised,' he adds, 'at these economical views in the good woman, who appeared to me very devout; but I soon perceived that the devotion of the place would have no objection to a reduction in this monkish militia; and I found it the same wherever these fugitives had been received.' At Perpignan, they swarm in every variety of ecclesiastical livery. Here, says our Author, 'I saw monks of all colours; black, blue, white, grey, and reddish brown; the *curés* in large great coats and immense French hats.'

You remark a singular habit in them when you meet them; they followed you with their eyes, as if ready to answer a question, and their extended hand seemed ready to bless you. I soon learnt that

in Spain, they bless all the peasants, who prostrate themselves before them, and I understood that they were inclined to be equally generous in France, as in their own country. Two of them, with whom I conversed, said carelessly, 'The Spaniards like it, and we give it them. In France they do not care for it, and we keep it to ourselves.' In general I did not find them very fanatical. They have a kind of indolence which excludes violent sentiments. They are very little affected by the diminution of the king's power, but the happy theocratic influence which they enjoyed has been disturbed. The converts of several of them have been visited, the majority has suffered for the crimes of a few, and they have fled; in no great hurry, however, and contented with the quiet and easy pace of their mules.

The profession of a monk is very general in Spain, because it is easy, pleasant, and favours all kind of idleness. If a man has committed any irregularities, or if he is still more lazy than his countrymen, he is received into a monastery, and displays his tranquil sanctity in the eyes of the people, who are glad to see the servants of God multiply. A portion of the land is allotted for their support, and voluntary donations add considerably to their established income. This easy mode of life gives most of them a happy *embonpoint*; a lively red to their cheeks; effaces the fine lines of the Moorish countenance; renders those happy bodies difficult to be moved; and in their untroubled reign, takes from them even the hatred of heresy, the very name of which is unknown to them. In others the cloister appears to have made the complexion sallow, hollowed and inflamed the eyes, depressed the cheeks, and thus produced the ideal of fanaticism. I have never seen any thing slier than some of these heads projecting from the large robes of the capuchins, with an ample forehead, a long straight nose, large black fixed eyes, a little strong and thick beard. Among them are those men, who, by turns, monks and guerillas, have quitted the mountains since the return of Ferdinand, and now go back to them, to satisfy an ardent temperament, which, under other institutions, would have shewn itself in great actions and noble enterprises.

At Perpignan they are not pitied as they may be where they are not seen. The most zealous partisans of the system which it is wished to preserve in Spain, dare not venture to express pity at these happy and quiet travellers; for the round faces of the greater number, and their little leather purses, make every-body easy with respect to them. I remarked especially the effects of the neighbourhood and presence of facts. At Perpignan nobody ventures to say, that religion is attacked, because Spain is deprived of these useless devourers; no one ventures to speak of their exemplary piety, of their austere sanctity; they themselves speak with singular *naïveté* of their own regime. At Perpignan, for instance, Mr. Mata-Florida is not a prince; Messieurs Gispert and Ortaffa are not excellencies; Baron d'Eroles has never been said to have forty thousand men; Misas is not a religious partisan of the mass, though he bears the name of it; the Trappist is not a miraculous and invulnerable man. While I was at Perpignan, these great personages were a frequent

subject of conversation, and nowhere did more correct opinions prevail respecting them.' pp. 75—78.

Mata-Florida, or, as the peasants here call him, *El rey Mata-Florida*, was, but a few years ago, a very obscure lawyer at Madrid, who signed, if he did not draw up, the address presented in 1814 by the Sixty-nine to Ferdinand, petitioning him to abolish the constitution of the Cortes. This introduced him to the favour of the King, who created him a Marquis, and afterwards appointed him a minister. He was in the ministry in 1820, when the events of the Island of Leon compelled Ferdinand to accept the constitution. Soon after his dismissal, he left Madrid, and has since repaired to the mountains of Catalonia, where he has constituted himself regent and prince. Two citizens, one of Perpignan, the other of Ille, a small town in its neighbourhood, both long ago expatriated, happening to fall in with his Regentship, first became his secretaries; but, on being styled in certain journals ministers, they adopted the title, and called themselves excellencies. 'In this manner,' adds M. Thiers, 'was this Regency formed; and, by the aid of distance, it has appeared to be something; but it never had any real importance, except in the minds of the combatants whom it excited.' Our Traveller was fortunate enough to meet this worthy triumvirate in the defiles of Mount Louis. A man between fifty and sixty years of age, of middle stature, pale, thin, and stooping, with red eyes, dressed in a brown great coat with a black cap, and dragging himself up the steep acclivity with the greatest difficulty, leaning on two other persons,—was announced by the guide to be '*el rey Mata-Florida*.' His situation could not but excite compassion, little as there was in either his appearance or his character to command respect. The Trappist had deserted the camp and the Regency for snug quarters at Toulouse some time before; it was supposed, through pique; but, owing to his unpopularity among the French, he no longer shewed himself in public. The military dress of this holy militant consisted of a capuchin's robe, with a cross of white wool upon the breast, and a rosary and sabre hanging together. A French officer at Tarascon asked him whether he did not wear some other dress in the field of battle.

"No," replied the Trappist, "I wear no other."

"It must be very troublesome, either on horseback or on foot."

"Not at all; and it is in this very dress that I have killed two hundred of you Frenchmen."

"Two hundred Frenchmen!" replied the officer, angrily; "say rather that you assassinated them in the hospitals."

"No," replied the monk, "killed! killed!"

Another capuchin who had more sense, shook the Trappist, saying to him several times, "Recollect yourself, Don Antonio, you forget you are talking to Frenchmen." The holy man then perceived that his insolent bravado was neither very christian, nor very obliging to Frenchmen, who had treated him with kind hospitality; and he endeavoured to excuse himself with as much humility as he had before shewn arrogance. The officer turned upon his heel, without paying any further attention to him; but the conversation became so public, that he was sent off directly, and before the appointed hour, in order to prevent his being treated in a manner which would not have been very agreeable, judging by the anger of the people.' pp. 151, 2.

Baron d'Eroles is represented as the only man among the insurgents of any talent or merit. 'All Spain,' says M. Thiers, 'is astonished to see him in the anti-constitutional army.' He formerly studied the law with great credit, and had scarcely finished his studies, when he declared for the Cortes of Cadiz, and actually commanded a small army which fought for the independence of Spain and the constitution of 1812. He acted with considerable skill as a partisan, but in this respect is held to be far inferior to Mina. Lofty in mind, yet moderate in his opinions, of an acute understanding, and quite unfit, except in point of personal bravery, for a chief of guerillas, those who know him, regret that, with the talents of a statesman, he should have condemned himself to become a leader of banditti, and that after having fought for the constitution, he should now be found the general of the Regency of Urgel. The only explanation of his conduct is to be found in French influence. He was for a considerable time at Montpellier, before the events of the Isle of Leon; and since he is known not to be fanatically devoted either to the throne or to the altar, it must have been in the hope of receiving powerful assistance, that he was led to engage in so desperate a cause; which assistance he could have looked for only in one direction.

M. Thiers fell in with an encampment of the Army of Faith; and according to his account, a more beggarly and rascally rabble were never collected together into a regiment.

'Their features and their costume,' he says, 'struck me extremely. I fancied myself suddenly transported in the midst of a scene which had often impressed me when a child, that of the shores of the Mediterranean, peopled with natives of eastern countries. The resemblance of the races is striking. I found here two kinds of countenances: some had large black eyes, a short forehead, a large nose, a tawny complexion, and black hair: the others, black and tawny like the first, had compact faces, flattened features, crisp hair, and

seemed to me to have a great affinity with the Arabs. They are generally of a middle stature, and by no means upright: it was evident from the bending in their loins and knees, from their quick and elastic step, that they were more accustomed to run upon the mountains than to form regular ranks, to hold their heads up and their arms extended. Their costume was singularly characteristic; they wore, like the natives of Roussillon, a long cap, a short jacket, and instead of wide trousers, short close breeches coming down to the knees, gaiters terminating at the instep; lastly, *spartillas*, a kind of sandals with a cork sole, and fastened by strings passing over the foot. I here speak of the complete costume, for most of them had neither cap, nor jacket, nor *spartillas*. A pair of breeches half-worn out covered them from the waist to the knees, and a plaid of a thousand variegated colours supplied the place of the garments which they wanted.

'This ignorant, violent, lazy, and poor people must be employed and fed, until they become sensible of the advantages which industry procures; but until they acquire a home and the means of regular subsistence, they will fly with joy to the first signal which is given them from the mountains. We need not therefore be at all surprised at the facility with which the Regency of Urgel has drawn some villages into insurrection. But if insurrection is easy, the case is otherwise as to its success and duration. In fact, when the Regency thought proper to appoint ministers and generals, and to attempt a regular campaign, it was beaten. It will be said that it might have done against Mina what the Cortes of Cadiz did against Bonaparte. To this there is but one reply. These guerillas, who have risen for a moment in the Pyrenees, are good for nothing against their own countrymen, in whom there is nothing to excite their passions; on the contrary, the sight of a stranger, differing from themselves in language, dress, and countenance, animates them even to fury. These differences are unpardonable in their eyes, and they pursue them with extreme inveteracy. Add to this the fine uniforms, handsome arms, gorgets, and brilliant buttons, to pillage from foreigners; and these are more than sufficient reasons to make them fight in every defile in Spain. Besides, they have an advantage over the enemy, which they have not over their countrymen, sobriety, and a perfect acquaintance with the country and its localities. These guerillas, who are so weak against Mina, will therefore be very formidable to foreigners. Providence seems to have ordained, that when it gave men a country, they should be able to preserve it, and with that view to have given them an irresistible force on their own soil. There is a great deal of meaning in the fable which says, that a giant, on touching his mother earth, acquired from it new and terrible strength,' pp. 84-8.

In their present state, our Author remarks, and we believe justly, that the Spaniards, of all the nations of Christendom, are the one which, with the greatest need of education to give direction to their ardent passions, and an equable impulse to

their energies, possess the least: they have remained the most backward in the career of European civilisation. Their perseverance in the contest for liberty, is less the result of character, than of their political situation; their poverty, their hatred of foreigners, and their taste for war. 'A temperate people,' says M. Thiers, 'who have no wants, no harvest to reap, no home to regret, and who, with a miserable fowling-piece, can often procure what they have not at home, will always be ready to make war, and to repel invasion.' The constitutional army, however, is represented as under excellent discipline, and as comprising in its ranks the oldest soldiers now to be found in Europe. What is said of the Spanish character in general, must in fact be taken with some limitation. The mountaineers of Catalonia and Arragon, the merchants of Cadiz, the manufacturers of Seville and Valencia, will be found differing as widely as the corresponding classes in other countries. But in one feeling they are identified; a jealousy of foreigners, and an invincible spirit of resistance to the invader.

We have heard it said, on the credit of what was deemed high authority, that the Constitutionals of Spain are but a small faction, and that they are far from having the majority of the nation on their side. It would be marvellous indeed, if they had. When was any beneficial revolution accomplished with the active concurrence of the ignorant many, unless when the nation became united by a sense of danger from a common enemy? Let us look to our own history, and see to whom we have been indebted for all our civil and religious privileges, for every beneficial change in our political condition. An aristocratical faction wrested from the throne the great charter. A decided minority of the nation went with the Reformers: so far as the people had any share in it, the Reformation was the work of a small party. The Country Party in the reign of the Second Charles, laid the foundation of our most valued constitutional rights. The Revolution of 1688, was the work of an aristocratical faction, who had by no means with them a numerical majority. An instinctive dread of change, and an attachment to old names as well as old things, will always form a moral *vis inertiae* in the mass of the population, indisposing them to obey any thing but a sort of mechanical impulse, which being spent, they return to a state of rest. That the Constitutionals of Spain are a small minority, a faction numerically inconsiderable, is, if it be true, a fact neither surprising in itself, nor discouraging to the friends of Spanish liberty. It amounts only to this, that the number of individuals in Spain is small, who think and feel as men; who either are capable of liberty,

or desire it. This might be a good reason, so far as they are concerned, for not attempting violently to disturb the forms of society, were it not that this passive mass are shaped by their institutions, and that their brutal apathy and ignorance are perpetuated by a vicious government. But they are not alone concerned; nor is it the question whether a visionary freedom should be imparted to a population who do not ask for it. It is the few, and not the many, who constitute the strength, and glory, and soul of a country. We do not mean, with Mr. Canning, the privileged orders—the aristocracy, the clergy, the lawyers, and the magistracy, but the few of every class, from the peer to the peasant, who live for the future, and who feel for their fellows and for those who are to come after them. At least, these ever have been in comparison the few, and must remain so till the diffusion of education renders it otherwise. But, in the meantime, it is no reason that the better part of a nation should submit to despotism and the loss of their most sacred rights, because the majority are too ignorant, too priest-ridden, too lost to a sense of all that dignifies human nature, to take an interest in the struggle, or to feel a wish to rise above what they are. If only a tenth part or a twentieth part of the Spanish nation had wished for the abolition of the Inquisition, it might have been prudent to withhold our interference; but could any Briton have failed to applaud and wish success to the efforts of that enlightened minority? What then, though it be only a patriot faction, (if faction be a proper word in such a connexion,) who are making a stand for their constitutional privileges against the perfidious and imbecile tyrant who owes them his crown: is it less the cause of the Spanish nation, or of humanity? What can be expected from a population of whom every sixtieth individual has been computed to be an ecclesiastic? But light is breaking in upon even the Gothic darkness of the Peninsula, and the Pyrenees cannot much longer be a barrier against the principles of the Reformation. There is no Charles the Fifth now, no Ximenes, to stifle freedom in its cradle. The people of Spain have been taught their power, a lesson not soon forgotten; and what Napoleon attempted in vain, will never be accomplished by a Bourbon, though backed by the Imperial committee of Verona.

The Author's full-length sketch of a Guerilla chief, is too admirably graphic to be omitted: it is quite *à la Radcliffe*, and is, besides, connected with some remarks on smuggling and the prohibitory system, which are highly deserving of attention.

'I arrived about night-fall at the tower of Carol. I saw some

habitations covered with snow, irregularly placed, and having an appearance of filth, which surprised me, even after what I had seen. My horse, which was used to the country, carried me of his own accord into a court-yard, where pieces of beef and hides still bloody, were hanging on the walls. This yard was used as a slaughter-house by one of the contractors of the army; and the dung-hill which covered the ground, was formed of blood and straw. This sight shocked me. My guide lent me a pair of large wooden shoes, which I put on over my boots, and I crossed this stinking court-yard, to go through a little door, to the foot of a ladder, which led to the upper story. The company was very numerous, as I had concluded from the number of mules which were unloading in the court-yard. In an immense apartment, there was a fire on which nearly a whole tree was burning. The flame ascended the wall, and issued by a hole in the roof. The persons round the fire were all sitting upon square stones, or on blocks of wood; they consisted of muleteers, monks, smugglers, always called merchants, the *trusty and well beloved*, who were on their flight, and women, who, in their eagerness to warm themselves, had not yet thrown off their black cloaks. All were on a footing of perfect equality, and the seats belonged to the first comer. Several rows of frozen travellers were waiting till their turn came. As soon as one of those who were in the first line, began to feel his skin burn, he retired, and made room for the one behind him. The first care was to take off the spartillas, or the wooden shoes, and to hang them on the sticks of the faggots, which were not yet burning. Thus there were about twenty pair of shoes smoking, and the feet of the mountaineers exhibited naked round the fire. It was in the middle of this gallery that I had to take my seat. Fortunately my guide had acted as my *chargé d'affaires*, and taken care to occupy a seat, which he gave up to me. I soon found myself seated next to the chief of a band, whose face promised me many curious stories, if I could make myself understood, and accommodate myself to his Castilian pride. He wore a large cloak wrapped round his body, a leather girdle from which no sabre now hung; but on the other hand I saw a rude handle projecting from the pocket of his trowsers. He had just smoked a pipe, and putting his hand to this pocket drew out a very long instrument, which suddenly opening, shewed me a dagger concealed under the form of a knife. He made use of the point to clean the bowl of his pipe, and when this operation was finished, he looked at his weapon for an instant, and turned it several times with complacency, like a man who contemplates his last shilling. A brigadier of the gendarmes who was present, immediately put his hand on it, saying that it was forbidden to enter with arms into the French territory.

‘ ‘ Well,’ said the other, ‘ is it forbidden to cut one’s tobacco and bread ?’

‘ ‘ Certainly not,’ replied the brigadier, ‘ but here is more than is required to cut tobacco and bread.’

‘ ‘ And the wolves and dogs; must we not defend ourselves against them ?’

'The guerilla said this with a careless air, but so haughtily, that my gendarme, who was accustomed to ask for passports, and not for daggers, did not venture to insist. There was an old serjeant in the company, the only one perhaps of his age and appearance, that I have remarked in our army, and who I believe would have willingly taken upon himself to disarm the guerilla. He seemed to be well acquainted with this kind of knives. I heard him mutter between his teeth, and ask rather angrily, 'Whether people came into France to assassinate?' As the police however did not concern him, he went to drink in a corner, while the other continued to smoke; and thus they parted, like two dogs of equal strength, who separate growling at each other.

'I drew near the table where the old serjeant was drinking. The face of this brave man suddenly brightened up; he politely asked me to drink with him, and immediately enquired what business I had among all these people. 'Indeed, sir,' said he, 'I pity you; you will sup ill, pass a very bad night, and to-morrow you will make a journey which is worse than all. For us, it is nothing; we have been for a year guarding these Spaniards, who play the devil at home, and then come to take refuge among us. There is one there!'

'Yes! my friend, what do you think of him?'

'Think of him, why, that he is as old a soldier as myself, and that that knife has killed more Frenchmen, than it has ever cut tobacco?'

'How do you guess that?'

'Oh, faith, I know them well! I understand those countenances, as our fishermen when they look at the horizon can foresee the mistral?'

'You were born then on the sea coast?'

'Oh dear, yes! my mother is an oyster-woman at Cette. Though I have always been used to run about the mountains, I assure you that fine fellow would have gathered a handful of snow upon Canigou before I could pluck up a tuft of grass. Only look at those feet; no goat's are more forked. And that dagger! I'll wager that it has tasted plenty of our blood. Should a villanous weapon like that come into France?—If the brigadier would allow me!—'

'You seem to be rather afraid of it.'

'Oh, my good sir, when I see it, I am not afraid of it, and thank God, my musket fears nobody. But my musket goes only in one hand, and this serpent of a knife passes from one hand to another, it sees you when you do not see it, and it penetrates you as it would into the crumb of this loaf.'

'You have then fought long against the guerillas; it is a bad kind of warfare.'

'Bad! you never know where it is. The road is always open, there are never any enemies before you; but behind.....If you only want to drink at a pool, or to cut wood, you must be on your guard against the very stones. All of a sudden, one of those fellows, such as you see there, rushes out, and you are dead before you have time to cry *vive l'Empereur!*.....Excuse me,' added the good serjeant,

'you know that at the time we fought against those people, we used to cry *vive l'Empereur*! And he, you know, would not have us be afraid. In the campaign in Egypt—you remember, sir, the campaign in Egypt?'

'Not exactly, for I was not there; but I have heard speak of it.'

'Well! I will tell you. The sabres of those Turks cut you off a man's head, as we could cut off the top of a little shrub. Those sabres at first rather frightened us; but the general soon cured us of that. He told us that we were children; yet we were taller and bolder than he; I for my part was four years older. Well! he said so much to us, that we lost our fear.—But these knives.'.....

'Did he not accustom you to them?'

'Accustom!.....people say much more; namely, that he would not come back here himself on account of them, and if he was afraid of them, what should we feel?'

'Do you really think that Bonaparte was afraid of returning to Spain on account of the knives?'

'Faith! they say so. And then, look you, he was just married; and it is unpleasant the first year of marriage to carry on this sort of war. As for me, I thought more than once that I should never see my old mother again. Come, sir, let us take a draught. All this is very well to talk of when you are no longer in the middle of it.' And turning at the same time to some young soldiers, whom he pledged; 'My poor children,' said he, 'God keep you from Spain.'

* * * * *

'The brigadier of the gendarmes had not yet retired, and was smoking his pipe by the fireside. I arose, and went to sit down by him. In changing my seat, I perceived the Spaniard who was the possessor of the knife, who had stretched his large limbs upon the floor, and supported his head upon a block of wood. This magnificent handiit, like Endymion lighted up by a moon-beam, received the red light of the fire on his countenance. He was in a profound sleep. I particularly remarked his large closed eyes, his mouth half open, his long hair scattered in confusion about his neck. In spite of his rude costume, I have never seen a finer model of a human figure. What a pity, thought I, that civilization has not enlightened and developed so powerful a form!

'What do you think of this company?' said the gendarme; and without giving me time to reply, added, 'you must certainly have some very particular business to bring you here; as for me, I would not stay a day in it, if I were not obliged by my office. I have guarded all the coasts of France, all the defiles of the Alps; I have even served in Italy during the blockade; but I assure you that I have never yet seen such smugglers as those of the valley of Carol. See, said he (pointing to the company) these are people who know the smallest crevices in the mountains, and who pass where neither you nor I would ever dare to venture ourselves. And what kind of contraband do you think they carry on?—In the Jura, near Geneva, the mountaineers carry jewellery and watches, which are such small articles

that it is natural they should not be seen. But these merely smuggle—what do you think?—wool! and we can hardly ever catch them. In fact they climb the mountains on the south side, and when they have reached the summit, they throw down the bales, which roll down on the north side, when others receive and carry them through the defiles into the plain. It is in vain that we watch them, they always escape us. It is a very different thing with sugar and coffee: as for those goods, they introduce them as the ladies in the *sea-ports de Vanille*, in their bags. They are an untractable and wicked people, whom we have the greatest difficulty to keep under restraint, who are neither French nor Spanish, and who look only for one thing, which is a rise in the price of commodities. Would you believe it, they are almost all Bonapartists, though they had no more connection with the government of Bonaparte than with that of the king? But I will tell you the reason; sugar and coffee were dearer then, and smuggling was more profitable.

‘The brigadier told me many other things which I shall not repeat. I could not help making reflections on the prohibitory system, which is now adopted by all Europe. Every state wishes to impose restrictions upon the other, and to oblige foreign produce to pay import duties. What is the result? Nations are now so much on the alert, that a week after the levying of the duty, they retaliate. We have attempted to lay a duty on American cotton; the Americans have revenged themselves by almost excluding our wines: we have laid a duty on Swedish iron, and Sweden has retaliated in the same way as the Americans. I mention these instances, because they are fresh in my memory; and the result is, that almost every prohibition has been retaliated, and that we remain with an insupportable complication of duties, which ruin commerce, and clog it with disgusting precautions. But this is not all; the frontiers of states are inhabited by a race whom smuggling renders horribly depraved. Smugglers are a wicked race; drunkards, robbers, and gamblers. These qualities are the necessary results of a life spent in hazards and dangers, often in idleness, and always in the violation of the laws. I know a village, formerly very rich, placed on the boundary of the free territory of Marseilles, and near a kind of defile, the inhabitants of which had devoted themselves entirely to smuggling; they have almost entirely abandoned the cultivation of their lands, and sold them to a neighbouring village, which is now becoming a place of consequence by the industry and assiduity of its cultivators. The population of the first is now an idle, wicked, and gambling race. The vice of gaming had formerly been carried there to an excess. It had infected the higher class, which this time had received the influence instead of communicating it; and it was there that people came to make the most ruinous parties of play. Smuggling itself had been practised by them to a considerable extent; and before the Revolution, the great noblemen, whose carriages were not examined at the custom-house, carried it on in the most unblushing manner.

‘Such are the effects of these prohibitions; they create offences,

the commission of which is profitable, and very soon make offenders who become the most vicious of men. They are also the most turbulent class, of which they have just given proofs in Spain, for it is they who compose, in a great measure, the bands of the Faith.

pp. 131—144.

Art. III. *Memoirs of the Private Life of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France and Navarre.* To which are added, *Recollections, Sketches, and Anecdotes*, illustrative of the Reigns of Louis XIV. Louis XV. and Louis XVI. By Madame Campan, *First Femme de Chambre* to the Queen. In two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 956. London. 1823.

THE Court of France has generally been degraded by systematic licentiousness; and some of the most splendid sections of French history are identified with the reigns under which this organized corruption prevailed in its greatest excess. The age of Francis I., of Henry IV., of Louis XIV. are become proverbial phrases to express the periods when France attained her highest eminence in arts and arms; but they also bring with them recollections destructive of all genuine fame. Bigotry, treachery, sensuality, are so deeply blended with the events of those remarkable times, as to tarnish all their brightness, and to cast a dark shade over the characters of men otherwise entitled to admiration and esteem. During the shewy reign of Louis XIV., the King's Mistress became a title of envied distinction. A regular establishment was provided for the favourite; she appeared at court with the honours of high rank; courtiers followed in her train, and ministers of state sued for her protection. His successor, not content with adopting this system of concubinage, abandoning himself to the impulses of an imagination utterly depraved, found a hateful gratification in the caresses of a vulgar wanton, and the infamous indulgencies of the *Parc-aux-cerfs*. This establishment consisted of a number of elegant houses within the same enclosure, where beautiful girls, of all ages, awaited the pleasure of their master. Children, unhappy enough to give the promise of future loveliness, were sometimes purchased, and sometimes forced from their parents, and trained for the king's detestable purpose. These victims of brutal appetite were successively dismissed, with a liberal provision for themselves and for their offspring; and this artful profusion awakened the cupidity of the necessitous or the avaricious, and secured an easy and ample supply for this school of depravity. 'Hence,' writes Lacroix in his *History of France*, 'corruption found its way into the most peaceful and obscure habita-

be present while the Queen was dressing, the dame d'honneur yielded to her the latter act of office, but still did not yield it directly to the princesses of the blood: in such a case, the dame d'honneur was accustomed to present the linen to the chief lady in waiting, who in her turn handed it to the princess of the blood. Each of these ladies observed these rules scrupulously, as affecting her rights. One winter's day, it happened that the Queen, who was entirely undressed, was just going to put on her body linen; I held it ready unfolded for her. The dame d'honneur came in, slipped off her gloves, and took it. A rustling was heard at the door; it was opened; and in came the Dutchess d'Orleans; she took her gloves off, and came forward to take the garment; but, as it would have been wrong in the dame d'honneur to hand it to her, she gave it to me, and I handed it to the princess. A further noise—it was the Countess de Provence; the Dutchess d'Orleans handed her the linen. All this while, the Queen kept her arms crossed upon her bosom, and appeared to feel cold. Madame observed her uncomfortable situation, and merely laying down her handkerchief, without taking off her gloves, she put on the linen, and in doing so, knocked the Queen's cap off. The Queen laughed to conceal her impatience, but not until she had muttered several times: "How disagreeable! how tiresome!" Vol. I, pp. 94, 5.

It cannot be matter of surprise that Marie Antoinette, young, beautiful, buoyant in spirits, and volatile in disposition, should seek emancipation from these irksome restraints; nor that, in the eager quest of pleasure, she should sometimes so far transgress the boundaries of propriety as to expose herself to censure, justly,—to the imputation of positive guilt, undeservedly, though plausibly. We give no credit to the foul insinuations and charges of *Soulavie*; still less would we for a moment listen to the deeper degradations with which her indiscretions permitted calumny to connect her name. We are willing to believe that she was innocent of every thing beyond vanity and extravagance; but we cannot go the length to which Madame Campan would carry us in acquitting her of these. During the greater part of her career of gayety, the lower orders of the French were suffering extreme misery, occasioned, to a considerable extent, by the pressure of the public burdens. Her expensive habits enhanced and insulted that wretchedness, while her improvidence and thoughtlessness continually placed her in situations which, to say the least, allowed of misconception. Without questioning the veracity of Madame Campan, we really cannot help receiving her testimony with suspicion, were it only on the ground of its attempt at entire justification. She even represents the Queen as economical and extremely moderate in her personal expenses. Not content with asserting, in opposition to the general belief, that Marie Antoinette had no share whatever in the appointment of

M. de Calonne to the superintendence of the finances, she represents her as gradually withdrawing her confidence from her friend and favourite, the Dutchess de Polignac, because her *coterie*, in conjunction with the Count d'Artois, had contributed to the nomination of that clever but lavish minister. In addition to this, we are required to believe, that the Queen made Madame Campan her sole confidante on this occasion. It may have been so; but, in the absence of all corroborative testimony, and with proofs before us of the undiminished favour of Madame de Polignac, we cannot but strongly suspect the accuracy of this statement. There are others of the same questionable nature; but we have no wish to press these considerations further. Madame de C. and her Editor have afforded us much gratification and some information; and we are quite willing to admit that she has placed the character and conduct of her mistress beyond the reach of calumny in many instances where unprincipled malice had thrown slander on her memory. Before, however, we proceed to a more systematic examination of the contents of these volumes, we shall briefly introduce our readers to their Author.

Her father, M. Genet, was first clerk in the department of foreign affairs. He had travelled much, and appears to have been a man of talent and knowledge. He took great pains with the education of his children; and Henriette, in particular, made a rapid progress in the acquisition of music and the modern languages. Her talent for recitation procured for her, at the early age of fifteen, the place of reader to the daughters of Louis XV. She entered upon her office just after the death of Maria Leckzinska, the wife of that royal debauchee; and she describes in expressive language the first impressions of awe produced upon her mind by the paraphernalia of royal rank. Madame Adelaide, the elder of the princesses, was haughty and passionate. She one day had a fierce quarrel with her dancing-master about the name of a minnet, which he had invented and dignified with the happily imagined epithet of *couleur de rose*. Her highness, from some unaccountable caprice, chose to distinguish it by a different colour, *blue*. In vain did the mortified *figurant* exhaust his eloquence in defence of his favourite title; his pupil refused to dance till her whim was complied with, and the rose was compelled to give way to the violet. Madame Victoire was handsome and graceful, amiable, but luxurious and self-indulgent. Fasts were a mortal annoyance to her; and we have a curious detail of a regular battle between her conscience and her appetite, respecting the edibility of waterfowl in Lent. Luckily, a bishop happening to be at table, he was of course made referee; and,

with a gravity suited to the occasion, he rested the merits of the case on the quality of the gravy. 'Let,' said this sagacious diocesan, 'the bird, when dressed, be held over a cold silver dish, and pricked: if, within a quarter of an hour, the gravy shall congeal, the fowl must be accounted flesh; but, if it remain in an oily state, eat without scruple.' This happy suggestion was adopted, and the successful issue of the experiment rewarded the scrupulous Victoire for her heroic self-denial. Madame Sophie was excessively ugly; her movements were hurried and abrupt; and, that she might know who was present without being under the necessity of addressing them, she acquired a habit of 'leering on one side, like a hare.' She was reserved and taciturn, excepting in a storm: a flash of lightning made her condescending and affable, while a peal of thunder frightened her into fondness and caresses. Madame Louise was short and deformed. She determined on taking the veil; and we have the usual quantum of exclamations about 'her loftiness of soul,' her love of the 'sublime,' and her love of 'brilliant actions.' A much more plausible solution is assigned in a letter, said to have been written by the princess to Marie Antoinette, which is preserved by Mr. Collett in his *Relics of Literature*, and which ascribes her determination to a hopeless passion for the Marquis Turbilly. The letter is, no doubt, a forgery: the fact is probably correct. Louis XV., whose low amours had given him a taste for vulgarity, was accustomed to distinguish his daughters by coarse nicknames. Victoire was *Cocotte*—an old Sow, or fat woman. Adelaide he called *Loque*—Rag. Sophie was honoured with the epithet *Gruille*—Scrap. Louise escaped with the title of *Chiffe*—Bad Silk, or Stuff.

'Louis XV. saw very little of his family. He came every morning by a private staircase into the apartment of Madame Adelaide. He often brought, and drank there, coffee that he had made himself. Madame Adelaide pulled a bell, which apprised Madame Victoire of the King's visit; Madame Victoire, on rising to go to her sister's apartment, rang for Madame Sophie, who, in her turn, rang for Madame Louise. The apartments of the princesses were of large dimensions. Madame Louise occupied the furthest room. This latter lady was deformed and very short; the poor princess used to run with all her might to join the daily meeting, but, having a number of rooms to cross, she frequently, in spite of her haste, had only just time to embrace her father, before he set out for the chase.

'Every evening at six, the ladies interrupted my reading to them, to accompany the princes to Louis XV.; this visit was called the king's *debotté**, and was marked by a kind of etiquette. The prin-

* *Debotté* meaning the time of unbooting.—*Tr.*

cesses put on an enormous hoop, which set out a petticoat ornamented with gold or embroidery; they fastened a long train round their waist and concealed the *undress* of the rest of their clothing, by a long cloak of black taffety which enveloped them up to the chin. The gentleman ushers, the ladies in waiting, the pages, the esquires, and the ushers, bearing large flambeaux, accompanied them to the king. In a moment, the whole palace, generally so still, was in motion; the king kissed each princess on the forehead, and the visit was so short, that the reading which it interrupted, was frequently resumed at the end of a quarter of an hour: the princesses returned to their apartments, and untied the strings of their petticoats and trains; they resumed their tapestry, and I my book.' Vol. I. pp. 11, 12.

This monarch had a dignified and graceful demeanour, and excelled in a number of trifling dexterities, such as knocking off

'the top of an egg-shell very cleverly, at a single stroke of his fork; he therefore always ate eggs when he dined in public; and the Parisian cockneys, who came on Sundays to see the king dine, returned home less struck with his fine figure, than with the dexterity with which he broke his eggs.'

Whatever skill Louis might display in this important operation, he did not think it necessary to use much forbearance towards the feelings of those around him, if we may judge from the following specimens of his wit, exercised on a child of fifteen. 'Louis XV.,' writes Madame Campan,

'had the most imposing presence. His eyes remained fixed upon you all the time he was speaking; and, notwithstanding the beauty of his features, he inspired a sort of fear. I was very young, it is true, when he first spoke to me; you shall judge whether it was in a very gracious manner. I was fifteen. The King was going out to hunt; a numerous retinue followed him; he stopped opposite to me. "Mademoiselle Genet," said he, "I am assured you are very learned, and understand four or five foreign languages." "I know only two, sire," I answered trembling. "Which are they?" "English and Italian." "Do you speak them fluently?" "Yes, sire, very fluently." "That is quite enough to drive a husband mad." After this pretty compliment, the King went on; the retinue saluted me, laughing; and for my part, I remained motionless with surprise and confusion for some moments on the spot where I stood.'

Vol. I. p. viii.

While in this post, Mademoiselle Genet married M. Campan, whose father was secretary of the Queen's closet. On her marriage, the King gave her a pension of 5000 livres; and, while she was permitted to retain the office of reader to the princesses, she was appointed by the Dauphiness, Marie Antoinette, her *femme de chambre*. When the royal family were

imprisoned in the Temple, Madame Campan was entrusted with papers of importance, and found safety for herself and her charge, in retirement. After the fall of Robespierre, finding herself reduced to poverty, and having voluntarily become responsible for the payment of her husband's debts, she opened a school in the neighbourhood of Paris. Her seminary obtained the highest reputation. Madame de Beauharnois confided her daughter Hortense and her niece Emilie, to her care. A short time after this, she learnt that Madame de B. had married a Corsican gentleman who had been brought up at the military school, and was then a general. When Napoleon organized and endowed the institution of Ecouen, for the education, at the national expense, of the orphans of officers killed in battle, and the children of members of the Legion of Honour, he fixed on Madame Campan as the directress of his new establishment. The fall of the Emperor, and the return of the Bourbons, destroyed all her prospects. Calumny was busy, and the sincerity of her attachment to her royal mistress was called in question. She retired to Mantes, where the loss of her son crushed every remaining hope of happiness. A painful disorder, which requires a still more painful operation, soon manifested itself. Metastasis of disease was discovered soon after the extirpation of the original malady; and she died on the 16th March, 1822.

' One profound sentiment—her attachment to the Queen, one constant study—the education of youth, occupied her whole life. Napoleon once said to her, "The old systems of education were good for nothing—what do young women stand in need of, to be well brought up in France?" "Of mothers," answered Madam Campan. "It is well said," replied Napoleon. "Well, madame, let the French be indebted to you for bringing up mothers for their children."'

Vol. I. pp. xliii, xliv.

Such was the society to which the young and lovely Archduchess of Austria was introduced on her marriage to the Dauphin!—a court, utterly depraved in morals, tricked out and stiffened with the glazing of etiquette; her father in law a contemptible debauchee; her sisters such as we have described them; her husband insensible to all her fascinations; and all the political intriguers of the Tuileries leagued against her. There seems to have always existed a disposition to connect with the life of this unfortunate Princess, a series of gloomy presentiments; unless, indeed, the ominous circumstances were the recollection or the invention of subsequent periods. She was born on the 2d of November, 1755, the day of the fatal earthquake at Lisbon. A German charlatan named Casaner, when questioned by Maria Theresa respecting the

destiny of her daughter, 'turned pale,' and after a little affected reluctance, gave an ambiguous but unfavourable reply. Goëthe, in his Memoirs, relates the impression produced on his feelings by the tapestry which decorated the pavilion prepared for her reception in an island on the Rhine, when on her way to France. The hangings represented the bloody catastrophe of the loves of Jason and Medea, with the miseries inflicted on the husband, the wife, and the children.

'But if we seek fatal omens; those which attended the marriage festivities at Paris, may well suffice. The occurrences at the *Placé Louis XV.* are generally known; and it is unnecessary to state how the conflagration of the scaffolds intended for the fireworks, the magistrates' want of foresight, the avidity of robbers, the murderous career of the coaches, brought on and aggravated the disasters of that day; or how the young Dauphiness, coming from Versailles, by the *Cours la Reine*, elated with joy, brilliantly decorated, and eager to witness the rejoicings of the whole people, fled, struck with consternation, and drowned in tears, whilst the dreadful scene, and the cries of the dying, pursued her distracted imagination.

'Having been led to notice this calamitous event, I will briefly notice one of the scenes it presented. Amidst this distracted multitude, pressed on every side, trampled under the horses' feet, precipitated into the ditches of the *Rue Royale* and the Square, was a young man, with a girl with whom he was in love. She was beautiful; their attachment had lasted several years; pecuniary causes had delayed their union; but the following day they were to be married. For a long time, the lover, protecting his mistress, keeping her behind him, covering her with his own person, sustained her strength and courage. But the tumult, the cries, the terror, and peril, every moment increased. "I am sinking," she said; "my strength fails—I can go no further." "There is yet a way," cried the lover in despair; "get on my shoulders." He feels that his advice has been followed, and the hope of saving her whom he loves, redoubles his ardour and strength. He resists the most violent concussions: with his arms firmly extended before his breast, he with difficulty forces his way through the crowd; at length he clears it. Arrived at one of the extremities of the place, having set down his precious burthen, faltering, exhausted, fatigued to death, but intoxicated with joy, he turns round; it was a different person! Another, more active, had taken advantage of his recommendation; his beloved was no more!' Vol. I. pp. xv, xvi.

An ecclesiastic, the Abbé de Vermond, had been appointed French master to the Dauphiness: and his influence seems, in many instances, to have had a pernicious effect on the character of his pupil. Cunning, yet talkative, ugly, singular, and an intrigant, he seems to have sold himself to the Austrian ministry, and to have thrown his weight into the scale of interest. Much of the erroneous conduct of Marie An-

toinette is, by Madame Campan, ascribed to the influence of this man. Her first appearance at the French court was of the most brilliant kind, and realized the fairy vision portrayed by the magic pencil of Burke.

‘ It was impossible to refrain from admiring her aerial gait :—her smile was sufficient to win the heart ; and in this enchanting being, in whom the splendour of French gayety shone forth, an indescribable but august serenity, perhaps also the somewhat proud position of her head and shoulders, betrayed the daughter of the Cæsars.’

‘ The Dauphiness, then fifteen years of age, beaming with freshness, appeared to all eyes more than beautiful..... When she went to chapel, as soon as she had taken the first few steps in the long gallery, she discerned, all the way to its extremity, those persons whom she ought to salute with the consideration due to their rank ; those on whom she should bestow an inclination of the head ; and lastly those who were to be satisfied with a smile, while they read in her eyes a feeling of benevolence, calculated to console them for not being entitled to honours.’

Louis XV. was enchanted with his daughter-in-law, but her husband was utterly insensible to her attractions ; nor was it till long afterwards, not, indeed, until a considerable time subsequent to his accession to the throne, that this unaccountable repugnance was subdued. Young and lively, Marie Antoinette treated the formalities of etiquette with great and sometimes imprudent contempt ; and the old Countess de Noailles, her maid of honour, who was thoroughly starched and buckrammed by a long habituation to the court ceremonial, received from her the nickname of *Madame l’Etiquette*. In conjunction with the three Princesses and the two brothers of the Dauphin, with the aid of Messrs. Campan, father and son, the Dauphiness amused herself with private theatricals, at which the Dauphin was the sole spectator. The fear of discovery soon put a stop to these amusements.

The death of Louis XV. was attended by the usual scenes of court grimace. The Heir-apparent was waiting in a distant apartment for the signal of the King’s departure ; and at the moment in which it was given, ‘ a dreadful noise, absolutely ‘ like thunder,’ announced the eager haste of the courtiers rushing from the apartment known by the name of *l’œil de bœuf*, to greet the new monarch of France.

‘ On leaving the chamber of Louis XV. the Duke de Villequier, first gentleman of the bedchamber, ordered M. Andouillé, the king’s chief surgeon, to open the body and embalm it. The chief surgeon must necessarily have died in consequence. ‘ I am ready,’ replied Andouillé, ‘ but while I operate, you shall hold the head ; your office imposes this duty upon you.’ The Duke went off without saying a word. A few under-servants and poor workmen

continued with the pestiferous remains, and paid the last duty to their master.

Louis XVI. had fine features, with a slight expression of melancholy; his walk was heavy and without dignity; he was negligent of his person, and his voice, at no time agreeable, became sharp and shrill, when elevated beyond its natural level. His preceptor, the Abbé de Radonvillers, had given him a taste for reading, and stored his mind with much useful information. He was a good historian and geographer, and thoroughly versed in the English language. Monsieur, the present king, had more dignity of demeanour, but his extreme corpulence impeded his movements. He was attached to literary pursuits, and had tried his hand at poetical composition. His memory was excellent, and furnished him with a large store of ready quotation, both vernacular and classical. The Count d'Artois was handsome, well made, active, and animated; he dressed with peculiar care, and was somewhat of a libertine. The first act of the new reign was an imprudent one. The choice of Maurepas as the King's minister, was ominous of the errors which distinguished a long series of disastrous measures terminating in irretrievable ruin. Madame Campan takes much pains, and suggests a number of ingenious little explanations, to clear off every thing that seemed objectionable in the conduct of the Queen; but enough appears to shew clearly, that she was excessively indiscreet, and that she continually and injuriously interfered in matters of state. We suspect, too, that, after making every deduction for the inventions of malevolence, or the exaggerations of rumour, the received version of the facts in question, was sufficiently correct. It may be, that the smiles of derision with which the young Queen appeared to receive 'the venerable dowagers' of Auvergne, were nothing more than the irrepressible laughter excited by the monkey-tricks of the Marchioness de Clermont-Tonnerre; but we have our suspicions that the last was the ostensible, the first the real cause of mirth. It may be, that her 'three o'clock in the morning' jaunt 'to the eminences of the gardens at Marly,' was with the King's consent; but it was without the sanction of the King's presence. The purchase of a most expensive pair of diamond ear-rings might have been from her own 'privy purse;' but the debt was four or five years in discharging, and possibly originated the famous affair of the necklace, in which we believe that she was entirely innocent. Her extravagant passion for feathers and flowers was in itself only frivolous; but it introduced most expensive habits among the younger females about the court, to the great annoyance

of mothers and husbands, and it gave occasion to a scandalous story, which the Duke de Lauzun tells one way, and Madame Campan another, and which, on either hypothesis, betrays excessive indiscretion. Her patronage of the famous milliner, Mademoiselle Bertin, gave rise to ridiculous scenes, and licensed that eminent inventress in assuming the airs of a minister of state.

Mademoiselle Bertin, it is said, upon the strength of the Queen's kindness, assumed a most ridiculous degree of pride. A lady one day went to that famous fashion-monger to ask for some patterns of mourning for the Empress. Several were shown to her, all of which she rejected. Mademoiselle Bertin exclaimed in a tone of voice, made up of vexation and self-sufficiency, "Shew her then some specimens of my last transactions with her Majesty."

Madame Campan explicitly contradicts the general belief, that the *Petit Trianon* was a scene of unbounded extravagance. It was given to the Queen, by Louis; and, though she took much pleasure in embellishing the gardens, the house and the old faded furniture were permitted to remain without decoration or addition. The *filles*, too, which were given in this favourite spot, were of an unexpensive kind.

Very early in his reign, Louis XVI. busied himself in the examination of his grandfather's papers. The Queen felt considerable curiosity respecting the history and name of the celebrated 'man with the iron mask,' and had requested the King to search the private collection of Louis XV. for illustrations of that puzzling enigma. None were found, but the result of his inquiries gave what we feel much inclined to receive as the true solution. The minister Maurepas, whose age and station had given him opportunities of making himself acquainted with the facts, stated, that the mysterious *marquis de fer* was nothing more than a dangerous *intrigant*, a subject of the Duke of Mantua, who had been decoyed within reach of the French authorities, arrested, and confined, first at Pignerol, afterwards in the Bastille. The transfer from the first to the latter prison, was consequent merely on the change of governor. These simple explanations had been previously published by a writer who had access to the archives of the foreign depôt; but the marvellous tale of Voltaire was too palatable to the vulgar appetite to be so easily abandoned; and the public continued to believe that a natural or twin brother of Louis XIV. had lived many years in prison with an iron-clasped head-piece over his face. It is suggested, with much probability, that this whimsical addition might take its rise from the Italian custom of wearing a velvet mask during exposure to the rays of the sun. The captive, a native of

Italy, may have been occasionally seen on the terrace of the prison, with his features thus concealed. The circumstance of the silver plate said to have been thrown by this famous personage from his window, is correctly stated, but misapplied, since it occurred under the administration of Cardinal Richelieu, at an earlier period, at a different place, and in connexion with another individual.

The intimacy between Marie Antoinette, and the Countess (afterwards Dutches) Jules de Polignac, appears to have been a sincere affection on the side of the Queen, and we are not aware of any thing which can render questionable the attachment of the favourite. That the family of the Polignacs abused their influence, is very possible; but it is expressly denied by Madame Campan, that the Queen was their instrument. Whether she was deliberately so, may admit of question; but that she became effectually, though perhaps unconsciously, the agent of the Polignac *coterie*, and that a strong influence was thus exercised on the mind of the King, is, we apprehend, sufficiently clear. To Marie Antoinette, however, this intimacy had an inexpressible charm: it yielded her the delights of private friendship, and it surrounded her with an association of gay and spirited nobles, who enlivened her evening parties by the keen encounter of their wits. Her tastes were somewhat capricious: she had no relish for painting, and, apparently, not much for literature. For music, however, she had a decided partiality, and among other professors of that science, she patronised the German, Gluck, of whom, and Vestris, the celebrated '*dieu de la danse*,' a pleasant anecdote is cited by the Editor.

* Gluck often had to deal with self-sufficiency at least equal to his own. He was very reluctant to introduce long ballets into *Iphigénie*. Vestris deeply regretted that the opera was not terminated by a *chaconne*, in which that god of dance might display all his power. He complained to Gluck about it. Gluck, who treated his art just as it deserves, would make no other reply, than that, in so interesting a subject, capering and dancing would be misplaced. Being pressed another time by Vestris, on the same subject, "A *chaconne*! a *chaconne*!" roared out the enraged musician, "we must describe the Greeks; and had the Greeks *chaconnes*?"—"What? had they not?" returned the astonished dancer; "faith then, so much the worse for them!" Vol. I. p 150.

Pleasure, innocent but frivolous, was eagerly pursued by the young Queen, with the permission, but without the participation, of her husband. Ballets, plays, pantomimes, *fêtes*, followed each other in rapid succession; and the negligent and unguarded way in which the thoughtless Marie Antoinette

visited, with only a single female companion, the opera or the masked ball, could not but expose her character to misconception. On one occasion, her carriage breaking down, she was obliged to make use of a common *fiacre* from the nearest stand. At another time, a sportive conversation with a young German baron at a masquerade, became the subject of shrewd hints and injurious imputations. These acts of levity served as the text of scandalous stories without end. It was known, that the Queen went about Paris in disguise, that she had employed a common hackney-coach, and that these adventures occurred in the night. Slighter imprudencies than these have frequently given rise to the heaviest imputations; and with so plausible a ground-work, slander was not likely to be inactive in erecting her superstructures of falsehood. The *fiacre*, it was affirmed, conveyed her to the place of assignation with the Duke de Coigny. Lord Edward Dillon, de Lamberty, and many others, were named as her favoured lovers, and the most odious construction was put upon her intimate intercourse with the Count d'Artois.

We are now approaching times much more familiarly known, and shall pass rapidly forward in our analysis. In December 1778, the Dutchess d'Angouleme was born, when the absurd and indelicate practice of admitting all persons indiscriminately into the chamber, during the *accouchement*, nearly cost the Queen her life. In October 1781, she gave birth to a son. In the meantime, the Revolution was gradually, though silently, advancing; and its progress was effectually aided by the impolitic conduct of the court. While the public mind was agitated by the events connected with the war of American independence, the whole of the *Tiers Etat* was exasperated by the absurd and iniquitous regulations which confined all military rank and all ecclesiastical preferment to the nobility. The disorder of the finances increased the general discontent and the embarrassment of administration, while the want of firmness in Louis, and the absence of principle in his minister Maurepas, prevented the adoption of any efficient measures of correction and conciliation. The following curious anecdote of the celebrated Necker occurs in the work before us.

'M. Necker had retired. He had been exasperated by a piece of treachery in the old minister, for which he could not forgive him. I knew something of this intrigue, at the time it took place; it has since been fully explained to me, by Madame la Marechale de Beauvan. M. Necker saw that his credit at court was drooping, and fearing lest that circumstance should injure his financial operations, he wrote to the King requesting his majesty would grant him some favour, which might shew the public that he had not lost the confidence

of his sovereign. He concluded his letter by pointing out five different requests—such an office, *or* such a mark of distinction, *or* such a badge of honour, and so on, and handed it to M. de Maurepas. The *ors* were changed into *ands*; and the King was displeased at M. Necker's ambition, and the assurance with which he displayed it."

Vol. I. pp. 258, 259.

The famous affair of the diamond necklace occupies a chapter; not, however, to any satisfactory purpose. The statements of Madame Campan are at variance with those of the Abbé Georgel; and we should be sometimes disposed to prefer those of the latter. The Queen seems to have pursued the Cardinal de Rohan with vindictive feeling, and she expressed herself in a very unbecoming manner on his acquittal. Unable to evade the publicity of the facts which evince the active part taken by her royal mistress in affairs of state, Madame Campan represents it as the result of necessity, yielded to with extreme reluctance, and deplored with incessant lamentation. This we neither believe nor dispute; but the interference itself, and its injurious effects, are beyond denial. One of the most marked instances of its mischievous exercise, is acknowledged to have been, the elevation of the Archbishop of Sens to the high office of minister of state. The unpopularity of the prelate was shared by his protectress, who thought her dignity concerned in setting at defiance the universal feeling, until it was no longer possible to risk the consequences. Soon after the opening of the states-general, the following singular circumstance occurred.

'The Queen went to bed late, or, I should rather say, that this unfortunate princess began to lose the enjoyment of rest. One evening, about the latter end of May, she was sitting in the middle of her room, relating several remarkable occurrences of the day; four wax candles were placed upon her toilette. The first went out of itself; I relighted it. Shortly afterwards, the second, and then the third, went out also; upon which the Queen, squeezing my hand with an emotion of terror, said to me: "Misfortune has power to make us superstitious. If the fourth taper go out like the rest, nothing can prevent my looking upon it as a fatal omen." The fourth taper went out. It was remarked to the Queen, that the four tapers had probably been run in the same mould, and that a defect in the wick had naturally occurred at the same point in each, since the candles had all gone out in the order in which they had been lighted.'

Vol. II. p. 37.

The dreadful scenes which occurred at Versailles in July 1789, are described with minuteness and fidelity. The various scenes of distress and terror in which the Royal Family were involved, are illustrated by a number of characteristic circum-

stances which give much interest to the details. Throughout the whole of these transactions, it seems difficult to say which was most remarkable, the indecision of the King, the imbecility and wrong-headedness of his advisers, the absurd and irritating language and conduct of the Royalist party; or the steady and unrelenting perseverance of the revolutionary conspirators. The former seemed to be playing into the hands of the latter, who availed themselves of every error, forewent no advantage, but pressed resolutely forward, with single eye, to their ultimate object.

The unhappily devised and wretchedly managed attempt at flight was, moreover, betrayed at an early period; and the inconsiderate choice of agents aided in the detection and defeat of the plan. The conduct of Barnave at this period, did him the greatest credit. Appointed one of the commissioners to attend the King and Queen on their return from Varennes, he distinguished himself by his courtesy, humanity, and intrepidity. Had the infatuated Queen subsequently listened to his urgent recommendation to identify the royal cause and interest with the friends of constitutional liberty, the Jacobins might yet have been successfully withstood. Her correspondence with the emigrant princes and nobles had an unfavourable effect upon her mind. They recommended the absolute rejection of all overtures 'emanating from within the kingdom;' and their counsels, co-operating with her own prejudices, induced her to reject proposals of great apparent advantage, and to persist in a system of petty intrigue, which could not possibly have any other than an injurious effect. We shall insert Madame Campan's account of the last efforts made by Barnave and his friends.

'The constitutionalists on their part, saw that there had been nothing more than a mere pretence of listening to them. Barnave's last advice was as to the means of continuing a few weeks longer, the constitutional guard, which had been denounced to the assembly, and was to be disbanded. The denunciation against the constitutional guard affected only its staff; and the Duke de Brissac.

'Barnave wrote to the Queen, that the staff of the guard was already attached; that the assembly was about to pass a decree to reduce it; and he entreated her to prevail on the King, the very instant the decree should appear, to form the staff afresh, and to make it up of persons whose names he sent her. I did not see the list, but Barnave said, that all who were set down in it passed for decided jacobins, but were not so in fact; that they, as well as himself, were in despair at seeing the monarchical government attacked; that they had learned to dissemble their sentiments, and that it would be at least a fortnight before the Assembly could know them well, and certainly before it could succeed in making them unpopular; that it would be necessary

to make use of that short space of time to get away from Paris, and that immediately after the nomination of those whom he had pointed out. The Queen was of opinion, that she ought not to yield to this advice. The Duke de Brissac was sent to Orleans, and the guard was reduced.

“Barnave, seeing that the Queen did not follow his counsel in any thing, and convinced that she placed all her reliance on assistance from abroad, determined to quit Paris. He obtained a last audience. “Your misfortunes, Madam,” said he, “and those which I anticipate for France, determine me to sacrifice myself to serve you. I see that my advice does not agree with the views of your majesties. I augur but little advantage from the plan you are induced to pursue. You are too remote from your succours: you will be lost before they reach you. Most ardently do I wish I may be mistaken in so lamentable a prediction; but I am sure to pay my head for the interest your misfortunes have raised in me, and the services I have sought to render you. I request, for my sole reward, the honour of kissing your hand.” The Queen, her eyes suffused with tears, granted him that favour, and remained impressed with the most favourable idea of this deputy’s elevated sentiments. Madame Elizabeth participated in this opinion, and the two princesses frequently spoke of Barnave. She also received M. Dupont several times, but with less mystery. Her connexion with the constitutional deputies transpired. Alexandre de Lamette was the only one of the three who survived the vengeance of the jacobins.” Vol. II. pp. 204—206.

The overtures of Dumouriez, of La Fayette, and of others, were alike obstinately rejected, and the power of the ferocious enemies of royalty was suffered to increase daily, without that effectual resistance which might have been opposed to it by a sincere union of the moderate and enlightened. These memoirs throw great light upon the conduct of the court. The King is clearly shewn, not only to have injured his own cause by his indecision and his indisposition to severe measures, but to have betrayed it by his timidity. The Queen, with much more resolution, and far less scrupulousness about means, was too habitually influenced by antipathies and partialities, and too tenacious of the ‘right divine,’ to adopt wise and feasible plans. She seems to have been greatly annoyed by the drag-chain of her husband’s weaknesses. Among her more dignified complaints and expostulations, when she was lodged, or rather imprisoned, in the monastery of the Feuillans, after the massacre at the Tuilleries, she expressed herself, ‘though with much delicacy, as

‘not a little hurt at the King’s conduct since he had been at the Tuilleries; that his habit of laying no restraint upon himself, and his great appetite, had prompted him to eat as if he had been at his palace; that those who did not know him as she did, did not feel the

piety and the magnanimity of his resignation; all which produced so bad an effect, that deputies who were devoted to him, had warned him of it; but that no change could be effected.'

At the storming of the Tuileries, the personal attendants of the royal family, and among them Madame Campan, were placed in circumstances of extreme peril. Her description of that event is exceedingly interesting.

'The Marseillois began by driving several Swiss, who yielded without resistance, from their posts. A few of the assailants fired upon them: some of the Swiss officers, unable to contain themselves at seeing their men fall thus, and perhaps thinking the King was still at the Tuileries, gave the word for a whole battalion to fire. The aggressors were thrown into disorder, and the Caroussel was cleared in a moment; but they soon returned, spurred on by rage and revenge. The Swiss were but eight hundred strong; they fell back into the interior of the castle; some of the doors were battered in by the guns, others broken through with hatchets; the populace rushed from all quarters into the interior of the palace; almost all the Swiss were massacred; the nobles flying through the gallery which leads to the Louvre, were either stabbed or pistolled, and the bodies were thrown out of the windows. M. Pallas, and M. de Marchais, ushers of the King's chamber, were killed in defending the door of the council chambers; many others of the King's servants fell victims to their attachment to their master. I mention these two persons in particular, because, with their hats pulled over their brows, and their swords in their hands, they exclaimed, as they defended themselves with unavailing, but praiseworthy courage: "We will not survive—this is our post; our duty is to die at it." M. Diet behaved in the same manner at the door of the Queen's bed-chamber; he experienced the same fate. The Princess de Tarente had fortunately opened the door of the entrance into the apartments; otherwise the dreadful band, seeing several women collected in the Queen's saloon, would have fancied she was among us, and would have immediately massacred us, if their rage had been increased by resistance. However, we were all about to perish, when a man with a long beard came up, exclaiming, in the name of Petion: "*Spare the women; don't disgrace the nation!*" A particular circumstance placed me in greater danger than the others. In my confusion, I imagined, a moment before the assailants entered the Queen's apartments, that my sister was not among the groupe of women collected there; and I went up into an *entresol*, where I supposed she had taken refuge, to induce her to come down, fancying it of consequence to our safety that we should not be separated. I did not find her in the room in question; I saw there only our two *femmes de chambre*, and one of the Queen's two *bedchamber*, a man of great height, and a perfectly martial physiognomy. I cried out to him: "Fly, the footmen and our people are already *arrivés*." "I cannot," said the man to me; "I am dying of fear." As he spoke, I heard a number of men rushing hastily up the staircase: they throw themselves upon him, and I saw him assassinated. I then

towards the staircase, followed by our women. The murderers left the hayduke to come to me. The women threw themselves at their feet, and held their sabres. The narrowness of the staircase impeded the assassins; but I had already felt a horrid hand thrust down my back, to seize me by my clothes, when some one called out from the bottom of the staircase: "*What are you doing above there?*" The terrible Marseillois, who was going to massacre me, answered by a *hem!* the sound of which will never escape my memory. The other voice replied only by these words: "*We don't kill women.*" I was on my knees: my executioner quitted his hold of me, and said, "*Get up, you jade; the nation pardons you.*" The brutality of these words did not prevent my suddenly experiencing an indescribable feeling, which partook almost equally of the love of life, and the idea, that I was going to see my son, and all that was dear to me, again. A moment before, I had thought less of death, than of the pain which the steel, suspended over my head, would occasion me. Death is seldom seen so close, without striking his blow. I can assert, that upon such an occasion, the organs, unless fainting ensues, are in full activity, and that I heard every syllable uttered by the assassins, just as if I had been calm. Five or six men seized me and my women, and having made us get upon benches placed before the windows, ordered us to call out, "*The nation for ever.*"

Vol. II. pp. 250—253.

After many hair-breadth escapes, Madame Campan procured an asylum for the night, and on the following day joined the Queen at the Feuillans. Shortly after, she was separated from the royal family. The Memoirs terminate with a description of the embarrassment occasioned to her by the possession of a portfolio containing important papers, and with a brief notice of the trial and execution of Louis XVI.

Our readers will have perceived from the tenor of this article, and the character of our extracts, that we have been interested by these Memoirs. They are the production of a clever and observant woman, who, though not a principal performer, was much behind the scenes, and made good use of her opportunities of observation. Making due allowance for her partiality to the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, we are inclined to place great reliance on the accuracy of her details. The Editor's notes are sensible and illustrative.

Art. IV. *Fifteen Years in India; or Sketches of a Soldier's Life. Being an Attempt to describe Persons and Things in various Parts of Hindostan. From the Journal of an Officer in His Majesty's Service.* 8vo. pp. 540. London. 1822.

THIS is very light reading; and to amuse has evidently been the Author's aim, in the strange and whimsical tissue

Vol. XIX. N.S. 2 K

of anecdote, description, military detail, biography, mythology, and substantial information of which the volume is composed. From the mixture of pleasantry, sometimes running wild, and pensive sentiment, with occasional touches of pathos, as well as from the desultory, disorderly character of the work, we should judge the Author to be, as indeed the Introduction intimates, a son of generous, unhappy Erin. The account he gives of himself, is, that he came home from India, after a long residence there, in a debilitated state of health, with a large family, under 'the well founded expectation' that solid independency awaited him; but this expectation proving delusive, he retired to a mountain, 'where he pasted on the fireboard of his humble parlour, the singular order of the day issued by Napoleon, when First Consul, against suicide.' Such is the force of example, and such the influence of a great name, that Napoleon's order has, we doubt not, operated to deter from cowardly self-murder, many—possibly hundreds—on whom the prohibitions of the Supreme Being failed to take effect. The Writer does not seem to have tried whether a Bible on his mantel-piece, would have had the same charm against despondency, as the order pasted on his fireboard. But we must make allowances for the prejudices of an old soldier, accustomed to yield implicit obedience only to military orders. The volume contains sketches of a soldier's life; and the details of personal history with which it is enlivened, and the real actors introduced, constitute not the least attractive feature of the book. It is less an account of India, than a fireside story of adventures and travels, which lets us into the knowledge of how Englishmen and soldiers live in India. Some things related, will, of course, be recognised as not very novel information, nor is there much that is highly important, though the whole is abundantly entertaining. The Writer of the Journal, if not a man of the same stamp, in point of enlightened sentiment and reflection, with his brother officer whose "Sketches of India" we noticed in a preceding volume, is far from resembling the old general in Bracebridge Hall, whose personal services were confined to the siege of Seringapatam. The Preface states, that during the period which the Journal embraces, from 1805 to 1819, it was the officer's lot to traverse a great part of the Peninsula, from the Ganges to the Indus.

He landed at Madras, and saw part of the Carnatic, joined his regiment in Malabar, and served with it in Mysore and Travancore; after which his fortune led him to Bengal, and a few years afterwards to Bombay, where he was employed with the army in Guzerat, which invaded Kutch-booze for the first time, marched through Katty-war,

and destroyed the fastnesses of the pirates in Okamundel. His corps being then called to join the Poonah subsidiary force, an opportunity was afforded him of seeing a considerable part of the Deccan during the late Mahratta war. The impressions made upon his mind by the scenes which he beheld in India, are now, with deference, offered to the Public.

The *redacteur* of the Journal, we are given to understand, is also a military man, who joined his regiment an ensign, rose in gradation, and served a few campaigns not of an interesting nature.

We should have been much better pleased if the thread of the narrative had not been so perpetually broken and abruptly renewed. The transitions from the adventures of Charles Thoughtless, to grave history, and again to light description, sometimes remind one of cross readings in a newspaper. To assist our selection, the work has neither table of contents, index, nor headings to the chapters. But we shall endeavour to obtain a few connected extracts. And first, as a specimen of the Author's descriptive powers, we give his account of Calcutta.

‘ The Hoogly, on the eastern bank of which the city of Calcutta stands, is the western arm of the Ganges. In going up this fine river, the observer, if he be a man of sensibility, is strongly affected with what he sees. The luxuriance of nature and the grandeur of the scene please his eye, while the customs and manners of men make his heart bleed. He beholds many an emaciated human being, worn away to the last gasp of lingering existence, brought from a distant residence to expire near the sacred stream; the pains of death are often embittered by forcing the muddy water down his throat; for when the recovery of any person is despaired of, his immediate friends hurry him off to the river, in the hope that the goddess will restore him miraculously to life, if they can force him to drink freely. Should any one die at home, near the Ganges, it would be lamented as a great misfortune. When the grasping dispositions of mankind are considered, and it is recollected that those about a dying person share his property, the various accounts of the numerous murders perpetrated by seeming attention to this shocking custom need not be discredited. The wealthy pitch a tent, partly in the water, to screen the sick from the glare of the sun; in this the patient is placed, sometimes on a low cot, and oftener on the ground, with his head in the stream, there to be restored to health by drinking plentifully, or to die with the certainty of immortal bliss. The poor are seen writhing in the pangs of suffocation, under officious, mistaken kindness of friends, and lying all night in the water.

At the same time he views the smoke ascending in curling volumes from many a funeral pile; and the useful stream bearing away the remains of those whose friends could not afford to burn them. On

each man's sight is shocked occasionally with dead bodies, rotten and torn by fishes, mouldering to kindred clay on the spot where the tide chanced to cast them, for no man will remove them, it being contamination to touch a dead body whose caste is unknown.

‘Very few Europeans remain long in vigorous health. Were a country gentleman, in the full enjoyment of all his bodily faculties in this happy climate, to be suddenly transported to St. John's Church in Calcutta, during the performance of divine service in the month of June, he would fancy himself seated among ghosts. He would look upon their sallow countenances with fear, and see the big drops like tears coursing each other on the anxious brow, notwithstanding the large fans suspended overhead, and drawn briskly backwards and forwards, by means of ropes passed from them through the windows of the church, by natives outside, to produce an artificial circulation of air. If he followed any gentleman to his home, he would see him there throw off his coat, and put on a light white jacket, as a relief from his sufferings; and on passing the burying-ground beyond Chouringhee, the stranger would there perceive, in the numberless tombs and monuments, ample evidence of the terrible mortality prevailing in the land of his sojourn.

‘The absence of health is more manifest here than in many other parts of India. Men who follow sedentary employments, that require close mental attention, are most numerous, and soonest decline, in a province which is peculiarly inimical to the European constitution; for such quantities of putrescent matter are left by the inundations of the Ganges and Burrumpootre, that they infect the air with malignant vapours, which prove more fatal to strangers than to the natives. This remark is indeed applicable to all Hindostan, in every part of which the European is prematurely wasted by slow but sure degrees, if not assailed by fever or acute hepatitis.’

There is no doubt, however, our Officer adds, that if a proper regimen were observed from the first arrival in the country, health might be much longer preserved. But ‘most young men live in India thoughtlessly and luxuriously as long as they are able. Before they prepare for defence, they are taken by the enemy.’

‘Artificial descents to rivers,’ continues our Author, ‘wharfs, quays, and landing places, are called Ghauts in India. Many of these, on the banks of the sacred Hindoo streams, have magnificent flights of stone steps, leading from pagodas, whose structure, antiquity, and grandeur surprise every beholder. They are distinguished by the appellatives of gods and goddesses, as “Kallighaut,” or, “Champsaul Ghaut,” the latter of which is an insignificant one, but it is the place where Europeans generally land, on arriving in Calcutta, and embark, on leaving it for their native soil. Thence along the left bank of the Hoogly, there is a fine promenade to Fort William, whose spreading trees, planted on each side, lend a refreshing shade, through

which cool breezes from the broad bosom of the river wing their course over the esplanade, to meet the attraction of the heated atmosphere of the city. From this point of view Calcutta appears to great advantage, for the panorama embraces the river Hoogly and shipping, the buildings and docks on the right bank, the magnificent structures of the Government House, Town-hall, Supreme Court, Fort William, Kidderpore School, the Theatre, and the fine range of palaces along the Chouringhee side of the esplanade, together with the row at right angles, extending to the river, through which the monuments, mosques, pagodas, and churches of the city have a beautiful effect.

The city of Calcutta now extends from Kidderpore to Cosimpore, a distance of about six miles along the banks of the Hoogly; and if the reader trace in imagination a half moon from that base line, about two miles in breadth, he will have a pretty accurate idea of its surface. About one hundred and ten years ago, nothing was to be seen on the space where a magnificent city and fortress now stand, but a few Indian huts, called the village of Govindpore. . . . The prospect around is a vast plain, unbounded by a single hill, whose soil is exceedingly fertile. No stones are to be found near the city, therefore the houses are composed of brick, and the marble and freestone of the public buildings were brought from a distance. Chouringhee, Park-street, Durrumtollah, the Jaun Bazar and Esplanade, now form the European part of the town. On passing along these fine streets, the mixture of native huts with houses of the most noble appearance, like Grecian temples, spoils the effect, though, when at a distance, the detached state of the houses, giving them the character of palaces, insulated in a great space, is an advantage, and strikes the beholder with greater admiration. It would not be easy to describe the grandeur of the line of buildings that surround two sides of the Esplanade of Fort William, situated about a mile from the city; to which there is a fine broad road called the Course, watered every day, that it may be in an agreeable state for the society to exercise in their carriages, buggies, tandems, and palankeens, as soon as the declining sun permits such recreation. To portray the edifices of interest would be dry and tedious. Besides those before mentioned, the churches and chapels, and the college and museum deserve notice, with the numerous beautiful garden houses that ornament that part of the suburbs below Kidderpore, called Garden Reach, to the extent of more than five miles.

In this country, unless the reader reflects how grateful it is in hot climates to have large and airy rooms, remote from the glare or intrusion of the sun, and also how easy it is with plenty of funds to raise large structures, he will be unable to conceive the magnificence and extent of these dwellings, on some of which vast sums have been expended. Nothing can, therefore, be imagined finer than the approach to Calcutta. These houses rise upon the sight, like so many scenes of enchantment, one after the other; the vessel or boat glides on, and sometimes touches the constantly verdant bank of the river, till Fort William, the numerous ships lying off Calcutta, and the

seemingly intomisable extent of the city, beautified with groves of evergreen, complete a climax; that to be properly felt must be seen. 1851, 173

As to the native part of Calcutta, it is, like most other Indian towns, composed of narrow crooked streets, and houses some of brick and others of reeds, bamboos, wood, and mud, covered with tiles, or thatched with the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree; but the palaces or dwellings of many of the native rajahs and great men of large fortune are an exception. Some of the streets too, such as Rada Bazar and the Comipore road, are tolerable; and the new and old China bazars present a fine display of Asiatic and European splendour.

The variety of costume and contrast of appearance to be seen in the streets, are worthy of notice. Many a young Bond-street dandy struts with inconceivable self-satisfaction; and youthful British, Portuguese, and French half-cast, with tawny face, and neck stiffened almost to suffocation, jumps from the sublime to the ridiculous in attempts at imitation. A stranger's eye would next perhaps rest upon a Capuchin friar, with the beard and costume of the 14th century; and soon remove to a British missionary, who, in deepest black and countenance of longest sorrow, musing on the state of man, marches against a grave Turk, who jostles a Persian, who discomposes a Seik, who insults an Arabian, who electrifies a Chinese, who contaminates a Hindoo, who upsets a dancing master, and terrifies an Armenian. He would see the military staff, bucks with waving feathers and gorgeous agulettes, shading their fair country-women with silken *chattaks* from the glare of the sun, while handing them from some grand lofty room or attractive bazar to their carriage, chariot, phaeton, barouche, sociable, or palankeen; and he would try to have a peep into the covered *hackeries* or native carriages of the opulent Hindoos, drawn by bullocks richly caparisoned with silk, and jingling bells of silver, in which their wives are concealed from the eye of man when they visit their female friends. And what would he say in another part of the town, upon seeing a dozen of almost naked runners dashing down the street with drawn sabres and upraised targets to separate a group of British tars, fighting for no other purpose than to shew the Hindoos the courage and blood of England? pp. 62—76.

* A good table is not considered enough in Calcutta; it must groan beneath the weight of every thing in season, and the native cooks are very expert ticklers of the Epicurean palate. The usual routine of living in Bengal is similar to that at Madras, but much more gorgous. After morning exercise breakfast is taken, which consists not only of tea and coffee, and the light accompaniments usually served up in this country, but of highly spiced meat, fish and fowl, with all the varieties of fruit produced in that garden of the East, and preserves, ices, and jellies in endless profusion. Perhaps there is not in the world a greater delicacy than the mangoe fish of the Hoogly, which is as beautiful to the eye as it is delightful to the taste. With the

flavour of the mangoe, which is an uncommonly fine fruit, it combines the colour and richness of the trout, and has a fine large roe which cannot be compared to any thing, being a perfect original. For two months in the year this charming fish is caught in plenty, and the roes are preserved, and always appear at table. The mangoe fish is as large as a trout, and in the estimation of a gentleman who would have done honour to the court of Heliogabalus, is worth a voyage of fifteen thousand miles. "The mangoe fish," said he, with a smack, "'ah! the mangoe fish! the mangoe fish is worth coming to India for." 'Tiffin consists of heavy joints, and numerous dishes and stews, and pies and minces, with capital Madeira, Hodson's pale ale, and Maxwell and Key's claret and cherry-bounce. The carriage, buggy, or *palkee*, parades the course after *sicsta*, and dinner is a grand display of all that can be conceived of eastern luxury. *Tatties* produce air, and *puftoes* circulate it, while chandeliers and table shades, reflecting wax lights, convert night into day. Bengal is the region of hospitality. There is something in the sun of the East that warms and opens the heart. Large parties generally sit down to dinner. Every thing that can be conceived is put on the table, with *curries*, *palous*, and *mulligatawnies*. Claret and champagne circulate, and song and good humour prevail. But ambition among the ladies to give the tone to society pervades the higher ranks to such a degree, that all over India, Europeans form into parties, as if the institution of Brahma's caste produced a change in their nature. There are numberless exclusions from society in Bengal, and perhaps rank, precedence, and etiquette are not so much attended to at Carlton palace as in the Chouring-lee.

* Luxury prevails in Calcutta certainly to a greater degree than at Madras or Bombay. The Bengal officers are called "Qui hies," from the number of servants they keep, it being usual when they want attendance to say, "Qui hy—who's there;" but the Madras hucks are nick-named "Mulla," from a poor broth common in the Carnatic, which the Bengal gents pretend to despise, though it imparts a very pleasing flavour to rice, under the name of mulligatawny; and the Bombay officers are called "Ducks," in allusion to an insipid kind of fish, very plentiful on that coast, which is known by the name of bombalo, and much used as a relish at breakfast throughout India. These may be always seen swimming near the surface of the sea on the Malabar coast, and they are called "ducks," which has been transferred to the Bombay officers by the wits of the supreme presidency.' pp. 133—136.

The Writer frequently adverts to a subject of growing importance, the present state of the half-cast population. The question of Emancipation is likely, at no very remote period, to present itself to the Legislature, in reference to India as well as to Ireland.

* British prosperity in India,' says this Writer, 'appears in a great measure to depend on the ability of the governor-general, who is armed

with almost despotic power. His talent and conduct may be said to ensure the loyalty of the native forces, and the secure confidence of the inhabitants, that their persons, property, institutions, and customs are held sacred. But, besides the Hindoo and Mahomedan population, there is a numerous class of subjects, called *half-caste*, who require particular attention. They are excluded from the military and civil service, although many of them are men of talent and education. It may gratify pride, to consider their energies inferior to those of their fathers, because there is a shade of difference in their colour; but man is every where essentially the same, and national superiority seems to be produced by artificial causes. Now, they profess the same creed as we do—our laws are theirs—their passions are warmed by the same education, and their souls expanded by similar references to those landmarks of antiquity that urged their sires to aim at immortality. But they are sunk in their own estimation, by seeing the road to ambition shut against them. Their situation excites pity, which is a dangerous feeling when directed to a formidable and increasing body.' p. 101.

'Many of the half-caste are of dark complexions, but of most excellent capacity, with very generous dispositions and affectionate hearts. It is to be regretted that some plan has not been devised to employ them for the advantage of their country, as they labour at present under illiberal exclusion from the army, the navy, and the civil service, which makes them discontented subjects. Lord Valentia, when in India, wished to send them all to England, which was a singular expedient for remedying the evils to be apprehended from their increase. There are many very worthy men in that large body of subjects that now come under the name of half-caste, and the number and respectability of the whole entitle them to very great consideration.' p. 253.

'The half-cast ladies in Bengal are called *cheechees*, which is a Hindoostanee word much used by them in Calcutta, equivalent to *fit! fit!* Some of these captivating fair ones are really pretty girls, in the very softest sense of that expression, and so irresistible, that many a young man sacrifices his future prospects at the altar of Hymen; for there is hardly an instance of one of these matches turning out well, the children being of a different tint of complexion from that of the father, and the mother so much attached to India as her native climate, that she can never be reconciled to the frozen latitudes of the north, to which her husband looks for his happiness in declining life. Many of the half-cast ladies are most amiable companions, possess affectionate hearts, and perform all the duties of good wives with tenderness and alacrity, but very few of them can enjoy European society; for a consciousness of being so different in appearance impresses them with a feeling of inferiority, under which they are ill at ease with our fair countrywomen; hence they shun their acquaintance, and it is said, envy them. Their real happiness would consist in being connected by marriage with persons of the same cast; but it is a strange truth, that these girls look upon the young men of their own colour as beneath them; and at all the schools in Calcutta, where these charming nymphs are exhibited,

their admirers are generally youthful Europeans. It has been before observed that their number is very great, and some idea may be formed of it from the seminaries and asylums in Calcutta, where upwards of five hundred half-cast girls, illegitimate daughters by native mothers of the higher ranks, are genteelly educated. The Bengal officers have an asylum, called the Kidderpore School, supported by subscription, for the express purpose of educating orphans of that description, who, when married, with consent of the governors, to tradesmen or others of respectable character, receive portions from the institution. There is another, on a very large scale, supported by the government, for soldiers' children, who are apprenticed, provided for as servants, and portioned upon their marriage, suitably to their prospects in life.' pp. 338—340.

The policy observed towards this class of British subjects, may hitherto have been wise and even necessary; but the time must come when it will cease to be compatible with the safety of our Eastern possessions. The same jealousy has led to the exclusion of British colonists, who might have advanced in no small degree the consolidation of our Eastern empire and the prosperity of our commerce. A lesson, however, is held out by the revolutions which have taken place in the Spanish Colonies, and in Brazil, which our rulers would do well to consider. The supercilious and oppressive treatment of the Creoles and Indians on the part of the Old Spaniards, is well known to have been the remote cause of the first insurrectionary movements in New Spain; and it may be questioned whether the utmost precaution will long avail to retain the Anglo-Indians of Bengal in their present degraded condition, as a sort of Pariahs. The annihilation of the native powers, and the extension of the British empire, are circumstances which would favour the cause of Independence in India whenever the half-cast population shall have acquired the character, and feelings, and conscious strength of a distinct people; a point to which they seem rapidly advancing. The present system seems to have for its object, to retard as long as possible this natural and inevitable crisis; to prevent India from becoming essentially British, lest it should be lost to Leadenhall street. And what is worse, the same jealousy has led to the discouragement of the attempt to Christianise the natives.

'The British Government,' says this Writer, 'for selfish and prudent reasons, will never lend their aid to a certain plan of conversion, by countenancing societies of native Christians, and apportioning lands for their settlement. Yet, what could be more glorious in future ages, than an historical record, that, under the influence of British merchants, the deserts of Guzerat were covered with smiling villages and wheat-fields by converts to Christianity, who were invited to settle there under missionaries, who gave them a foretaste of felicity in heaven, by teach-

ing them to be contented and happy on earth? European missionaries have found but little obstruction to their labours on the part of the native governments; but the policy of the East India Company has been, not directly to encourage attempts of which the avowed object is the overthrow of the institutions of Brahma.' pp. 370, 79.

It is but too well known to what disgraceful lengths this tender regard for the abominations of Hindooism has been carried. In Calcutta, there are annual festivals called *Poojahs*, during the celebration of which, the *doorgas* or idols are drawn about in splendid artificial pagodas made of bamboo framework similar to the great carriage of Juggernaut. The *poojah* lasts several days, and the rich natives of Calcutta vie with each other in giving splendid *nantches* (balls in honour of the god) for three nights, to which Europeans are invited by printed cards.

'At some of these nantches,' says our Author, 'I have seen two hundred persons sit down to a sumptuous supper, where champagne circulated like water, and the richest ices were melted in the most costly liquors. These grand supper rooms were lighted with a profusion of chandeliers and wax-tapers under Indian table-shades, while the brilliancy was reflected by countless mirrors, and the atmosphere cooled by punkoes, tatties, and jets d'eau; artificial wildernesses breathed forth perfumes, and endless varieties of flowers called to recollection the scenes of Arabian story. Of these suppers the Hindoos of course will not partake; but they enter the apartment, congratulate the guests, and see that the European tavern-keepers employed to prepare them, provide every thing on a liberal scale. Previous to the time at which these supper rooms are suddenly thrown open as if by enchantment, the crowds of company are entertained in a great amphitheatre by dancing girls, bands of music both European and native, tumblers, jugglers, actors, and pantomimes, forming an assemblage which, from the costume of so many different nations, is like a great fancy ball. Perfumes and flowers are distributed, and sweetmeats handed about. Some sit and look at the dances, while others promenade round the virandas to view the household gods, hundreds of whom are placed in conspicuous situations, some half elephant half man, others with numerous heads and arms, here quite naked, there sumptuously arrayed.' pp. 276, 7.

"What say I then?" says St. Paul; "that the idol is any thing? No, but the things which the heathen sacrifice; they sacrifice to demons, and I would not that ye should have fellowship with demons." But the compliant Christians of Calcutta who grace these doorga poojahs, these idol festivals with their company, actually jostling against the naked images of the filthy Hindoo gods, would doubtless sicken with disgust at the plain preaching of a Baptist missionary, and turn with

utter contempt from a native convert to the religion of Jesta. 'Servants of all work,' says our Author, 'might be hired in Bengal, either from the Pariahs or converted Christians; but there is a prejudice against the latter, and the former are great drunkards' (p. 318.) 'In Bengal, it is thought disreputable to have a native convert in the house.' (p. 375.)

The horrible practice of *suttee*, the immolation of widows, is stated to have received a check in the vicinity of British stations; 'no public act, however, has hitherto been issued for its prohibition.'

'But when the *Mahomedans* were in power, they prevented *suttee* by an exercise of their authority; and it is said, that if the Marquis Wellesley had continued in India, he would have abolished it altogether, as he did the sacrifice of children at Saugur, where twenty-three persons were drowned in Jan. 1801. His lordship, by an order in council, declared the practice to be murder punishable with death.' p. 231.

The same diabolical policy which has actuated the Christian authorities in conniving at the practice of *suttee*, and favouring the worship of Juggernaut, has led them to extend their act of toleration to infanticide.

'According to calculation, 300 (female) children were murdered annually in Kattywar and Kutch. Colonel Walker, when political agent at Guzerat, investigated the matter by desire of Governor Duncan, whose humanity prompted him to aim at its abolition. It had been a custom there for 2000 years. He entreated many of them to let their daughters live, and at first received positive refusals and insulting letters. Nevertheless he persevered; and at length, by publicly discussing and exposing the enormity of the practice, many of the supporters were led to abhor infanticide; and although Governor Duncan had only received a cold approval from his superiors, he had the satisfaction of saving many thousands of infants by his spirited and benevolent interference through Colonel Walker. The Supreme Government acknowledged that his plan was worthy of humanity; but added: *The speculative success of it cannot be considered to justify the prosecution of measures which may expose to hazard the essential interests of the State.* Yet, it is probable that no speculation in India ever raised the British character so high in the estimation of the natives; for many of the mothers came some years afterwards to Colonel Walker's tent in Kattywar, and placed their female children in his hands with all natural marks of affection, emphatically calling their little ones *his children*.' p. 251.

There is but one conceivable way of accounting for this callousness and moral cowardice in the supreme authorities: it is suggested by a remark of the Author's at the beginning of this same chapter.

Many of the ceremonies, rites, sacrifices, penances, and practices of the Brahminical idolatry fill the breast of a Christian, soon after his arrival in India, with horror and disgust, which imperceptibly wear away; and if he have kept no record of those first impressions, he ceases to remember them, and regards that which is so common as not to surprise him, as in no way interesting to the rest of mankind.' p. 246.

But, it is added, 'infanticide, suttee, pilgrimage, and self-torture destroy not more lives than the secret practices of the Brahmins, who stop at no atrocity to gain their ends.'

'And it being thought the interest of those in power to countenance the Brahmins in their horrible delusions, the common people are kept in a deplorable state of superstitious darkness, and have entirely lost their ancient purity of principle and guileless simplicity of manners.' p. 185.

These are, indeed, serious and disgraceful charges, which, did they rest simply on the authority of an anonymous Writer, we should hesitate to transfer to our pages. They are introduced, however, by the Author quite incidentally; and his testimony will be received with the less suspicion as he appears by no means tinctured with Methodism, or influenced by any political prejudice. That the Brahmins are felt by the mass of the people as a burden upon their industry, is the decided opinion of a very intelligent observer, who had ample opportunities for forming a correct judgement; and he states, that the idolatry of India is sensibly declining in its baleful influence. Yet, this system of imposture, cruelty, and flagitious impunity, is stated to be, for political reasons, countenanced and upheld by the British governors of India. This is better, to be sure, than converting heathens, after the Portuguese fashion, with sword and faggot. But it is grievous to reflect how much better Mahomedan conquerors have for the most part acted in these matters, than intolerant Roman Catholics on the one hand, or infidel Protestants on the other.—The present extent of our dominions in the East, is thus stated by the Author.

'Taking in the late acquisitions in the Deckan, Konkan, and Kutch, the British actually possess 400,000 square miles of this territory, with a population of full 60,000,000 of souls; and the East India Company directly controul upwards of 776,000 square miles of India, containing 86,000,000 of men; for the only parts of Hindostan now independent are Nepaul, the territories of the Seiks, and those of Scindes, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar; but late events have placed these powers so completely under the British government in the East, that our empire may now be said to extend from the Indus to the Burrumpootre, and from the Hemaleah mountains to the island of

Ceylon. The western and northern boundaries are defined by the river Indus, and that predigious chain of mountains that runs almost from China to Persia, eternally covered with snow, and forming a bulwark in many places 22,000 feet high between Hindostan and Tartary. On the South, the Indian Ocean washes the shores, and towards the East, the forests of Tipperah and mountains of Chittagong mark the frontiers.' pp. 89, 90.

Mrs. Graham, in her *Journal of a Residence in India*, points out what she considers as specific differences in the manners and characteristics of the Europeans of the three grand divisions. These, the present Writer states to be imaginary. The only difference he admits, relates to the style of living, which is less luxurious and expensive at Bombay, than at Calcutta, or even Madras. The island of Bombay contains about 220,000 souls, of whom 8000 are Parsees, 8000 Mahomedans, and 4000 Jews. Of the Parsees, the following account is given.

• Bombay is admirably calculated for ship-building; the docks are so fine, and the tide rises so high on this coast, that a first-rate ship of war can enter them during the springs: it is to be observed also, that the Parsees are the most expert naval architects in the East, and the *Minden* of 74 guns was entirely constructed by them without any European superintendence. In no country in the world is there a class of more industrious, inoffensive, and worthy subjects than the Parsees. Like the Quakers, they support one another; and there is hardly such a thing on record as one of them being brought before a court of justice for the commission of crimes. The morality of their women is great, and their decency so exemplary, that among them prostitution is said to be unknown. Polygamy is not allowed, and wives are on a footing of perfect equality with their husbands; but they are of very retired habits, seldom going out except to the wells for water, and on visits to their female friends in close carriages. They perform their devotions at home, while their husbands and sons assemble at sun-rise and sun-set on the esplanade and along the sea-shore, to adore the great luminary of creation; in their worship the sun and the sea, as well as fire, are objects of adoration. Their priests have very little power, but the fathers of families are held responsible for the decent conduct of their respective households, over which they exercise a patriarchal government; and there is an inquisitorial moral authority vested in the elders to check every deviation from rectitude. They are all extremely sedate in their deportment, and so scrupulously attentive to the conduct of their daughters, that, if report may be depended upon, every aberration from virtue among them is visited with death. In their persons much attention is paid to cleanliness, but their houses are dirty: they use furniture similar to ours, and eat and drink with Europeans; but in general they are both temperate and abstemious. In short, the Parsees are a very remarkable race, humane, public spirited, and charitable, but superstitious even to childishness. Some of their customs with respect to

marriage and sepulture are curious, for widows are permitted to marry only widowers; and although they bury their dead, yet the bodies are not covered with earth, but left in open tombs to be devoured by vultures. There are five of these public places of sepulture, near Bombay, each constructed on the same principle; being divided into three compartments, one for men, another for women, and a third for children. The dead body, wrapped in cotton cloth, is let down into the grave, which is something like a well, and left there to be devoured, after which the bones are carefully picked up by means of a subterraneous communication, and placed in the family vault. Nearly the whole of Bombay belongs to the Parsees; they are copartners in every great commercial establishment, as well as zealous supporters of the charitable institutions; and during the great famine of 1802, their prodigious wealth was most liberally applied in relieving their starving fellow-creatures.' pp. 401—403.

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'The Parsees, on their first arrival in India, adopted the native dress, which is in general a gown and loose trousers, with a turban and party-coloured slippers turned up at the toes; but many of them wear rich shawl girdles, and very costly turbans of embroidered muslin, consisting of a whole web often from forty to sixty yards in length by one in breadth. The women have adopted the silk spenser, noticed in describing the female attire of Guzerat, but in other respects are like the Hindoo ladies, and equally fond of ornaments. In form and complexion, the Parsees bear a considerable affinity to Europeans. Many of them are very fair athletic men, and able to cope with most Englishmen in wrestling, which is a favourite exercise in the dock-yards of Bombay; but, according to the Parsee mode, the wrestlers stand at opposite sides of the ring, and struggle for an advantage in the grip, in which there is a great display of art and activity.

'Mention has been made several times in this work, of the Armenians, who, being Christians, of course differ but little from Europeans in customs and manners. They are the general merchants of India, and a highly respectable body of wealthy subjects. Their complexion is fair, and in address they are pleasing, but the Armenian costume gives them a remarkable appearance. It is, however, very becoming. The cap is of black velvet, and triangularly shaped, and the frock is generally of the same materials, but embraces the neck closely, flowing down to the knee, something like a surtout. Many of them, however, both in Calcutta and Bombay, may be said to emulate the Bond-street gentry, having assumed the English dress in all things except the cap, which is retained as a mark of national distinction. The Armenians have many churches in India, and a bishop's see subject to the control of their patriarch, who resides near Mount Ararat. In show and equipage they are exceedingly ostentatious; their ladies are covered with jewels, and wear crowns sparkling with precious gems; but they are very public-spirited men, and liberal supporters of every thing that is laudable. One anecdote will not be unacceptable to those readers who have never heard of Sarkies' Jowanes of Calcutta. When this great Armenian merchant heard of the

recovery of George the Third in 1789, an event which occasioned great demonstrations of joy in India, he paid the debts of all the prisoners at that time in gaol, which so much pleased his Majesty, that he sent him his picture in miniature, through Lord Cornwallis, who questioned the Armenian respecting the great affection evinced by him for the King of England, whom he had never seen. "I have, my lord," replied he, "lived under his government for near thirty years; it has never injured me; but on the contrary, always afforded its protection: and this, with industry on my part, has enabled me to accumulate a very plentiful fortune." ' pp. 407—409.

There is a very interesting sketch given of the war in 1817 against the Peishwa, which ended in the overthrow of his formidable power, and the restoration of the *legitimate* Rajah of Sattara to a nominal dominion. But the narrative will not admit of satisfactory abridgement, and we must refrain from further extracts. By this one blow, the ruin of the Mahrattas has been consummated, and the annihilation of the Pindarries has left the British absolute masters of Hindostan. It is probable that an accredited narrative of the whole of the brilliant campaign of 1817, will be before long presented to the public.

Art. V. *Somatopsychonologia*: shewing that the Proofs of Body, Life, and Mind, considered as distinct Essences, cannot be deduced from Physiology, but depend on a distinct sort of Evidence: being an Examination of the Controversy concerning Life carried on by M M. Laurence, Abernethy, Rennell, and Others. By Philostratus. 8vo. pp. 116. London. 1823.

WE think it is Addison who says, that the main business of a lady's letter is generally contained in a postscript. In like manner, we have often observed that an Author's real drift and true character are most apparent from his notes. It will be necessary for us to transcribe but one note from the present pamphlet, to give our readers a satisfactory idea of its spirit and design.

' The anatomical theologian, Paley, was another writer who tried to establish spiritual things on the basis of physical proof. I shall let his bad anatomy alone, and proceed to take a single instance of the character of his reasoning from his proof of a God. He says something to the following effect:—If I find a watch, and examine its curious workmanship, I infer a watchmaker, and that he was an ingenious mechanic. In like manner, in contemplating the wonderful mechanism of the universe, am I led to believe in an omnipotent artificer.—To me this appears false reasoning, for when I infer the existence of a watchmaker from the appearance of a watch, it is because I have beforehand found, by experience, that such instru-

ments were made by watchmakers. But by what previous experiment can I have discovered that the worlds were made by God? Both the watch and the watchmaker are parts of the universe; why, therefore, because I have found that two particular parts of the universe are uniformly conjoined in the relation of cause and effect, should I imagine the whole to be similarly conjoined with a something else of which I have had no previous experimental evidence?

Paley was no ignoramus; but I have long been of opinion, that to a clear head, a tolerably empty stomach, if not necessary, were, at least, very conducive. I agree with Shakspeare, that

Fat paunches make lean pates, and dainty bits
Make rich the ribs, but bankerout the wits.

Now, Paley was known to be an extravagant gourmandizer; and it is recorded of him, on good authority, that he often ate a whole shoulder of mutton at one meal. The learned Dr. Lambe, of London, has clearly proved that a light vegetable diet clarifies the intellect; and the classic author of *Pastor Fido* has long ago extolled the power of the *Cibo di latte e del frutto* over the wanderings of the enthusiast. So well was the great Newton aware of the clearness of head produced by "*Spare Fast that with the Gods doth diet*;" that when composing his *Principia*, he ate only of a little bread, and drank only a little water. Now, may we not, after the perusal of Paley's Natural Theology, argue, that his inordinate meals made his mind stop short of those piercing and ethereal coruscations of genius which the late herbivorous Percy Bysshe Shelly displayed in advocating the cause he had espoused?" pp. 85—87.

Why has the modesty of this anonymous philosopher led him to withhold the desirable information, whether he is himself indebted for his clear-headedness and singular acumen to a reformatory diet? The learned Dr. Lambe, the immortal Shelley,—we may add a third illustrious name, Sir Richard Phillips, the refuter of Newton; these, could we but have added that of the Author as a fourth, would have been an overwhelming phalanx of living proofs, to shew, in contrast with the blunderer Paley and other carnivorous philosophers, the brain-clarifying efficacy of a vegetable diet. But the induction might be made from a still ampler collection of instances. Why do our rogues come out from our prisons, in so large a proportion of instances, more accomplished knaves than they went in? It is clearly owing to their spare diet. Why are Papists universally clearer reasoners than the Protestants? Because they dine on salt fish or vegetables twice a week. Why is John Bull so much more stupid than his neighbours? Because he feeds so much on roast beef. Need we any further proof?

The Author of this equivocal tract writes in the character of a Roman Catholic; and were he sincere in his opinion, that

'with spiritual questions philosophy has nothing in common,' he might very possibly be a believer in Transubstantiation, or in any thing else. But in his panegyric on the dark ages, he outsteps the character of a rational Catholic; and in his note on 'the bloody wars of the Crusades, and the infernal tribunal of the Inquisition,' he evidently lays aside the mask. We do not know whether it is in his assumed or in his real character, that he chooses to speak of the doctrine of philosophical necessity as 'one of the leading principles of the blasphemers, Calvin,' and to affirm that the pretended Reformation introduced 'a lax morality which sprung out of Calvin's blasphemous doctrines.' Whether Papist or infidel, however, he is not much more ignorant of religion than he is of the subject which he professes to have studied, the real state of the physiological question.

The doctrines of Materialism have so recently undergone a lengthened discussion in our pages*, that we do not deem it necessary on this occasion to enter much at large into the jokes or reasonings of the present writer. Indeed, the whole volume is so much in the style of burlesque, that it is difficult to know what opinions he really holds. His professed object is, to shew 'the futility of any attempts to connect the dogmas of religion with the demonstrations of anatomy.' His real design is, to connect with those demonstrations the dogmas of the Materialist; and he brings in Horne Tooke to help out Mr. Lawrence in proving, that life is but a mode of motion, and the soul a breath. He represents all those who oppose Mr. Lawrence, as 'compelled to admit, that *matter in motion* constitutes 'the only source of our knowledge' of the mind;' thus confounding the origin or occasion of our perceptions, with the laws of perception and the sources of knowledge. In calling the negative hypothesis of the Materialist demonstrations, he displays the flippant dogmatism so characteristic of the infidel zealot. Whatever errors Mr. Rennell may have fallen into, we would have this Writer know, that we are perfectly unanxious as to the results of the freest inquiries of the physiologist; that Christianity does not at all require the aid of bad anatomy; that the dogmas of the Materialist, were they susceptible of proof, would leave the demonstrations of natural theology and the discoveries of Revelation unshaken; but that neither modern science nor modern sophistry will ever be able to prove from the acknowledged connexion of life with organization, and of thought with matter, that mind and mo-

* Eclectic for June 1822.—Art. Lawrence and Pring.

tion, feeling and extension are common properties of a certain combination of atoms.

ART. VI. *History of Intolerance, with Observations on the Unreasonableness and Injustice of Persecution, and on the Equity and Wisdom of unrestricted Religious Liberty.* By Thomas Clarke. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 468. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1823.

OUR readers will find a favourable notice of the former portion of this work, in the fifteenth volume of our Journal. The contents of the present volume bring down the history of Intolerance, in two chapters, from the elevation of Zeno to the Imperial dignity, to the restoration of the Empire of the West under Charlemagne. An intermediate chapter is devoted to Mahommed and the Islam. Chapter X. and last connects the preceding chapters with modern times, by a series of disquisitions, 1. On the progressive advancement of ecclesiastical power. 2. On the Paulicians of Armenia. 3. On the vicissitudes of the Islam—the Turks—the Crusades. 4. On schism, heresy, unity, and uniformity. 5. On the power requisite for church government—the Inquisition—Penal Laws.

We have already intimated, that the sentiments of the work and its general spirit, are more commendable than its arrangement. The Author has endeavoured to enliven his narrative by the introduction of matter not always very relevant. This remark applies particularly to the eighth chapter in the present volume; of which Mr. Clarke is himself so far aware, as to offer an apology not quite satisfactory for the very wide range he has taken in his introduction to the history of Mahomedism. In both this and other parts of the volume, he is perpetually stepping aside to pursue an etymology of not the slightest moment, or to insert descriptions and anecdotes bearing but very remotely on his subject. The distinctive character of the Christianity of the middle ages and of the Islam, required to be more specifically described; and the fact cursorily adverted to in the following note, demanded from the Author of a history of Intolerance, a much greater degree of attention,

“But though intolerance is congenial with the nature of the Mohammedan superstition, yet it is pleasing to remark, that Mohammedans have humbly departed from the spirit of their faith, and that the brightest periods of national prosperity of which they can boast, have been those in which this departure has been greatest..... Taken altogether, it (the Koran) is decidedly and fiercely intolerant. The New Testament is as decidedly the contrary; and moreover does not pretend to direct its votaries in any thing appertaining to secular legislation. Nevertheless, moslems have pleaded the Koran in favour

of toleration, and Christians have urged the Bible in defence of persecution.' p. 172.

This passing observation might have contented us, had we met with it in Gibbon: but the phenomenon requires a fuller explanation. One thing is quite evident, that the religion which went under the name of orthodoxy in those ages, was not the religion of the Bible. It had no relation to the New Testament, no countenance from it. The doctrines of the Apostles had no more share in forming the character of the fiery zealot and the licentious priest, than the doctrines of Epicurus or of Confucius. Nay, the Mahommedan religion embodied more truth and less error, than the Romish superstition in its worst forms. Saladin's was a more Christian faith than that held by Cœur de Lion, and Mecca was the scene of a purer worship than Rome. Wherever Mahommedism spread, it displaced idolatry; while this *pseudo* Christianity adopted and perpetuated it. The moslems denounced, and in many cases destroyed, the image-worshippers: the orthodox destroyed their brethren, and pursued with unextinguishable rage the nation of their Saviour, those whom Mahommed protected. The Mahommedans, remarks Cardinal Fleury, 'are neither atheists nor idolaters.'

'On the contrary, their religion, false as it is, hath many principles common with the true one, which seem to dispose them to receive it. They believe in one God Almighty, creator of all, just and merciful; they abhor polytheism and idolatry; they hold the immortality of the soul, a final judgement, a heaven and a hell, angels good and evil, and even guardian angels; they acknowledge a universal deluge; they honour the patriarch Abraham as the father and the first author of their religion; they hold Moses and Christ to have been great prophets sent from God, and the law and the Gospel to be sacred books.'

Their religion, sensual as are the future rewards held out to the faithful, may be safely characterised as even more spiritual than that of the Romish church: the one postponed at least the gratification of the passions till a future state, while the other let them loose in this. The pretensions of Mahommed were not more impious than those of the Pope; but, while the Arabian Impostor claimed only to distribute rewards in the eternal world, the priest affected to dispense both pardons and absolutions in the present. The morality of the Koran was far purer, too, than that of the canons; and it was with these only, not with the Bible, that it came in contrast. Finally, the devotion of the mosque brought the moslem into far more intimate communion with the idea of Deity—partook more of the character

of worship, than the unmeaning ceremonials of the Romish demonolatry. In Spain, the two systems came fairly into opposition; and who is there who would not rather have lived under the splendid reign of the Moorish kings of Granada, than under their Gothic contemporaries, or in the later days of Ferdinand and Isabella, or of Charles the Fifth? At this present time, the very Turk is universally esteemed by travellers, the better man in comparison with the Frank or the Greek, —the more honourable in his dealings, and we were going to add, the better Christian. But the Turk must not be confounded with the nobler Mauritanian. The caliphs of Granada and of Bagdad were the patrons of literature and science; and had, the Saracen empire been but able to maintain itself in Spain, as the Turkish lords of Greece have been suffered to do at the other extremity of Europe, it is highly probable that the Spaniards would have been by this time far more advanced in civilization and in all the elements of social happiness. In that case, the Inquisition might never have kindled its flames, and the progress of the Reformation in the Peninsula would have had less to contend with.

There is no other satisfactory explanation which can be given, of the superiority of the Mahommedan superstition to the Romish, as ascertained by the infallible test given by our Lord, "By their fruits ye shall know them,"—than that the former contained more of the substance of revealed truth mingled with its errors, than the latter. We may well believe indeed, that, had this not been the case, the Arabian imposture could never have displaced, to the extent which it did, the profession of Christianity. Not only shall we be led to this conclusion by considering the extinction of the corrupt churches as a judicial visitation; which in every instance, perhaps, we are warranted to believe was the case. But it would have been morally impossible, had the Christianity of that age been the truth as it is in Jesus, the living transcript of the New Testament doctrines, that it should have yielded to either the Koran or the sword of Mahommed. The bare fact, that it gave way before such a system, proves that it was not the genuine religion of the Bible. All our wonder, then, that the Moslem should have exhibited more tolerance, more of the social virtues than the orthodox churchmen, may cease, when we trace their conduct respectively to their real principles. The corruption of the best things is proverbially the worst. If the lower classes of Papists in Ireland in our own day, were but Mahommedans, or Parsees, or Pagans of the same class as the Loo-choo islanders,—we should hear of fewer outrages; they would be more sober, more manageable, and more within reach

of the moral means of extending the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. So far is Popery from being even second-best—the best thing next to Christianity.

The Koran must be compared with the Bible; and then, even infidels being the judges, we have nothing to fear. Let one single sentence be found in the New Testament authorizing or sanctioning persecution in any shape, intolerance of any kind; and then we may consent that the religion of Christ should bear all the opprobrium of all the Crusades, Inquisitions, *autos da fe*, massacres, and penal laws of every shade of enormity, down to the present time. But till churches or states can shew their commission or warrant to curse, fine, injure, or destroy any individual on account solely of his religious opinions, on the authority of the New Testament, they must answer for the policy they have adopted. Christ is not its author, nor hath God required it at their hands.

The history of intolerance is highly deserving of being familiarized to every Christian. On this account, we can cordially recommend the present work, as comprising a mass of interesting and valuable matter illustrative of the evils which have arisen from this fruitful source, and as forming, so far as it goes, a spirited epitome of ecclesiastical history. Mr. Clarke has not, however, as he might have done, traced the principle in its more specious and subtle modes of operation. There are other weapons of intolerance besides the axe, or the faggot, or the branding iron, and other ways of persecuting besides fine and imprisonment. There may be a partial, where there is very far from a total abandonment of the principle which is opposed to intolerance; that moral means alone are legitimate or allowable in the service of religion. We never study the subject aright, till we are led to look inward for the source of the mischief, and to detect the pope and the inquisitor in our own bosoms.

Some very shrewd and just remarks, and much curious matter occur in the section on schism, heresy, &c. It has often been urged by Roman Catholic writers, as an objection against Protestantism, that the Reformation has proved the fruitful mother of innumerable sects and schisms; and even some Protestant writers have been so far forgetful of history, as to lament that this evil should have arisen from that event. 'There cannot,' remarks our Author, 'be a more unlearned prejudice,

'than that heresy is the special reproach of the times in which we live. If all the opinions held now on religious subjects by different parties, were collated and compared with those of any former age,

would not the result be honourable to the sound understanding of the present generation? In the first century, there are counted ten heretics or heresiarchs; in the second, *thirty*, a greater number than is to be found in any succeeding century. There are scarcely any of the early fathers of the church, who were not, in some part of their lives, implicated in heresy. This was notoriously the case with Tertullian, Origen (the Aristotle of the church), and Augustine himself. It was often determined by mere incidents, as uncertain as any game of chance, who should be pronounced a heretic, and who not. Athanasius was condemned by six councils as a heretic. Of these, the one held at Milan consisted of 300 bishops, and the one at Arminum of 550. This consent of such a prodigious number of the clergy against the champion of Nice, gave rise to that saying, "Athanasius against all the world, and all the world against Athanasius." pp. 419, 20.

The number of schisms in the Church prior to the Reformation, is not less remarkable. Bellarmine confesses twenty-six, and another Romish writer reckons thirty. And if the nature of these heresies and schisms be compared with that of the divisions with which Protestantism is chargeable, it will be found, that the disagreements of Papists have been, to say the least, quite as wide as any which have subdivided the reformed churches. The external uniformity of the Church is, we presume, not more apparently disturbed by the Presbyterians, Lutherans, Moravians, Quakers, Independents, and Baptists of our own day, than it was by Arian and Nicene councils, by rival Popes, by the *filioque* schism, by the disputes between the Molinists and Jansenists, and by the several monkish factions which were often at bitter variance with each other. At no period has unity been the character of the Romish church; and it is only by her arrogant exclusion of the Greek, the African, and the Asiatic churches from an equal title to the name of the true Church, that the semblance of uniformity can be pretended to attach to the body catholic. This is a point which, in our controversy with the Romanists, ought not to be lost sight of, as an *argumentum ad hominem*. But what are heresy and schism?

'The word *heresy*,' observes Mr. Clarke, 'is often used to denote a class or party, without being designed to convey any idea of right or wrong, goodness or badness, in the persons composing it. This is evidently the case where we read, in Josephus and the Evangelists, of the sect or heresy of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Herodians. The Apostle Paul, too, has used the word in such a way as puts it beyond doubt that he did not connect with it infamy, or what has since been called heretical pravity; for he mentions it as a circumstance honourable to his character, that, in his youth, after the strictest sect, or heresy, of his religion, he lived a pharisee. It is not to be denied, however,

that this word in the plural number occurs several times in the New Testament in a bad sense; for instance, heresies are ranked among the works of the flesh; and it is foretold that false teachers, denying the Lord that bought them, should bring in heresies of destruction.

The words *schism* and *heresy*, when used in a bad sense, denote evils nearly allied to each other. We have an apposite example in the 11th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: "For, first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be divisions (*schisms*) among you; and I partly believe it; for there must be also heresies among you." The following note on this passage contains sentiments too just and pertinent to be omitted.

"It is plain that by *schisms* is not meant any separation from the church, but uncharitable divisions in it. For the Corinthians continued to be one church, and notwithstanding all their strife and contention, there was no separation of one part from the rest, with regard to external communion. And it is in the same sense that the word is used, ch. i. 10. and xii. 25, which are the only places in the New Testament besides this, where church *schisms* are mentioned. Therefore, the indulging any temper contrary to this tender care of each other, is the true scriptural *schism*. This is therefore a quite differing thing from that orderly separation from corrupt churches, which later ages have stigmatised as *schism*, and have made a pretence for the vilest cruelties, oppressions, and murders that have troubled the Christian world. Both *heresies* and *schisms* are here mentioned in very near the same sense: unless by *schisms* be meant rather those inward animosities which occasioned heresies, that is, outward divisions and parties: so that whilst one said, I am of Apollos, this implied both *schism* and *heresy*. So wonderfully have later ages distorted the words *heresy* and *schism* from their scriptural meaning. Heresy is not, in all the Bible, taken for "an error in fundamentals," or in any thing else; nor *schism*, for any separation made from the outward communion of others. Therefore, both *heresy* and *schism*, in the modern use of the words, are sins that the Scripture knows nothing of; but were invented merely to deprive mankind of the benefit of private judgement and liberty of conscience." Mr. J. Wesley's "Explanatory notes" on 1 Cor. xi. 18. pp. 386—388.

The improper conventional acceptance of these words, has now become, however, too deeply rooted in the minds of men, to admit of their ever being understood in their simple and Scriptural sense. And assuredly, there is such a thing as heresy in the ecclesiastical sense of corrupt doctrine. But then, it must be remembered, that a national church may be as properly charged with heresy in this acceptance of the word, if holding a corrupt faith, as the most insignificant sect. The abettors of Baptismal Regeneration are not less really heretics than Roman Catholics or Socinians. This being the case, it may be as convenient to lay aside the use of a word which, it will be seen, cuts so many ways at once, which is

never used but to convey opprobrium, and has much more generally been applied to designate real Christians, than the enemies of Christ. As to schism, there is too much of it in every community: it is apt to spring up at every parish vestry, as well as in Dissenting church-meetings. As it consists, however, not in dissent, but in dissention, prudence and a conciliatory spirit are the only preventives of the evil, and separation, where these fail, is the only cure. Where associated Christians can agree to differ, there is an end of schism; and when separate bodies, holding the fundamental articles of the Christian doctrine, shall agree mutually to recognise their common relation to the one church of the one Lord, there will be an end of heresy.

Upon the whole, Mr. Clarke's work is well adapted to promote just views of the subject of religious liberty, and as he has compressed a great deal of important historical information into the volumes, it may serve the purpose of a church history for young persons, better than some more elaborate but exceptionable works. He might have made it much more valuable, by giving more history and less disquisition, by using more research, and always citing his authorities.

Art. VII. *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Rev. James Hervey, A.M.* By the Rev. John Brown. Third Edition. 8vo. pp. 543. London. 1822.

THE name of Hervey is not likely speedily to lose its attraction, though the works of that excellent man have outlived somewhat of the admiration which was lavished on them by the indiscriminating criticism of former times. With much activity of imagination, he had not the slightest originality of mind or severity of taste. His meditations and contemplations, with some occasional beauty, and a prevailing character of pious feeling, will always be acceptable and useful to young readers, but have long since fallen from the station which was once assigned to them in English literature. We cannot say that our acquaintance with the theological writings of Hervey is either recent or minute; it is long since we read any portion of his *Theron and Aspasio*, and our recollections of that work extend little beyond its general character, which then appeared to us of mixed merit. By some it has been extravagantly estimated, while by others it has been as much depreciated; and we are not willing to undertake the task of qualifying ourselves to hold the balance. Mr. Brown has displayed much ability in stating the doctrines advocated by Hervey, and in describing the controversies to which his publications gave rise. Mr. B.

has, however, failed in satisfying us, that the excellent Rector of Weston Favel had sufficient force of mind to enable him to elucidate the depths into which he plunged, by any novelty of reasoning or illustration. There are many incidental passages in this biographical memoir, far more effective than any thing furnished by Hervey's own papers or publications.

In reviewing this volume, we have no alternative between extreme brevity, and extensive detail; and for various reasons we choose the former. The "Memoirs" have been long before the world; and though this edition (the *third*) is greatly enlarged, we still do not deem it necessary to occupy our pages with analysing or criticising a book on the substantial merits of which the public has long since determined. It is, however, but just to Mr. Brown, to say, that we have derived much pleasure from our perusal of his work. It contains much that is both valuable and interesting, and it will repay the reader by communicating considerable information on points by no means destitute of importance, though now less frequently mooted than they were in the days of Hervey.

It is a singular circumstance, and one which seems to argue some defect in Mr. Hervey's system of preaching, that he seems to have been so little useful as a preacher. We are not sufficiently acquainted with Mr. H.'s modes of address from the pulpit, to hazard assigning any reason for this failure. We shall only venture on the remark, that where preaching is plain and fervent, blending practical application with doctrinal exposition, and urging with Scriptural simplicity and energy the sanctions of the Gospel, such instances of entire want of success are, happily, rare.

Art. VIII. *A Historical and Topographical Essay upon the Islands of Corfu, Leucadia, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zante. With Remarks upon the Character, Manners, and Customs of the Ionian Greeks; Descriptions of the Scenery and Remains of Antiquity, &c. Illustrated by Maps and Sketches.* By William Goodisson, A.B. Assistant Surgeon in H. M. 75th Regiment. 8vo. pp. 268. Price 12s. London, 1822.

THIS book is confessedly, for the most part, a compilation; but the Author has described the character of the Ionian islanders, 'such,' he says, 'as an acquaintance with them for more than five years has warranted him to do.' He has moreover endeavoured to render the work as useful as he could, 'by diligently collating the different authors, and comparing their accounts with things as they actually are.' With the same laudable view, he has procured a map of each of the four prin-

cipal islands, 'compiled chiefly from the plans of the Venetian and French engineers,' but with the corrections of the late Lieut. Scott of the British Engineers. Besides these four maps, there are eight other lithographic plates, of very indifferent execution, but sufficiently good for the purpose, and not to be complained of, except as they appear to have been made a pretext for fixing an enormous price on the volume. Upon the whole, to those of our readers who may wish to acquaint themselves with the topography and history of these interesting islands, we may safely recommend Mr. Goodisson's book as containing more information in a small compass than any other on the subject. The character he gives of the Islanders, is by no means pleasing; but we have little doubt of its being substantially just. Every circumstance has conspired to debase them; and the Venetian character grafted on that of the bastard Greek, could not be expected to produce a better result.

'The morality of the Greeks has been proverbially bad, and they still retain their character for cunning and duplicity. The corruption introduced by the Venetians, in the exactions of the needy proveditori (governors) and their followers, has not a little tended to fix the demoralization of this people: the excesses committed by those gave rise to a regular system of plunder, peculation, and deceit amongst them; money was borrowed of the Jews at Venice, for the purpose of traffick by these merciless usurers: fifty per cent. was the interest exacted at the end of the year, and the sum remaining unpaid was doubled each succeeding year. These "*affrens accés*," as a French writer calls them, were denominated, *prostichii*; every thing was venal, and nothing could satisfy their avidity: the hiring of assassins was sanctioned as a means of filling their coffers. Such a system of depravity prevailing in the government of a people naturally prone to deceit, it may well be imagined, that centuries will not suffice to assimilate their morals to those of other European nations. Nothing sets in a clearer point of view the dereliction of every thing virtuous and honourable amongst them, than the total disregard to truth, in which they are brought up; they seem to take as much pains to discourage ingenuousness and candour, as a people of more elevated principle would, to detect and punish prevarication and falsehood: the probability is, that a young Greek will deceive you, even in matters of the greatest indifference; although he gains no immediate advantage by this sacrifice of candour, yet he considers that, by holding you in ignorance, he is ready to profit by his craft at some future emergency. Calumny and detraction are extremely common amongst them, nor is it at all unusual to see two persons, apparently on the most friendly terms, who, when separate, will mutually accuse each other of every thing that is base and dishonourable; but, as a just value is generally fixed upon this friendship reciprocally, neither party incurs much risk from yielding too much to the weakness of self-love; a delusion which, with a people of more simplicity, is always a dangerous tool in the hands of the de-

signing. The means of directly prosecuting their revenge being removed by the complete extirpation of the knife and stiletto, that dreadful passion to which they are so prone, must be gratified by other means; hence the many criminal informations and prosecutions, the various perjuries and prevarications, and the never-ending disputes at law.' pp. 194—197.

Each island has its tutelary saint, besides innumerable others that preside over cities, mountains, woods, and waters. 'There is no church,' adds our Author, 'which is not dedicated to some saint.' Does he mean to say that this is a proof of idolatrous asperstition? He must be a rigid Presbyterian. We make no doubt, however, that the religion of these Ionians is, in fact, heathenism. The state of morals may be estimated from one circumstance, if we may rely on the statement, that the infamous practice of parents' prostituting their children for money, is common in these Islands. Conjugal infidelity, it is said, is as general as every other breach of morals and good faith; a natural result of the mode in which marriage is contracted. 'It would appear from these considerations,' says our Author, 'that the government of these islands will require a tighter, rather than a more lax rein.' If so, from all accounts, they have in the present Lord High Commissioner, a governor of precisely the right kind. But while we doubt not our Author's veracity, we are somewhat suspicious of the impartiality of his opinions, as well as of his competency to prescribe, in moral and political matters, the best mode of treatment. He is evidently for the free use of the knife and the lancet.

Art. IX. 1. *The Tower of the Dove*, a Poem; with occasional Pieces. By John Edwards. crown 8vo. pp. 152. Price 7s. 6d. London. 1821.

2. *The Banks of Tamar*, a Poem, with other Pieces. By N. T. Carrington. 12mo. pp. 160. Price 6s. Plymouth Dock. 1820.

THESE two volumes, though they have been sometime published, have but recently fallen into our hands; and we feel ourselves imperiously called upon to apologise to all the rivers of England and Wales,—to

—' Usa golden-haired
And Alain bending o'er his crystal urn,
Swift-whirling Abra, Trent's o'ershadowed stream,
Thames, lovelier far than all in my esteem,
Tamar's ore-tinctured flood,'—

and wild romantic Dove,—for the light and seemingly irrevo-

rent remarks ventured on in a recent review of the *Rev. W. B. Clarke's "River Derwent."* In expressing our apprehensions that we were likely to be inundated with a library of rivers, we certainly were not conscious of exhibiting any symptoms of a literary hydrophobia; we intended no disrespect to either the Duddon or the Derwent; nor did we mean to intimate that every river was not fully entitled to have its poet, and every poet his river, till we should have all 'England delineated,' in the shape of a metrical hydrography. We are sorry to find, from a private secretary to one of the offended Naiads, that we have been so completely misunderstood as to be supposed inimical to the celebration of Water, the elder born of the elements, as Dan Pindar singeth. Our design was merely to prevent a general rising, a rush of rivers, a battle among the urns. Nor was it less our object, to protect their nymphships from unhallowed liberties, to warn off the profane from prying into their mysteries, to prevent small poets from dabbling in their waters. To the friendliness of our feelings towards the aquatic sisterhood, the Duddon will bear witness; Mr. Wordsworth's Duddon, we mean. And indeed, though ourselves neither water-drinkers nor anglers, we will not yield to Walton himself in our affectionate predilection for the whole family of streams, from the majestic estuary or the wide-spread lake, up to the shallow, pebbled brook which has just volume enough to swim a trout, or the nameless rill that tumbles down the mountain side.

Having said thus much in vindication of our taste, which might justly have been called in question, had we interdicted the subject of rivers altogether to our poets, we proceed to notice the works before us. And we are happy to say, that the Dove has certainly been more fortunate in her bard than the Derwent. Mr. Rhodes will recognise in John Edwards an able coadjutor in the graphical illustration of Peak Scenery. Our Poet has chosen an appropriate motto from Numbers xxi. 17. "Spring up, O well: sing ye unto it;" and he thus begins his song literally at the beginning.

'Thou eldest of the elements that sprang
From underneath the Spirit's brooding wings,
When chaos heard that potent voice which sang
Commanding life and being to all things,—
Hail, WATER!—beautiful thy gushing springs,
Thy lakes and rivers; shrined in clouds or dew,
In ice or snow; or where the rainbow flings
Its radiant arch; in every form and hue,
Thou, glorious element, art ever fair and new!

Having made his choice, among the innumerable waters, of

the Dove, the Poet proceeds to describe 'the nuptials' of the Dove and the Trent, at which point he commences his topographical sketch, tracing the river upwards to Dove Head. He then launches into the following apostrophe.

' Wast thou, fair Dove, a stream when Paradise
With rivers watered its delightful flowers;
Before the Peak beheld yon summits rise,
And Dovedale's portal arch high-roof'd with towers?
Or when the drowning Deluge pour'd its showers
Wast thou produced? Or later dates thy birth—
Engender'd where the cavern'd Geyser lours;
And flung in steam condensed through fissures forth,
The child of fire, upsent to warm and water earth?

' Dark as the hidden fountains of the Nile,
Or Niger lost amid the burning sand;
Gone and forgotten is the time erewhile
Thy robe of beauty trail'd along the land;—
Thy robe embroider'd rich by Nature's hand,
With pictured rocks that o'er the margin bend;
With cluster'd shrubs and trees, whose boughs expand
Their light and dark green foliage, 'till they blend
In graceful curves, wild-sweeping as the winds ascend.

' O river of the mountain and the mead!
Whose path has deepen'd like that fountain-train
Where stepp'd the angel with his measuring reed;
With joy I meet thee on this open plain:
Thou bearest onward to the distant main,
In whose vast home of waters ends thy course;
My path pursues thy channel in its wane,
Where flows the current with decreasing force;
'Till passing many a vale I reach its trickling source.

' Not thy famed wealth, that tempts the fisherman,
With line, and rod, and wallet, fitted out,
To seek thy banks, has me allured; I can
With higher motive trace thy varied route.
If chance I see the crimson-spotted trout
On light fin darting up the lucid stream,
It ministers to thoughts not undevout;
And better its shy beauties grace my theme,
Than gold or silver fish that love the tropic beam.' pp. 8, 9.

After sailing on very quietly for a few stanzas, our Poet leaves the river, to pay his respects to a venerable millenarian oak, which, had he told us where to find it, we should have been glad to visit some day ourselves.

' Lo, like the Hindu's sculptured idol-god,
 Firm on his cushion'd root old Swickar stands,
 Casts his broad shadow o'er the lawn's green sod,
 And frowns upon the larch-grove's upstart wands;
 Here lifts his foliage high with shaggy hands;
 And there, still stretch'd to meet the thunder-cloud,
 One bare enormous arm aloft expands;
 While, questioned by the summer tempest, loud
 His voice with deep and solemn roar gives answer proud.'

This is well painted; a sylvan portrait. The following stanza supplies a companion sketch: there is great beauty in the simile.

' The barren Churnet joins upon the plains
 Of Rocester. Here a loud-resounding mill
 In its capacious hold awhile detains
 The river, harder functions to fulfil
 Than wandering in the flowery fields at will.
 Fettered, like Sampson, to the greasing wheels,
 The plunging waters roar, and toss, and spill
 With desperate strength, till all the fabric feels
 The multitudinous motion whirl its thousand reels.'

It is not till the fiftieth stanza that we enter Dove-dale, through which we feel to be somewhat too rapidly hurried; but this is a rare fault with poets, and proves the Author's discretion, for how could verse do justice to the scenery glanced at in the following stanzas?

' Thus musing, thoughtfully, I felt imbued
 With the pervading influence of the spot,
 Its silence and oppressive solitude.
 Nor mine nor quarry mark this hidden plot;
 The fox still shelters in the mountain grot;
 And though no flaming sword forbids access,
 Yet here the peasant shuns to fix his cot;
 For nature has her sanctities, no less
 Than Eden's garden, left to utter loneliness.

' I scaled the craggy cliff, and in the niche
 Upon their summit, like a statue stood:
 Down to the deeps of Dove mine eye could reach,—
 A dizzy sight, unfit to calm the blood,—
 But here it roused the torpor of its flood;
 The freshen'd breeze in eddies round me curl'd;
 And now descending in a livelier mood,
 I sought the gorge through which the floods are hurld,
 When Dove seems breaking from an inundated world.

' Not mocking now the turmoil of the ocean
Dove puts its rocky barriers to the proof;
But gently gliding with a tremulous motion,
As fearful lest the masses piled aloof
Should fall like thunder bursting heaven's cloud-roof.
Here skip the sheep along the stepping stones,
Reckless of danger, and with unwet hoof:
I following, pass the chasm, and reach the cones
Whose rude magnificence for slippery path atones.

' Whence came this spectacle of rugged cones?
Was it that some vast inundation hove
Hither the kraken of the deep, whose bones,
Then stranded on the margin of the Dove,
Have petrified, and give the mountain cove
Its horned aspect? Or was this a camp
Of the huge Titans, warring against Jove?
And these their weapons, thus, with echoing stamp,
Uprear'd from earth, the valour of high heaven to damp?

' They lodge on either mountain as a flock
Of sheep might rest, or herd of antler'd deer;
And One, more vast, doth front the Needle Rock.
Above the dense white fog uprising clear,
It seems an isle of a serenest sphere,
Dependent not on earth, but on the laws
That guide the orbs of heaven in their career.
But now, upon its base I see it pause,
Like Nature's finger pointing to the Great First Cause.'

* * * * *

' But who can paint the beauties of Pike Pool?
Thy Duddon, Wordsworth, in its splendid route,
Has nought so soft and green, so shadowy cool.
'Tis haunted by the grayling and the trout:
And from the sleeping water rising out—
Fairer than workmanship of elfin hands—
Appears an obelisk, a rocky sprout;
Like those of coral seen on Indian strands;
But here more elegant and beautiful it stands.

' Shrubs and steep crag a crescent screen have drawn,
That on its southern side the river bounds;
The fellow bank is a smooth slip of lawn,
Skirted abrupt by bold romantic mounds,
With foliage hanging as from garden grounds:
These lead the eye to open fields of grass:
But loveliest is that pool the glen surrounds.
High above all is a stupendous mass,—
A rock-built range of towers that frown upon the Pass.

' Enough, methinks, is told of Nature's grace,
 Pour'd freely on this stream, to anglers dear :
 Diviner worth has sanctified the place.
 That Fishing House among those firs which rear
 Their tops above it, leads me to revere
 The seal of Friendship warm as filial love :
 Twined in one cypher, on the front appear
 Walton and Cotton's names ; there fixed to prove
 A record of affection near their favourite Dove.' pp. 40—49.

Mr. Edwards, in a note on this passage, has pointed out an inaccuracy in Walton's account of Pike pool, which, in so close an observer of nature, it is difficult to account for. In a note contained in the Second Part of the Complete Angler, the Dove is stated to have forced its way through the rocks, and, 'after a mile's concealment,' to re-appear with more glory and beauty than before. Our Author says :

' I have endeavoured to ascertain what is the real truth, and how far it has afforded any ground for the above assertions. In tracing the course of the river, which, in this part, I followed downwards, I found a continuous stream. Suspecting, however, that its volume was become decreased below Woscote Bridge, I took the opportunity of a second visit to examine it more carefully ; and then discovered an eddy behind the rock in Pike Pool, where I should calculate that about one third part of the stream was absorbed ; and it probably finds its outlet into the channel again, somewhere in Narrow Dale. As I had observed, in the summer of 1818, that the stream of the Wye disappeared for a short space a little below Buxton ; I made inquiry at Hartington, whether this had then been the case with the Dove, and was informed, that the Dove had never been known to disappear from the surface in any part of its course.'

Mr. Edwards has evidently taken great pains to render the topography of his poem correct, and he writes, at the same time, like a genuine lover of nature. Of his descriptive powers, our readers will now be enabled to judge. He has certainly produced a very picturesque and interesting poem. We must give the concluding stanzas.

' At length 'tis gain'd, the heathy cloud-capt mountain !
 Not at the hamlet of Dove Head I rest,
 But higher up, beside a bubbling fountain,
 That makes within a little well its nest.
 Here springs the Dove ! and with a grateful zest
 I drink its waters, that first serve the poor.—
 O when shall they repose on ocean's breast ?
 How long must their rough pilgrimage endure ?
 They ask not, but commence their wild romantic tour ?

' Harp, to the sweeter voice of waters play'd,
Where Ilam's fountains rise in crystal rings;
And where, with cliffs o'erhung, and leafy shade,
The stream of Dove descends on brilliant wings;
Here may'st thou hush to rest thy quivering strings!
For I have seen Pike Pool's deep-mirror'd cone;
Within the marble cave have drank its springs;
And resting now upon Dove's fountain-stone,
Thy music dies away—her soft pipe trills alone!' p. 56.

We have noticed some trivial errors, but do not think it worth while to particularize them. The minor pieces are very minor. Nevertheless, some of the Inscriptions are happy, and there are seven very neat sonnets; one to S. T. Coleridge, rather unfortunately complimenting him on his conjugal character, and a beautiful one 'on the fall of Darley Grove;' but we prefer the noble sonnet entitled "Easter." Our readers will already have noticed the purity of sentiment and correct religious feeling which characterize Mr. Edwards's poetry.

' I saw the beauty of the year laid low :
Autumnal winds from mountain, rock, and cave,
Its dirge in melancholy echoes gave,
And Winter came and piled its tomb of snow.
Man too, to his appointed place must go :
Strength, riches, valor, wisdom, cannot save ;
The noblest form is destined to the grave.
But, O ye heavens, with gratulation glow !
And let the perish'd seasons of the year
Return in pristine loveliness and bloom,
With hope and gladness. Lo, the time draws near
Of Man's redemption from his mortal doom :
The trumpet of the festival we hear,
That hails Messiah trampling on the tomb !' p. 105.

We cannot introduce our readers to Mr. Carrington more advantageously than by selecting from the miscellaneous pieces in his volume, the poem on the kindred subject of "Christmas Morn."

' 'Twas not the moon in glory streaming,
As she swam forth from cloud concealing ;
It was not meteor glance, nor light'ning,
The gorgeous concave instant bright'ning,
That rushing on the shepherd's eye,
Illumin'd heaven's vast canopy !
But, sailing down the radiant sky,
From bowers of bliss, from worlds on high
Appear'd, upborne on wings of fire,
A seraph host—an angel choir !

' It came—that glorious embassy,
 To hail the INCARNATE MYSTERY!
 For this awoke the extatic hymn,
 From glowing lips of seraphim!
 Ne'er flow'd such strains on earthly gale,
 O'er breezy hill, or list'ning vale,
 Before; nor shall such sounds again
 Break on the raptur'd ear of men,
 Till, rising to his native sky,
 He put on Immortality.

' For this, too, flam'd o'er Bethlehem,
 The brightest in night's diadem,
 That herald star whose pilot ray
 Illum'd the magi's doubtful way;
 Bright wanderer through the fields of air,
 Which led the enquiring sages where,
 Cradled within a worthless manger,
 Slept on that morn the immortal stranger.

' He might have come in regal pomp,
 With pealing of Archangel trump,—
 An angel blast as loud and dread,
 As that which shall awake the dead;
 His lightning might have scar'd the night,
 Streaming insufferable light;
 His thunder, deep'ning, peal on peal,
 Have made earth to her centre reel,
 Deep voices such as shook with fear,
 At Sinai's base, the favor'd seer;
 The wing of whirlwind might have borne him;
 The trampling earthquake gone before him;
 He might have come, that Holy One,
 With millions round his awful throne,
 Countless as are the sands that lie
 On burning plains of Araby,
 And, arm'd for vengeance, who could stand
 Before each conqu'ring red right hand?

' *He came not thus*: no earthquake shock
 Shiver'd the everlasting rock;
 No trumpet blast, nor thunder peal,
 Made earth through all her regions reel;
 And but for the mysterious voicing
 Of that unearthly choir rejoicing,
 And but for that strange herald gem,
 The star which burn'd o'er Bethlehem,
 The shepherds, on his natal morn,
 Had known not that the God was born.
There were no terrors, for the song
 Of peace rose from the seraph throng;
 On wings of love he came,—to save,
 To pluck pale terror from the grave,

And, on the blood-stain'd Calvary,
He won for Man the victory!

If these simple lines please our readers as well as they please us, they will listen with some interest to the Author's prefatory statement in deprecation of the severity of criticism.

'In the celebrated tale of "Old Mortality," Mr. Patemon, the village teacher, after describing with admirable fidelity his anxious and distressing labours during the day, observes: "The reader may have some conception of the relief which a solitary walk in the cool of a fine summer evening affords to the head which has ached, and the nerves which have been shattered, for so many hours, in plying the task of public instruction. My chief haunt," he continues, "in these hours of golden leisure, is the banks of the small stream, which winding through a lone vale of green bracken, passes in front of the village school house." But the teacher of Gandercleugh possessed advantages which never fell to the lot of the writer of this work. Engaged, like that far-famed personage, in the education of youth, his labours have seldom been relinquished till the close of our longest summer Evenings; when instead of retiring to the banks of a beautiful stream, he has almost uniformly been driven by business connected with his arduous profession, or by literary cares, to his solitary study at home. There, depressed by the previous fatigues of the day, he has occasionally indulged in composition; and hence this volume, the production of many a pensive, abstracted hour. In publishing his effusions, the highest ambition of the Writer is to please his subscribers; and should he fortunately attain this object, he cheerfully resigns all pretensions to more distinguished honours.'

It can no longer be said, that poets are the drones of society. This simple-hearted statement presents to us a picture of modest industry and intellectual ardour, which, in a fancy sketch, could not fail to please; and why should the reality be less interesting? To our minds, the schoolmaster of Plymouth dock, retiring after the worse than manual labour of the day, to solace himself, in his solitary study, with his books and his pen, is to the full as poetical a personage as the teacher of Gandercleugh, without partaking of the ridiculous. It is such men, after all, that are actuated by the genuine literary passion, the true spirit of authorship; and not our town poets and well-dressed literati who are making the most money, and the most noise.

The "Banks of Tamar" is a poem in blank verse, which the lovers of Thomson, of Cowper, and of Akenside will always consider as the most natural and pleasing form of descriptive verse. The poem opens with a spirited invocation to Morning, which introduces a panegyric on our fickle climate, in spite of all its moisture and capriciousness, worthy of the poet who exclaimed,

'England with all thy faults, I love thee still.'

We are now to embark on the Tamar, bound on a summer-day's voyage of pleasure and poetry.

This sun-bright day

Is giv'n to PLEASURE. Let not moralists
Decry the inspiring HOLIDAY!—the flight
From all the pain, the bustle of the world!
Let not the Cynic look with jaundic'd eye
On those enlivening hours, which, like the bursts
Of sunshine on the wayworn pilgrim's head,
Dispel the mental gloom. They are the salt
Of this our short existence; they beguile
The rugged road of life; they often brace
Anew the slacken'd nerves, refresh the brain,
Rouse up the spirits, and revive the heart!
Let him not look with stern, reproving glance
On the snatch'd joys of those poor prisoners,
Whom the harsh gaoler, BUSINESS, in his gripe
Fastens but too securely. Man is bound
By artificial ties, where cities rear
Their huge circumference; but how he longs
To quit them for a season; how he strives,
Like some imprison'd bird that droops within
Its bars, to leave engirthing ties behind,
And feel the breeze of Heaven upon his cheek,
The uncontaminated breeze, and rove
In the fresh fields, or skim the river's breast,
A joyous denizen of earth. To him,
How grand the mountain's cloudy brow,—how sweet,
How doubly sweet are sunny vales, how wave
The wanton woods, how freshly flow the streams,
Responsive to the song of morn and eve.
He sees a million beauties, which the sons
Of LEISURE miss; for they with heedless step,
And vacant eye, stroll oft among the works,
The miracles of Nature, unimpress'd
By all they see, and undelighted too
At the soft sounds that ever are abroad;—
The hum of bee, the whisp'ring of the breeze,
The rush of wings, the leap of sportive fish,
The sky's clear song, the music of the leaf,
And the melodious lapses of the rills.

'He, 'mid the high, the infinite display
Of nature, feels new inspiration seize
His quickening powers; and if he feel a pang,
'Tis at the thought, the shudd'ring thought, that soon
Of verdant scenes, reviving gales, and songs
Of the wild wood, the lays of earth and sky,
At once bereav'd, he must retrace his steps

Where bloom no flowers, where every flagging air
 Wafts foul contagion through the darken'd street,
 And Oaks triumphant all the long, long year,
 Sits on her eben throne and laughs at Man.'

We have doubtless readers to whose feelings these lines will come home. Before, however, we set sail, the Poet conducts us, with all the pride of local attachment, to a scene of almost unrivalled beauty, the heights of Mount Edgcumbe.

' O when the breath
 Of Spring is on thy renovated hill,
 When all the buds are leaping into leaf,
 And the broad sheets of early foliage clothe
 Anew, thy waste of bough, delicious 'tis
 To look on thy peninsula. When rests
 The beam of Summer on thy pomp of woods,
 Grove over grove ascending from the edge
 Of the brown cliff, to where the wild van lifts
 Its crown of pines, and all impressively,
 Rest at high noon beneath the bright serene,—
 Breezeless the land, waveless the circling sea,
 Above all green and glowing, all below
 Blue with that girdle of the Atlantic—blue
 And studded o'er with diamonds which the Sun
 Has sprinkled on it, every stranger eye
 Brightens with ecstasy!

' But when the gale
 Of solemn Autumn moans around thy hill,
 In strange, and hollow, and prophetic gusts,
 When all the glory of the summer day
 Departed, touching hues adorn thy woods,—
 Umber, and gold, and purple, and the green
 Which lingers yet,—O where has Earth a scene
 So beautiful?

' The ever-shifting VIEW
 Is thine, and as he saunters through thy glades,
 The charm'd spectator sees, at every step
 New combinations rise. Descried from far,
 Straying between his headlands, TAMAR rolls
 His sinuous course mid foliage, flowers, and songs,
 Until he mingles with the azure Sound,
 The reservoir of rivers. Silv'ry bays
 Are seen where commerce lifts the peaceful sail,
 Or where the war-barks rise; the indented coast
 Frowns with wave-breasting rocks, nor does the eye
 Forget the proud display of bustling towns
 And busy arsenals, and cliffs high crowned
 With pealing batteries, and flags that wave
 In the fresh Ocean gale; but glances off
 With more delight to mark the rural reign,—

The leaf-enveloped mansion on the hill,
 Looking into the broad-ey'd South ; the cots—
 Sweet cots that love the shade, the village spire
 Uprushing through the trees,—a vast display
 Of loveliest objects, widely scatter'd o'er
 The bold and billowy landscape, —ever cross'd
 By these warm hedge-rows which make England seem
 A region of fair gardens.

‘ DARTMOOR SEAS.

In the dim distance his cloud-cover'd head,
 With granite girdle sweeping nearly round
 The varied map, until he plants his foot
 Sublimely in the loud Atlantic wave.

‘ But who that climbs the brow sublime, and thence
 Surveys the dread immensity of sea,
 Will heaving often here, and seldom hild
 To deep tranquillity, e'en by the hush
 Of Summer, feels not pleasure, wonder, awe
 Alternate, as in breeze, or gale, or storm,
 He gazes on its bosom ! On the waste
 Of waters, rolling from the birth of Time,
 The great and fathomless Ocean, swathing round,
 As with a girdle, this stupendous Earth,
 The eye would dwell for ever ! Every shore
 The wave of Ocean visits. On it roams
 Through the bright burning zone where ardent gales
 Cool their scorch'd pinions in it. Indian airs
 From bowers of bliss, waft o'er its smiling face
 Perfumes of Paradise ; and round the poles,
 Startling the eternal solitudes of snow,
 The restless wanderer howls !

‘ And with a voice
 Loud as the thunder peal, it wildly bursts
 Upon thee, Edgumbe, when the dark South West
 Is battling with it ; but when gentle airs
 Have calm'd the angry deep, and on its face
 The ships again are sporting, soothing 'tis
 To listen to the moan of Ocean, as
 It kisses the smooth beach, or wantonly
 Plays in the echoing cliffs.’ pp. 13—17.

We do not recollect to have before met with a ship-launch
 in poetry.

‘ But or in Peace or War, there is no pause
 To the huge labours of that Arsenal
 Whose foot the TAMAR laves. There Science lays
 The solid keel, and on it rears a frame
 Enduring, beautiful, magnificent. The woods
 Of Europe, Asia, Africa devote
 Their mightiest foliage to form the vast—
 The thunder-bearing structure, 'till, at last,

By thousand hands prepar'd, the *Finish'd Ship*
Is ready for the impressive LAUNCH. The day
Arrives, the Atlantic tide is swelling high
To place her on its bosom. O'er her decks
The streamers wave all-gallantly; around,
Enliv'ning music floats, while myriads crowd
Where the bold vessel on her rapid plane
Sits proudly. Hark, the intrepid artificers
Remove her last supports;—a breathless pause
Holds the vast multitude;—a moment, she
Remains upon her slope,—then starts,—and now
Rushing sublimely to the flashing deep,
Amid the shouts of thousands she descends;
Then rises buoyantly, a graceful pile,
To float supinely on the blue HAMOAZ,
Till England the wing'd miracle shall send,
To bear her dreaded banner round the globe.' pp. 22, 23.

We cannot afford time to accompany our Author the whole of his excursion. The following description is too beautiful to be passed over.

' We steer from point to point, but still the leaf
Is all thy own, Cornubia. Devon spreads
Her fields luxuriant, but reserves her store
Of rocks and groves magnificent, to cheer
The wanderer's eye hereafter. Through the reeds
With which she plants her shore, a gentle air
Is stealing now, and pensive murmurings rise,
As if pale Syrinx moan'd. The Zephyr sigh'd
But for a moment, for the tyrant Sun
Scorch'd its light wings: it may not venture forth
To kiss the river's bosom. E'en the lark
Declines the glowing heav'n: the woodland choir
Are silent as at midnight, and repose
Within the shadowy glade, 'till Eve shall ask
Their melodies again. If MORNING bid
Nature reviving from her rest to bless
The woodland choir with livelier song, fair Eve
Has too her dying and bewitching strains;
A magic power is her's, a nameless charm,
And rich is the repast she gives to him
Who loves amid her fairy reign to rove,
And hear the lay that bids the Sun farewell.
' Ye solemn woods, how pleasing 'tis to skim
On this calm flood, and find you thus at rest,
In one of Summer's most impassive moods;
When scarcely steals a vagrant air abroad,
To bend the reed, or creep among the flowers,

And Sol is high, and holds triumphant reign
 Over the breezeless, poiseless earth. And yet
 'Tis sweeter far, when fresh'ning breezes fly
 Over the earth, to be abroad, and see
 The sounding forest heave its million sprays
 In the commotion; and to mark the grass
 O'er all the landscape roll its verd'rous seas,
 Now in broad billows stooping to the sod,
 Now sweeping up elastic to the beam.' pp. 50—52.

We must make room for one more extract: it occurs towards the close of the tour.

'Amid this region of enchantment stands
 A pile stupendous, rising from the flood
 Abruptly; and though nature round its base
 Has flung her leafage, yet its sides are bare,
 And verdureless, and shiver'd. On its top
 A shape fantastic, wild, uncouth, appears,
 Like some deserted wind worn turret which
 Has borne the storms of ages! He who skims
 The stream below looks up with reverence,
 And quickly dips his oar, and hastens by
 The frowning pinnacle; for Time has been
 Most busy here, and has bestrewn the ground
 With massive fragments. Round the hoary wreck
 The hawk is sailing now: the tyrant loves
 To build his nest where desolation holds
 Her lonely reign; he seeks the crag, the rock,
 The inaccessible and dreary height,
 And there unscar'd, unsought, the prowler feeds
 With bloodiest plunder his insatiate brood.

'And well, bold rock, has Nature plac'd thee here,
 Thus rugged, blasted, frowning, verdureless!
 More lovely seem the groves with thee so near,
 More fair, more fresh; thou rushest on the view
 With front so wild and withering, that we turn
 With eager eye to look on them,—array'd
 In living, youthful beauty. But, farewell,
 Dread chronicle of centuries! we haste
 To moor our skiff, awhile, where on the ear
 Delighted, falls the music of the Weir.

'And hark upon the eddying breeze of Eve
 The rush sonorous. Now sweep we round
 The point of that green island,—there, directed
 At length, in graceful curve the river pours,
 From bank to bank the liquid volumes down.

'There are no sweeter sounds on Earth than those
 Of gently falling waters; but when loud
 As thunder, from some height terrific breaks
 The foaming torrent, leaping into gulfs

Profound and horrible, the offended ear
 Listens dismay'd. The astonished eye surveys
 The headlong cataract, plung'd far below
 Upon the groaning rock; it views the whirls,
 The foaming currents, wave on wave compair'd
 In furious endless conflict, and declines
 The appalling spectacle. Not thus descends
 The gentle Tamar. Leading on his flood,
 Swell'd by auxiliar streams, he strays awhile
 Amid the lawns of Werrington, and laves
 Thy ancient walls, Launceston. Thence, in deep
 And silent course, he seeks thy leaf-clad bridge,
 Romantic Greystone, murm'ring gently through
 Thy ivied arches. With the Ocean tide,
 Seeking proud union then, the tranquil flood
 Rolls on, 'till smoothly, musically, leaps
 The bright, descending river o'er the Wier.
 'Tis o'er,—the day declines, with sober step
 Pale Evening comes; and every eye that saw
 The cheerful morn, and glisten'd at the sight,
 Looks westward, now, where sits the God of Day
 Upon his burning throne; the glowing clouds
 Encircling him with hues no pencil dares
 To emulate. In vain the floating pomp—
 The golden blaze—the emerald tints—the seas
 Of sapphire, and the islets blest that sail
 The ethereal ocean; pensively we gaze
 On that which should divinest pleasure yield;
 And fain would Friendship, like the chief of old,
 Arrest the course of yon departing Sun:
 But, ah! in characters as true as grand
 And beautiful, those evanescent streaks
 Which now he scatters o'er the burning heav'n,
 Foretell the rapid close of day! We seek
 Reluctantly our bark, too soon to lose
 Woods, rocks, and verdant hills, and smiling lawns,
 In the deep shades of the relentless night.' pp. 85—89.

If our readers have not long ere this found out, that the Banks of the Tamar is a poem worthy of the beautiful stream it celebrates, we fear that no epithets we might employ to characterize it, would instruct them. We are glad to notice a list of subscribers which testifies that the Author is not wholly without honour in his own country, to which he certainly does honour; such a man deserves, however, a better fate. The passages we have extracted, will bear a comparison with the best descriptive poetry in the language, and the whole poem is extremely pleasing. We consider both volumes—we shall not attempt to settle the comparative merits of the *Dove* and the

Tamar, or of their respective champions—as an interesting accession to our library. We do not promise to say as much of the next river that may be presented to us: that will depend on the urn it may issue from.

Art. X. *The Church in Canaan, or Heirs in Possession receiving the Promises.* By William Seaton, Minister of Wandsworth Chapel, Author of "The Church in the Wilderness." In two Volumes. Vol. I. f2mo. pp. 364. Price 6s. London, 1893.

WE shall make the best amends to Mr. Seaton for passing by his former publication, by taking this early opportunity of recommending his present volume to the notice of our religious readers. 'Though nothing,' as he states in the Preface, 'is to be expected that would please a fastidious taste, or gratify such as are pleased with truth only as adorned with literary embellishments,' yet, the work is well adapted both to interest and to edify the class of readers for whose improvement it is designed. Perhaps, the true use of sacred history has been of late too much lost sight of. Some of the old writers carried much too far their mystical expositions of what they considered as typical in the events which befel the children of Israel; and in our own day, we have had expositors who have shewn their ingenuity in spiritualizing every item of the Levitical code, and every stone in Solomon's Temple, till the Bible has assumed the character of a riddle-book. There is, however, an opposite extreme; and the attention now paid to Biblical criticism and Oriental illustration, has a tendency to divert the mind from that spiritual use of the historical parts of the Old Testament, which is clearly included in their design. The tenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians sufficiently indicates what is the proper use to be made of the "figures" or "examples" which such things present to the believer. Such a work, then, as the one before us, we think well adapted to be useful as an assistance to the plain reader in deriving from the Old Testament history the lessons it is adapted to convey; and the execution of the present publication appears, so far as we have examined it, highly judicious, free from all violent accommodations of the literal meaning, and characteristically evangelical. We submit a few specimens.

'Though possession was as large as the promise, and nothing was wanting to confirm the truth of its description; though every where the beauty and richness of their inheritance bespoke its value, and their own felicity, yet there is, in the best earthly condition of a

ble, that which may convince us that the designs of his goodness lie much beyond any thing that is seen and enjoyed here. The most pleasurable scenes of life, and the most prosperous condition of an individual family or nation, has, if nothing else, the bumbling limit of mortality to check the thought of permanency, and to admonish the heart to desire more satisfying good, more extended prospects, more lasting possessions. It could never be the design of God, in the profusion of his goodness, to cherish in his own people the earthly, selfish, and sensual desires of corrupt nature, that clinging to things temporal which ever unfit for the contemplation and hope of things eternal. Had this been the end of all, the ultimatum of providence, none of his children would be long left in a state of outward need and trial; whereas they are often found poor and afflicted, persecuted and forsaken, nor ever realize a better condition in this life. And as such could never accord with the designs of the covenant, so neither with the hope of the fathers. The grace of God and the faith of his people were full of the glory and grandeur of an immortal state, and are both to be regarded as holding in subserviency all the revolutions and events of time. The Apostle expresses the elevation of their views, and the influence of the governing principles of their life. In the perception of the great realities of the promise, the persuasion of their truth, and an inward realization of personal interest, they confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. "And they that say such things, declare plainly that they seek a country. And, truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned: but now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God; for he hath prepared for them a city." Heb. xi. 14.

The very circumstances that attended the possession of the promised land seemed to say it was far short of what was to be the hope of man. Though a rest and an inheritance much the desire of those who had been long wandering, and, in possession, yielding the amplest reward to expectation, yet the conflicts that attended their settlement, and the limited triumphs of Joshua, indicated something beyond, another rest which remained for the people of God. For as Paul reasons, "If Joshua had given them that rest, then would not David after so long a time have spoken of another rest." The Canaanites were still in the land, and purposely left to try their faith and hope, so that while the difficulties they met with were doubtless disappointing to the hopes of the carnal, the views of the spiritual were kept alive by sublimer prospects. And as long as life lasts, occasions will not be wanting to the heirs of promise to induce hopes of a better world, to wean the heart from all that is seen or possessed here, and win its best attachments to higher claims. The voice of heaven is, "Arise ye, and depart; for this is not your rest: because it is polluted." The heart of a good man cannot rest in earthly satisfactions, nor in the wanderings of his eye say of any sublunary spot, that would be "all my hope and all my desire." His views are, above the fulness of any earthly condition, for "risen with Christ, he has been taught to set

his affections on things above, and not on things on the earth. The faith of the Church in Canaan was strictly the same as had manifested the pious fathers of the nation, who despised earth, and walked with God. pp. xvi.—xviii.

This passage occurs in the Introductory Observations. The same idea, a most important one, is strikingly illustrated in reviewing the death of Joshua.

After all we have seen in Canaan, let us visit the sepulchre of Joshua. The short record given may be viewed as a simple, unvarnished memento, or monumental inscription. Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, died, being an hundred and ten years old, and they buried him in the border of his inheritance, in Timnath-erah, which is in mount Ephraim, on the north side of the hill Gaash. The place of his interment was in the lot of his inheritance, and may remind us how soon the seat of life becomes the repository of death. Short had been the date of his settlement; a hundred years before he obtained rest, and then but ten before he must lie down in his grave, not again to rise till the heavens be no more. What can be a greater or more convincing proof of still higher and nobler ends of Providence than any contained within the limits of this life, when even the most distinguished of God's family, the most exemplary and useful of his children, are not suffered to continue by reason of death, but are early removed from the happiest scenes on earth? It bespeaks the greatness of man, and the more exalted provisions of glory the infinite goodness of God has secured in another world. The designs of his grace are too exalted, and the displays of his power too wondrous, to centre in any earthly lot, though equal in beauty and richness to Eden, when as yet the seat of innocence, perfection, and love. The plans of God are extending and perfecting in the openings of another world, even when his people's views are cut short, and their purposes as it were prematurely broken up in this. Regret may be expressed by survivors involved in the mysteries of providence, on witnessing the intrusions of death, and pausing over the marred inheritances of once distinguished owners; but none can be felt by themselves for whom God in the riches of his goodness has provided some better thing.

Timnath-erah was still the portion of his lot, even in death. Where he lived in possession, there he lay in possession, nor left any commandment, as Jacob and Joseph, for removal. It is remarkable how much this was the desire of the faithful, and at the moment, though not in itself, yet in its typical regards, they viewed a burying-place in the promised land. It was as if they thought upon the interests of their sleeping dust, as well as the felicity of their dying spirits, and in still retaining their inheritance, even in a state of death, would claim for their bodies a share in the life to come. He who had so richly provided for the one as well as for the other, in an inheritance entirely typical, would not have so essential a part of our redeemed nature for ever the prey of worms. As Daniel and other saints, so Joshua rested in mortality, "and would stand in his

let at the end of the days." Where the believer now rests, in what bed matters little, for Jesus is the resurrection and the life of all his people' pp. 346—348.

From among many passages equally pleasing, we take one more extract.

"The manna ceased,"—an occurrence no less to be admired than its first production or its long continuance: it marked the special presence of God, and was an act of his omnipotence; for then only was it taken away when no longer needed. In the Wilderness it never failed one day of all the years they had it. Their portion had been as sure to them, and as regular, as the dawn of light. How strikingly did this evince the peculiar care of a covenant God extended over his Church! What occasion for exalted views of his goodness and power, and for joy in that relation in which they were owned to the Lord of the whole earth! Such indications of his presence and power were little less than visible manifestations of Deity. And thus had it been in all their journeyings: no supply was ever taken away a day too soon, nor did mercy ever come a day too late; want never pressed before relief stood ready at hand. Not more punctual to time and station the revolutionary systems of nature, than the course of the divine dominion in the dispensations of providence. What can so tranquillize the mind as the belief of this; or what produce such calm reliance and cheerful hope as the full persuasion, attended with an appropriating sense of God's favour? I might inquire, is experience a total stranger to a fact so well known in the Church of God? No believer, in retracing life through its varied scenes, and especially in the review extending back to the period when hope of interest in a covenant God first possessed his mind, but will own the special care taken in concerns infinitely inferior to those of another life. One source has not failed till another has been ready to open. The spring was near at hand when the water in the bottle was wasted. Often soul-distressing, and always God-dishonouring—the feelings when the occurrences of life are regarded as the effect of chance, or something little better, and not as the result of arrangements previously determined by one who, for the comfort of his people, has said, "I will never leave thee, never forsake thee." If extraordinary supplies cease, we may feel assured ordinary ones will prove adequate. Our faith may fail in a moment of trial; but the covenant never can. Oh the mercy that they do not fail together! When apparently miracles have been wrought to supply the necessities of God's children, how apt have they been to conclude that such interpositions are too remarkable to be repeated, or that in their failing ordinary means will never meet their case. In all this, sight is lost of those covenant engagements to which the Lord has bound himself, and which comprehend both his own glory and his people's interest. O may it be my felicity to believe that no mercy shall ever cease in this time state, this going home to God, that my real interest requires to be continued! pp. 29—31.

ART. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the Eclectic Review, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.

Is the press, *Sermons* preached in St. John's Church, Glasgow. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Sharon Turner's valuable "*History of the Anglo-Saxons*," is under the Author's revision, the fourth edition of which will be published shortly.

The long promised English Flora of Sir James Edward Smith, President of the Linnean Society, is now printing. The English botanist will thus be furnished with an original and authentic guide to the study of our native plants, in his own language, free from all unnecessary technical terms, and according to the plan which the Author has long been studying to attain, of a classical English style, rejecting that barbarous, neither English nor Latin, phraseology, which so many writers have adopted. The laborious and intricate department of synonyms, hitherto copied without examination even by the best and most popular writers, will here be investigated throughout; the errors of the press, transcribed hitherto by one author from another, with multiplied errors, will be set right; and the essential characters and descriptions will all be re-considered, and corrected after Nature. The work will be enriched with practical information relative to the qualities and uses of the plants, and the subject of natural orders and affinities, hitherto not introduced by any popular writer.

Early in June will be published, a *Funeral Oration on General Dumourier*, with considerations on the events of his life.

Dr. Irving has in the press, a new and enlarged edition of his *Observations on the Study of the Civil Law*.

Richard Payne Knight, Esq. has a new Poem in the press, entitled "*Alfred*."

The young Officer, whose Sketches of India were so favourably received by the public; has nearly ready for publication in an 8vo. volume, "*Recollections of the Peninsula*," containing remarks

on the manners and character of the Spanish Nation.

Mr. Henry Phillips, F.H.S. Author of "*The History of Britons known in Great Britain, cultivated Vegetables*," &c. &c. is engaged upon "*Sylva Floreana, or The Shrubbery*," containing a historical and botanical account of the flowering shrubs and trees, which now ornament the shrubbery, the park, and rural scenes in general.

The facetious Thomas Brown the Younger, is employed on a new work, entitled, "*Fables for the Holy Alliance*," with other Poems.

The Rev. Josiah Sturt is preparing for the press, a new and enlarged edition of his "*Adult Baptism, and the Salvation of all who die in Infancy, maintained*."

The new edition of the *Saxon Chronicle*, edited by the Rev. Mr. Ingram, may be expected to appear in a few days.

W. Marsden, Esq. F.R.S. &c. &c. has just published the first portion of his *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*: the oriental coins, ancient and modern, of his collection, described and historically illustrated. It forms a handsome quarto volume, and contains numerous plates from drawings made under the Author's inspection.

The third volume of *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, will appear during the coming month.

In the press, *Remarkable Passages in the Life of William Kiffin, Merchant and Alderman of London*, written by himself; including some account of W. and Ben. Noeling, who were executed for the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion. Published from the original manuscript, with notes and additions, by William Orme, of Perth, Author of *Sketches of the Life of Dr. Owen*.

In the press, a *Tribute of Affection to the Memory of a Beloved Wife*; being a sketch of the life and character of Mrs. Maria Cramp; with selections from her correspondence. By W. M. Cramp.

ART. XII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Marytha: a memorial of an only and beloved Sister. By the Rev. Andrew Reid. 8vo. 12s.

The Life of Ali Pacha of Jassina. With plates. 8vo. 12s.

A Cabinet of Portraits, consisting of distinguished characters, British and Foreign; accompanied with a brief memoir of each person. Comprising 64 portraits. 8vo. 18s.

Stories of Learned and Eminent Men, taken from authentic sources, adapted to the Use of Children of Four Years old and upward. With portraits. 9 vols. 18mo. 3s.

MEDICINE.

A Treatise on Mental Derangement. By Francis Willis, M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Catalogue of the Ethiopic Biblical MSS. in the Royal Library of Paris, and in that of the British and Foreign Bible Society; with specimens of the modern dialects of Abyssinia. By Thomas Pell Platt, B. A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The Lady of the Manor. By Mrs. Sherwood. 7s.

The Spy-Glass; or Truths brought home to the mind's eye. 2s. 6d.

An Alpine Tale, suggested by circumstances which occurred during the commencement of the present century. By the Author of *Tales from Switzerland*. 2 vols. 18mo. 10s.

An Essay on the Objects of Taste. In three Parts. Part I. Principles.—II. Illustration of Principles.—III. Analogy with and Support from Scripture. 18mo. 3s.

The Sunday-School Preceptor; chiefly designed for the use of young teachers, and as a reward book for the senior scholars; part 8vo. 4s. 6d.

The Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland. By W. Grant Stewart. 4cap 8vo. 6s.

An Account of some recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature and Egyptian Antiquities, including the Author's original Alphabet, as extended by Mr. Champollion; with a translation of five published Greek and Egyptian manu-

scripts. By Thomas Young, M.D. Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College of Physicians. With numerous engravings. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

POETRY.

An Elegy on the late Rev. Henry Martyn, and other poems. By John Lawson, Missionary at Calcutta, author of "*Woman in India*," &c. 4cap 8vo. 2s.

The Loyal and National Songs of England; for one, two, three voices: selected from original manuscripts and early printed copies in the library of William Kitchiner, M.D. Dedicated by permission to the King. folio. 2l. 2s.

Motets and Vespers; with Hymns and occasional Devotional Pieces. By John Bowring. 18mo. 6s.

Specimens of the Russian Poets, with introductory remarks. Part the Second. By John Bowring, F.L.S., and Honorary Member of several Foreign Societies. 18mo. 8s.

POLITICS.

Dr. Chalmers's Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns. Nos. XIV. XV. and XVI.—"*On the Causes and Cure of Pauperism in England*." These numbers complete the second volume of this work.

A Manifesto to the Spanish Nation, and especially to the Cortes for the Years 1822 to 1823, respecting the Causes which have paralyzed the Spanish Revolution, and the Operations of the Cortes for 1820 and 1821; and pointing out their future consequences. Translated from the Spanish of the Citizen Jose Moreno Guerra. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Observations on the Effects produced by the Expenditure of Government, during the Restriction of Cash Payments. By William Blake, Esq. F.R.S. 8vo. 4s.

An Historical Sketch of the International Policy of Modern Europe, as connected with the Principle of the Law of Nature and Nations. With some short Remarks on the Policy which the Continental Nations have pursued since the Holy Alliance. By the Hon. Frederick Eden, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. 8vo. 4s.

THEOLOGY.

Observations on Providence, chiefly in relation to the affairs of the Church. By the Rev. John Leifchild. 18mo. 3s.

The Church in Canaan, or Heirs in Possession receiving the Promises. By the Rev. W. Seaton. Vol. I. 12mo. 6s.

Sketches of Sermons preached to various Congregations, and furnished by their respective Authors. Vol. V. 12mo. 4s.

A Supplementary Volume of Sermons. By the late Rev. Samuel Lavington of Bideford. To which is prefixed an original memoir of the Author, with a portrait. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

An Essay on Baptism; being an Inquiry into the meaning, form, and extent of the administration of that ordinance. By Greville Ewing, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Thoughts on Baptism as an Ordinance of Proselytism; including observations on the controversy respecting terms of communion. By Agnostos. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

The Works of Dr. John Owen. Vol. IV. 12s.

Horæ Romanæ, a new Translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By Clericus. small 8vo. 4s.

Treatises on Justification and Regeneration. By John Witherspoon, D. D. With an Introductory Essay, by William Wilberforce, Esq. 12mo. 4s.

An Alarm to Unconverted Sinners. By the Rev. Joseph Alleine. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. Andrew Thomson, A. M. Edinburgh. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs for public worship. By the Rev. John Foster, Rector of West Throck and Purfleet, Essex, and of Sarratt, Herts. 18mo. 2s. 6d. bound.

The Characters of Osranius, Falvius, and twelve others, abridged from the Rev. W. Law's "Serious Call." 12mo. 3d. or 2s. 6d. per dozen.

The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from

the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists. To which is added, the First and Second Appeals to the Christian Public in defence of this Work, in reply to the Observations of Dr. Marshman, of Serampore. By Rammohun Roy. 8vo. 9s.

TRAVELS AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale Fishery; including Researches and Discoveries on the Eastern Coast of West Greenland, made in the Summer of the Year 1822, in the Ship *Bella*, of Liverpool. By William Scoresby, Jun. F. R. S. E. Commander. 8vo. (eight engravings.) 16s.

Narrative of a Journey from the Shores of Hudson's Bay, to the Mouth of the Copper-mine River; and from thence, in Canoes, along the Coast of the Polar Sea, upward of Five Hundred Miles, and of the Return of the Expedition, over land, to Hudson's Bay, &c. By Captain John Franklin, R. N. Commander of the Expedition. With an Appendix, containing Subjects of Natural History. By John Richardson, M. D. Surgeon to the Expedition. Illustrated by four maps, six plates of natural history, and twenty-four copper-plate engravings. 4to. 4l. 6s.

Travels in the Northern States of America, particularly those of New England and New York. By Timothy Dwight, S. T. D. LL. D. Late President of Yale College, Author of a System of Theology. &c. 4 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s.

Colombia: being a Geographical, Statistical, Agricultural, Commercial, and Political Account of that Country, adapted for the General Reader, the Merchant, and the Colonist. With a map and portraits. 2 vols. 8vo. 4l. 12s.

The Pyrenees and the South of France, in the Months of November and December, 1822. By A. Thiers. 8vo. 6s.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JUNE, 1823.

Art. I. Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, performed in the Years 1819, 1820, by Order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the Command of Major S. H. Long, of the U. S. Top. Engineers. Compiled from the Notes of Major Long, Mr. T. Say, and other Gentlemen of the Party, by Edwin James, Botanist and Geologist to the Expedition. In three Volumes. 8vo. pp. 1048. [Plates.] Price 1l. 16s. London. 1823.

THIS publication is a reprint, though not so announced, of the American edition of the work. We cannot say much in favour of the style in which it has been got up. The plates* are but indifferent, and the three volumes might easily have been comprised in two of moderate size, with a reduction of the price to the public. We might, however, have been visited with a still more costly volume in quarto, and ought, perhaps, on this account, to applaud the forbearance of the publishers, in bringing out the work in its present form.

The Expedition of which an account is here given, does honour to the American Government, and to the gentlemen to whom its execution was confided. Although not equal in interest or in the importance of its results, to that undertaken by Captains Lewis and Clarke in 1804—6., it has added considerably to our knowledge of the country west of the Mississippi. The Expedition embarked on board of the U. S. steam-

* Mr. Seymour, the artist appointed to accompany the Expedition, is stated to have taken one hundred and fifty landscape views, of which sixty have been finished. Only eight, however, are given in the London edition.

boat Western Engineer, at Pittsburgh, on the 4th of May, 1819, and descending the Ohio to its confluence with the Mississippi, proceeded up the latter river to the Missouri, which they ascended, though with considerable difficulty, to the point designated by the name of Council Bluff. Here, at a spot to which they gave the name of Engineer Cantonment, they established their winter quarters in the immediate neighbourhood of a variety of Indian tribes who frequent the upper course of the Missouri; and during the ensuing winter, they had opportunities of acquiring extensive information respecting the manners, customs, and character of the natives in this quarter. Major Long, in the mean time, returned to Virginia. On his way back, early in the ensuing spring, he pursued a course overland north of the Missouri, from near its mouth to the cantonment at Council Bluff, taking sketches of this unexplored tract of country. On the 6th of June, the whole party proceeded on their march to explore the great wilderness which extends to the base of the Rocky Mountains, the ultimate object of their enterprise. In the mean time, the steam-boat, under the command of Lieut. Graham, after descending the Missouri to St. Louis, was to explore the Mississippi to the De Moyer rapids, and then, descending the river to Cape Girardeau, to await the return of the Expedition.

The exploring party proceeded westwardly to the Pawnee villages, situated on a branch of the Platte, called the Loup fork; thence southward to the Platte, which they pursued to the place where it issues from the Rocky Mountains. Finding the country at that point too hilly and broken to admit of their penetrating with horses within their range, they then shaped their course southward along the base of the mountains, occasionally ascending the peaks and spurs whenever a favourable opportunity offered, till they reached the Arkansas. They descended this river about one hundred miles. The party then separated into two detachments; one, under the direction of Captain Bell, proceeding along the Arkansas, while the other, under Major Long, struck through the wilderness in a southerly direction for the Red River. After proceeding about a hundred miles, the latter party arrived at a creek, having a southerly course, which they supposed to be tributary to Red River; and after travelling down its valley about two hundred miles, they fell in with a party of Indians who gave them to understand, that the stream they were pursuing was that river. It proved to be, to their no small disappointment, the Canadian River, which flows into the Arkansas. The season was now too far advanced, even had they been in a condition to retrace their steps in quest of the

source of Red River; this part of their object, therefore, they were compelled for the present to abandon. Both parties arrived within four days of each other, at the point of rendezvous on the Arkansas, whence they proceeded in a northeasterly direction to Cape Girardeau, and arrived there on the 10th of October, having occupied a little more than four months in their arduous adventure after leaving Council Bluff.

In ascending the Missouri, the wonderful progress of enterprise exhibited itself in the establishment of infant settlements on its banks as high as Fort Osage. The town of St. Charles, the first settlement after entering that river, owing to the failure of the Indian trade, had not advanced in size since it was visited by Lewis and Clarke; but many substantial brick buildings had been added. Higher up, at the confluence of the Gasconade and the Missouri, is placed 'a projected town.' Opposite the lower mouth of the Osage is situated the little village of Cote Sans Dessein, containing about thirty families, mostly French, and boasting of 'a tavern, a store, a blacksmith's shop, and a *billiard table*.' At the upper mouth of the Osage river, another town has been 'located;' and the lots have been disposed of at St. Louis at various prices.

'Nashville, Smithton, Rectorsville, and numerous other towns of similar character and name, containing from one to half a dozen houses each, are to be met within a few miles above the Little Manito Rocks. Almost every settler who has established himself on the Missouri, is confidently expecting that his farm is, in a few years, to become the seat of wealth and business, and the mart for an extensive district.' Vol. I. p. 80.

That is, always by leave of the Missouri itself; for, in some parts of its course, the condition of a farm on the banks of this impetuous stream, is somewhat precarious. A portion of the bank near Point Labidee, which was covered with the plantation of a farmer from Virginia, had lately fallen into the river, carrying with it part of a fine wheat-field, and the dwelling house and other buildings seemed destined to follow. Franklin, the seat of justice for Howard county, is described as occupying a site not less untenable.

'It stands on a low and recent alluvial plain, and has behind it a small stagnant creek. The bed of the river near the shore has been heretofore obstructed by sand-bars, which prevented large boats from approaching the town: whether this evil will increase or diminish, it is not possible to determine; such is the want of stability in every thing belonging to the channel of the Missouri. It is even doubtful whether the present site of Franklin will not, at some future day, be occupied by the river, which appears to be at this time encroach-

ing on its banks. Similar changes have happened in the short period since the establishment of the first settlements on the Missouri. The site of St. Anthony, a town which existed about thirteen years since, near Bon Homme, is now occupied by the channel of the river.* p. 83.

Yet, Franklin is described as increasing more rapidly than any other town on the Missouri. It had been commenced but two years and a half at the time of the Author's visit, and then contained about 120 log-houses of one story, several framed dwellings of two stories, two of brick, thirteen sale-shops, two smith's shops, two large team-mills, four taverns, *two billiard rooms*, a court-house, *a log-prison of two stories*, a post-office, and *a printing-press issuing a weekly paper*. Wheat fetched one dollar per bushel, and the price of labour was 75 cents per day. We know not whether the name of this settlement constitutes one of its attractions. The almost inexhaustible fertility of the soil, is the consideration which probably outweighs, in the minds of the settlers, the disadvantages of the situation; the same motive which is strong enough, among us in the old world, to induce the Sicilian peasant to fix his home on the yet heaving sides of Etna. In 1816, thirty families only of whites were settled on the left side of the Missouri above Cote Sam Dessein. In three years, their numbers had increased to 800 families. Charaton, situated on the river of the same name, about 700 yards from its mouth, contained at this time about 50 houses and near 500 inhabitants, 'on a spot where, two years previous, no permanent habitation had been established.' 'Such,' remarks Dr. James, 'is the rapidity with which the forests of the Missouri are becoming filled with an enterprising and industrious population.' Fort Osage is estimated to be about one hundred and forty miles higher up the river than Charaton. This is *at present*, or was at the period of the Expedition, the extreme frontier of the settlements. For a great distance below, the establishments were confined to the immediate banks of the Missouri.

* About thirteen miles above the Grand Pass, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke witnessed the falling in of a portion of high cliff, composed of sandstone and clay, about three quarters of a mile in length. At the time of the Expedition's visit, the whole was covered with grass, and the river had retired from the base of the cliff which it was before undermining. A grassy plain, of some extent, occupied what must once have been the bed of the river; but this 'prairie' was in its turn experiencing the vicissitude incident to every thing along the bank of the Missouri, and has probably by this time disappeared. Cliffs of sandstone and clay were observed a mile or two above this point, also in a state of rapid disintegration.

'The inhabitants of this frontier,' says the Author, 'are mostly emigrants from Tennessee, and are hospitable to strangers. Many of them are possessed of considerable wealth. In the inhabitants of the New States and Territories, there is a manifest propensity, particularly in the males, to remove westward, for which it is not easy to account. The women, having their attention directed almost exclusively to domestic pursuits, form local attachments, and establish habits, which are not interrupted without occasioning some disquietude. They are at first discontented in their new abode; in a few weeks they become reconciled, but less attached than to their former home; and at length, by the habit of frequent migration, they acquire the same fondness for an adventurous, unsettled life, as characterises the men.'

'Daniel Boon, whose history is connected with that of all the new settlements from Kentucky westward, answered to an inquiry concerning the cause of his frequent change of residence, "I think it time to remove, when I can no longer fall a tree for fuel, so that its top will lie within a few yards of the door of my cabin." The charms of that mode of life wherein the artificial wants and the uneasy restraints inseparable from a crowded population are not known, wherein we feel ourselves dependent immediately and solely on the bounty of nature and the strength of our own arm, will not be appreciated by those to whom they are known only from description, though they never fail to make an impression upon such as have acquired a knowledge of them from experience. A settler on the Missouri observed to us, that the land he at present occupied was not better than that he had left in Tennessee; but he did not wish to spend all his life in one place, and he had learned from experience, that a man might live in greater ease and freedom where his neighbours were not very numerous. A person upwards of sixty years old, who had recently arrived at one of the highest settlements of the Missouri, inquired of us very particularly of the river Platte, and of the quality of the lands about its source. We discovered that he had the most serious intention of removing with his family to that river.' Vol. I. pp. 97, 8.

A little above the Konzas river, a party of *white hunters* were found encamped on the bank of the Missouri. In the rudeness of their dress and of their deportment, they struck the Narrator as surpassing the native savages. 'They are usually,' he remarks, 'the most abandoned and worthless among the whites, who adopt the life of wandering hunters: frequently they are men whose crimes have excluded them from society.' One would think that this account of things, coming as it does from an American, might be sufficient to deter Europeans from going in search of golden crops in the Western prairies. The genuine backwoodsman is indigenous to the American soil: he has as distinct characteristics as the Indian, with whom, indeed, he has more in common than with civilized man. The Englishman is naturally a domestic animal; his local attach-

ments are strong; he is not made for a nomade, much less for a solitary wanderer. But these 'white hunters' are fit pioneers for civilization. They are followed by the land-jobbers and roving planters, who are but one *grade* higher in the scale of social existence; to them quickly succeed that enterprising class of omnium merchants, the keepers of stores. A tavern, a billiard-room, a court-house, a prison, and a printing-press are successively added in the order of the wants of the new settlement. The last want that is felt, and that which is last supplied, appears to be a place for public worship. We do not mention this as peculiar to the American territories; it is, we apprehend, much the same in our own Colonies.

For many miles on each side of the Missouri, the prairies are stated to afford abundance of good pasturage; but the best soil is found along the western bank from ten to twelve miles in breadth. In the summer, very little water is to be found in the prairies, all the smaller streams failing, even though the season be not unusually dry; and 'on account of the want of wood and of water,' Dr. James states, 'the settlements will be for a long time confined to the immediate valleys of the Missouri, the Konzas, and the larger rivers.' In ascending the Konzas, indications were observed at the distance of only one hundred and twenty miles from the Missouri, both in the soil and in the animal and vegetable productions, of an approach to the borders of the Great Sandy Desert which stretches eastward from the base of the Rocky Mountains. We shall here throw into as compressed a form as possible, the substance of the information contained in the present volumes, relative to the Indian tribes frequenting the districts watered by the Missouri and its tributaries. Those of whom the fullest account is given, are the Omawhaws. The other tribes with whom the party came in contact, are the Osages, Konzas, and Puncaws, whose dialect is nearly the same as that of the Omawhaws; the Otoes, Missouris, and Ioways, who also have a language in common, slightly differing only in the pronunciation, and closely allied to that of the Osages, &c.; the three tribes of Pawnees, the Minnetarees, the Sioux, the Sauks, and the Ietans.

The physiological character of the Missouri Indian differs considerably, not only from the Carib, but from the native of Canada, of Florida, and of New Spain. In form, he is symmetrical, not by any means of a squat make, and equal in stature to the ordinary European standard; though the squaw is somewhat shorter and more thick-bodied, with a broader face than the male. The forehead retires remarkably, and the posterior part of the head has a flattened appearance, pro-

bably attributable to the pressure of the board or scarcely less yielding pad to which the infant is bound. The facial angle of the cranium, taken by Blumenbach at 73 degrees, was found in several specimens to give an average of 78 degrees: a Wabash male 78°, female 80°, and a Cherokee only 75°. As to the races to whom our Author's observations relate, he states in general terms, that 'the western Indian certainly possesses a greater verticality of profile,' than the Carib Indian. The line of the eyes is 'nearly rectilinearly transverse, being in this respect intermediate between the arcuated line of the eyes of the white man, and that of the Indians of New Spain; who, according to Humboldt, have the corner of the eye directed upward toward the temples.' The nose is generally prominent, either aquiline or Roman; the lips more tumid than those of the White American, but very far less so than those of the negro; the lower jaw large and robust; the chin well formed; the cheek bones prominent, but not angular, as in the Mongul; the expression of the countenance austere, often ferocious. The colour of their skin, as well in those parts of the body shielded from the sun, as in the face, is 'that of the skin of smoked bacon-ham.' In walking, they preserve a perfectly upright carriage, without any thing of the swinging gait common among the whites; and step with their feet in a parallel direction: they say, that turning out the toes, as well as turning them inward, is a disadvantageous mode of walking through high grass or narrow paths. They often tattoo their persons neatly, in straight lines and angles, on the breast, neck, and arms. They discover but little mechanical ingenuity, their skill not extending beyond the manufacture of war-clubs, rude saddles, hair ropes, stone pipes, wooden bowls, horn spoons, and various personal ornaments. The squaws make mockasins and leggings variously ornamented, handsome necklaces, wrought with beads of different colours, strung on red silk or thread coloured with vermillion, and garters of the breadth of the hand; formed also of beads strung on worsted. Their notions of sculpture are confined to the rude indentations of the war-club. Their culinary utensils are few and simple.

'The original earthenware pots,' says Mr. James, 'are now rarely used by the nations on the lower part of the Missouri, being substituted by brass kettles, which they procure from the traders in exchange for their peltries. The Pawnees, however, whose intercourse with the whites has been less considerable than that of the nations bordering more closely on the Missouri, still employ earthen vessels, and yet continue the limited manufacture of them. These vessels are not glazed, and resemble in composition the antique frag-

ments of Indian earthenware, found in various parts of the United States; the mementos of a numerous people, that have been destroyed by obscure causes, as well as by the avaricious policy, and cruelly unjust and barbarous encroachments of a people professing the mild doctrines of "peace on earth and good-will to men."

' Food is served up in wooden bowls, of a very wide and simple form, and of various sizes, generally carved, with much patient application, out of a large knot or protuberance of the side of a tree. The spoon is made of bison horn, and is of a large size; the handle, variously ornamented by notching and other rude carving, is elevated into an angle of fifty or sixty degrees with its bowl, which is about three inches wide, by about five in length; a size which, in civilized life, would be inadmissible.

' The only implement of husbandry is the hoe; if they have not an iron one, they substitute the scapula of a bison, attached to a stick in such a manner as to present the same form. The traders supply them with axes of iron.

' The weapons used in hunting are bows and arrows, and guns. The bow is about four feet long, of a simple form, composed of hickory, or hop-horn beam wood, (*ostrea virginica*), or bow-wood, (*maclura aurantiaca* of Nuttall,) the latter being greatly preferred. The cord is of twisted bison, or elk sinew. The hunting arrow is generally made of arrow-wood, (*viburnum*), about two feet in length, of the usual cylindric form, and armed with elongate-triangular spear-head, made of sheet iron, of which the shoulders are rounded, instead of the ordinary barbed form; it is firmly affixed to the shank by deer sinew, and its flight is equalised by three half webs of the feathers of a turkey, neatly secured near its base, in the usual manner. The war arrow differs from that used for hunting, in having a barbed spear-head, very slightly attached to the wood, so that if it penetrate the body of an enemy, it cannot be withdrawn without leaving the point in the wound.

' The arrows are contained in a quiver, which is slung obliquely across the back, and which is generally made of Cougar skin, with the tail of the animal dangling down from the upper extremity; attached to this quiver is also a skin case for the bow, when not in use. To bend the bow requires the exertion of considerable force, dexterously applied; for this purpose three fingers are placed upon the string, whilst the thumb and index finger grasp the base of the arrow, where it rests on the string; the wrist is defended from the percussion of the string by a guard of leather. The smooth-bored gun is preferred to the rifle, the latter being too heavy for their use. Those called Mackinaw guns are greatly preferred to those which they more commonly procure from our traders, being far more substantial and serviceable.

' They make use of no traps, excepting those for catching beaver, which they obtain from the traders chiefly on loan. The hooks which they use in fishing are bought of the traders. They have no fishing nets.' Vol. II. pp. 10—12.

They occupy their villages not more than five months in the year. Returning in April from their hunting excursions, they spend the month of May in planting maize, beans, pumpkins, and water-melons, and in dressing the bison-skins they have procured during the winter hunt, for the traders. The young men make short excursions in the meantime, to hunt for beaver, otter, deer, musk-rat, elk, &c. In June, their provisions being generally exhausted, they set out afresh for their hunting grounds, and return from their expedition some time in September. Towards the latter end of October, they again sally forth in separate parties to various situations on both sides of the Missouri; their primary object at this time being to obtain from the traders, on credit, guns, powder, ball, flints, beaver-traps, camp-kettles, knives, hoes, axes, and tomahawks. Having obtained these implements, they go in pursuit of deer, or apply themselves to trapping for beaver and otter, till towards the close of December. After passing a short time at their village, they again set out in pursuit of bisons; which expedition occupies them till April. One of the traders assured the gentlemen of the Expedition, that he once transported fifteen thousand skins to St. Louis in one year.

During their stay in their villages, the more laborious part of the work devolves, of course, upon the squaws. Among the amusements resorted to by their lords, *card-playing* stands pre-eminent. For this, as well as for the civilized enjoyment of intoxication, the Indians are indebted to the Traders. So inveterately attached are they, we are told, 'to the heinous vice of gambling, that they are known to squander in this way every thing they possess, with the solitary exception of their habitation, which, however, is regarded more as the property of the woman than of the man.' The squaws, like the ladies in our own country, have also their card parties. There is a game bearing some resemblance to throwing dice, called plumstone shooting, in which the Omawhaw dowagers become sometimes so highly interested, that they will neglect their food and ordinary occupations for a whole day, and perhaps night, solely intent upon it, until the losers have nothing more to stake. It is remarkable, how very closely these savages tread on the heels of Europeans in some of their accomplishments. It would be a curious problem, to estimate the *quantum* of mind respectively brought into exercise by three given parties of gamblers; say, a company of English noblemen and senators at a *Rouge et Noir* table, an old ladies' card party in some country town, and a groupe of Indian squaws playing at *Kon-se-ke-da*.

Whiskey, which they call aptly enough *Pa-je-ne*, fire-water,

is the only spirituous liquor which the Missouri Indians are acquainted with. It is freely furnished them by the traders, by a nefarious evasion of the existing law of the United States, which prohibits the sale of it to the natives. The vice of drunkenness is stated, however, to be extremely rare in the Pawnee, as well as in the Konza nation; but the Omawhaws are much addicted to it, esteeming an occasional indulgence in intoxication a 'delightful frolic.'

'The greatest offences and insults are overlooked if committed in this state, and even murder is palliated by it. The actions of drunken Indians are as ridiculous and puerile as those of civilized drunkards. Chiefs, warriors, and common men roll indiscriminately on the earth together, or dance, caper, laugh, cry, shout, fight, or hug and kiss, and rub each other with their hands in the most affectionate or stupid manner. If in the vicinity of white people, they appoint some of their number to remain sober, in order to prevent injury or insult being offered to them. The squaws sometimes tie them with cords, in order to preserve the peace, and are thanked for their precaution, when the subjects return to the dignity of reason. Squaws, however, will themselves get drunk on certain occasions, and children are frequently intoxicated with liquor given them by their parents.

They know nothing of the bliss of opium, the more innocent sedative of a pipe being their highest luxury. The Author could not learn that they have any knowledge of cathartic or emetic medicines. As a substitute for the latter, a feather is thrust down the throat, until it produces vomiting. Sweating baths are much in estimation among them. They practise bleeding for various ailments. Gun-shot wounds are said to be sometimes successfully treated, by sucking out the matter as it is secreted. The practitioner in all such cases is one of their magicians or priests, who of course pow-wows over the wound, rattling his gourds, and performing sundry mystic ceremonies. For some of their more rational modes of treating diseases, they are probably indebted to French and American traders. Fevers of all kinds are extremely rare among them, but ophthalmia frequently occurs, which they have learned from the traders how to treat. The blind are not neglected by their friends: 'on the contrary,' says Dr. James, 'we had several opportunities of observing them to be well clothed and fed, and much at their ease.' When superannuated, however, they are not exempted from the usual fate, namely, the chance of being, in case of need, left behind by a hunting party, to live till they come that way again, if they can, or starve. Their religion may be said to be unitarian.

' The Wahconda is believed to be the greatest and best of beings, the creator and preserver of all things, and the fountain of mystic medicine. Omnisience, omnipresence, and vast power are attributed to him, and he is supposed to afflict them with sickness, poverty, or misfortune, for their evil deeds. In conversation he is frequently appealed to as an evidence of the truth of their asseverations, in the words Wahconda-wa-nah-kong, the Wahconda hears what I say; and they sometimes add Mun-ekub-wa-nah-kong, the earth hears what I say.

' Whatever may be the notions of other Indian nations, we did not learn that the Omawhaws have any distinct ideas of the existence of the devil; or at least we always experienced much difficulty and delay, when obtaining vocabularies of this and some other languages, in ascertaining corresponding words for *Devil* and *Hell*; the Indians would consult together, and in one instance the interpreter told us they were coining a word.

' They say that, after death, those who have conducted themselves properly in this life, are received into the Wa-noch-a-te, or town of brave and generous spirits; but those who have not been useful to the nation or their own families, by killing their enemies, stealing horses, or by generosity, will have a residence prepared for them in the town of poor and useless spirits; where, as well as in the good town, their usual avocations are continued.

' Their Wahconda seems to be a Protean god; he is supposed to appear to different persons under different forms. All those who are favoured with his presence, become medicine men or magicians, in consequence of thus having seen and conversed with the Wahconda, and of having received from him some particular medicine of wondrous efficacy.

' He appeared to one in the shape of a grizzly bear, to another in that of a bison, to a third in that of a beaver, or owl, &c., and no individual attributed to an animal, from which he received his medicine, the form and features of the elephant.' Vol. I. pp. 246, 7.

' The Minnetarees, in common with several other nations of our Indians, have the strange tradition of their origin, that they formerly lived under ground. "Two boys," say they, "strayed away from them, and absented themselves several days. At length they returned and informed the nation that they had discovered another world, situate above their present residence, where all was beautiful and light. They saw the sun, the earth, the Missouri, and the bison. This account so delighted the people, that they immediately abandoned their subterranean dwelling, and, led by the boys, arrived on the surface of the earth, at the spot which their villages now occupy, and where they have dwelt ever since."

' They seem to have full faith in the notion that, at their death, they will be restored to the mansions of their ancestors under ground, from which they are intercepted by a large and rapid watercourse. Over this river, which may be compared to the Styx of the ancients, they are obliged to pass on a very narrow footway. Those Indians who have been useful to the nation, such as brave warriors or good

hunters, pass over with ease, and arrive safely at the *A-pah-be*, or ancient village. But the worthless Indians slip off from the bridge or footway, into the stream that foams beneath in the swiftness of its course, which hurries them into oblivion, or Lethe. The Mandans, according to Lewis and Clarke, have a tradition somewhat similar; and it strongly reminds us of the Alcestr of Mæonius, over which, it was supposed, that great leader was to conduct his *Mandans* to the bliss of futurity, whilst the unworthy were precipitated into the gulf which yawned beneath it.' Vol. I. pp. 258, 9.

A favourable account, on the whole, is given of their social and domestic character. Their hospitality is most exemplary: even an enemy is protected in the habitation of an Omawhaw, so far as his power extends. Prisoners taken in battle are treated according to their sex, age, and qualifications.

'Of the squaws they make slaves, or rather servants, though these are sometimes advantageously married. To the young men the task of tending horses is commonly assigned; but the children are generally adopted into their families, and are treated in every respect as their own offspring. When arrived at maturity, they are identified with the nation, and it would be an insult to apply the name of their own countrymen to them.'

Fraternal affection is very strong and permanent among the Omawhaws. The young men are generally coupled out as friends, and these youthful friendships are said to be strongly knit, though enfeebled by matrimony, as in civilized countries. The maternal instinct is, in some instances, very strong. Polygamy is allowed, and is attended by its usual concomitant inconveniences; but instances are given of devoted conjugal attachment on the part of squaws, and love would seem to be a passion not altogether divest of sentiment even in the bosom of a Missouri Indian. A very remote degree of consanguinity is stated to be an insuperable bar to the marriage union. This fact, if well authenticated, is a striking one. An Omawhaw will, however, take two or more sisters to wife: in case of his death, his widow devolves upon his brother, if he has left one; if not, she returns to her own relations. The squaw continues to mourn for her husband for six, eight, or even twelve months. The usual Indian mourning consists in covering the body with *white clay*. The girls are kept by their mothers in a state of considerable subjection, are trained up to industrious habits, and are watchfully guarded, so that 'a prostitute who has never been married, is of exceedingly rare occurrence.' Elopements, intrigues, and conjugal infidelity, according to the present account, would seem to be not much more frequent among these poor Indians, than in high life at Paris or London. Some young warrior may happen to take a fancy to a married squaw,

in which case he elopes with her to a neighbouring tribe. Many husbands will take no cognizance of infidelity on the part of their wife; others resort to a very summary mode of punishment, by cutting off the offender's hair, scarifying her face and head, or by severer mutilations, and afterwards, it may be, abandoning her. But, upon the whole, neither does woman appear to be so degraded among them, as is the case in some nations more advanced in civilization, nor does the state of morals seem irreclaimably vicious. The moral character of the white hunters is probably below, and that of the traders little, if at all above the average standard among these poor savages. Instances are given of gross brutality in individuals, but they are represented as exceptions, condemned by the general voice, and held in detestation. As to the charge of anthropophagy, Dr. James says: 'We could not learn that any one of the nations of the Missouri Indians are accused even by their enemies, of eating human flesh from choice, or for the gratification of a horrible luxury: starvation alone can induce them to eat of it.' Two cases are mentioned, as exceptions, which rather confirm this statement. An Ioway having killed an Osage, compelled some children of his own nation to eat of the uncooked flesh of the thigh of his victim. There would have been no occasion for such compulsion, had the practice prevailed. The other case is that of a Sioux of St. Peter's, who dried some of the flesh of a Chippeway whom he had killed, and presented it to some white men, who ate it without discovering the imposition. This by no means proved his own relish for such abominable food.

The tribe of Pawnee Loups are stated to have been once distinguished by the custom of offering up a prisoner of either sex once a year, as a propitiatory sacrifice to *Venus* or the *Great Star*, in order to secure a good crop of maize, &c.

'The devoted individual was clothed in the gayest and most costly attire, profusely supplied with the choicest food, and constantly attended by the magi, who anticipated all his wants, cautiously concealed from him the real object of their sedulous attentions, and endeavoured to preserve his mind in a state of cheerfulness with the view of promoting obesity, and thereby rendering the sacrifice more acceptable to their Ceres. When the victim was thus sufficiently fattened for their purpose, a suitable day was appointed for the performance of the rite, that the whole nation might attend. The victim was bound to a cross in presence of the assembled multitude, when a solemn dance was performed; and after some other ceremonies, the warrior whose prisoner he had been, cleaved his head with the tomahawk; and his speedy death was insured by numerous archers, who penetrated his body with their arrows.

'The present mild and humane chief of the nation, *Lateleshe*, or

Knife Chief, had long regarded this sacrifice as an unnecessary and cruel exhibition of power, exercised upon unfortunate and defenceless individuals, whom they were bound to protect; and he vainly endeavoured to abolish it by philanthropic admonitions.

An Ietan woman, who was brought captive into the village, was doomed to the Great Star by the warrior whose property she had become by the fate of war. She underwent the usual preparations, and, on the appointed day, was led to the cross, amidst a great concourse of people, as eager, perhaps, as their civilized fellow men, to witness the horrors of an execution. The victim was bound to the cross with thongs of skin, and the usual ceremonies being performed, her dread of a more terrible death was about to be terminated by the tomahawk and the arrow. At this critical juncture, Petalesharoo (son of the Knife Chief) stepped forward into the area, and in a hurried but firm manner, declared that it was his father's wish to abolish this sacrifice; that for himself, he had presented himself before them, for the purpose of laying down his life upon the spot, or of releasing the victim. He then cut the cords which bound her to the cross, carried her swiftly through the crowd to a horse, which he presented to her, and having mounted another himself, he conveyed her beyond the reach of immediate pursuit; when, after having supplied her with food, and admonishing her to make the best of her way to her own nation, which was at the distance of at least four hundred miles, he was constrained to return to his village. The emancipated Ietan had, however, the good fortune, on her journey of the subsequent day, to meet with a war party of her own people, by whom she was conveyed to her family in safety.

This daring deed would, almost to a certainty, have terminated in an unsuccessful attempt, under the arm of any other warrior; and Petalesharoo was, no doubt, indebted for this successful and noble achievement to the distinguished renown which his feats of chivalry had already gained for him, and which commanded the high respect of all his rival warriors. Notwithstanding the signal success of this enterprise, another display of the firmness and determination of the young warrior was required to abolish this sacrifice, it is to be hoped for ever. The succeeding spring, a warrior, who had captured a fine Spanish boy, vowed to sacrifice him to the Great Star, and accordingly placed him under the care of the magi, for that purpose.

The Knife Chief, learning the determination of the warrior, consulted with his son, respecting the best means of preventing a repetition of the horrible ceremony. "I will rescue the boy," said Petalesharoo, "as a warrior should, by force;" but the Knife Chief, unwilling that his son should again expose himself to a danger so imminent as that which he had once encountered in this cause, hoped to compel the warrior to exchange his victim for a large quantity of merchandize, which he would endeavour to obtain with that view. For this purpose he repaired to Mr. Pappan, who happened to be in the village for the purposes of trade, and communicated to him his intentions. Mr. Pappan generously contributed a considerable quantity of merchandize, and much was added by himself, by Petalesharoo, and other Indians.

‘ All this treasure was laid in a heap together, in the lodge of the Knife Chief, who thereupon summoned the warrior before him. The chief armed himself with his war-club, and explained the object of his call, commanding the warrior to accept the merchandize and yield up the boy, or prepare for instant death. The warrior refused, and the chief waved his club in the air towards the warrior.— “ Strike,” said Petalesharoo, who stood near to support his father; “ I will meet the vengeance of his friends.” But the more prudent and politic chief added a few more articles to the mass of merchandize, in order to give the warrior another opportunity of acquiescing without forfeiting his word.

‘ This expedient succeeded; the goods were reluctantly accepted, and the boy was liberated, and was subsequently conducted to St. Louis by the traders. The merchandize was sacrificed in place of the boy; the cloth was cut in shreds, and suspended by poles at the place of sacrifice, and many of the valuables were consumed by fire. It is not expected that another attempt will be made to immolate a human victim, during the life of Petalesharoo, or of his benign father.’ Vol. II. pp. 81—84.

It is remarkable that this anomalous instance of a barbarous and cruel superstition among the Missouri Indians, who worship an Invisible Spirit, the Master of Life, should be connected with an idolatrous variation of their faith. Polytheism has ever generated impurity and cruelty.

The sources of the Platte, the Arkansa, and the Red River, are frequented by six other nations, besides those already enumerated, namely, the Kaskaia, the Shianes, the Arrapahoes, the Kiawas, the Bald-heads, and a few Shoshones or Snakes. These are for the most part roving bands, having no permanent places of residence, and subsisting entirely on the products of the chase. The detachment who pursued the route of the Canadian river, fell in with a band of Kaskaia, who struck them as decidedly inferior in stature, symmetry of form, and acquirements, to the Otoes, Pawnees, and most of the Missouri Indians who reside in permanent villages. They were excessively filthy and barbarous; and, from the attention excited by the white skin of the American officers, appeared to have had communication only with Spanish traders from the South. They possessed few articles of foreign production, and but one kettle, which belonged to the chief. Their dress consisted more exclusively of leather than that of the Pawnees. They are described, however, as having well-turned features, aquiline noses, large and regular teeth, and eyes, though rather small, clear and brilliant. They begged for tobacco, but did not inquire for whiskey, which renders it probable that they have not yet acquired a relish for intoxicating liquors.

‘ The great number of images of alligators which they wear either

as ornaments or as amulets, affords sufficient proof of their extending their rambles to districts inhabited by that reptile. These images or of carved wood covered with leather, and profusely ornamented with beads. They are suspended about the neck, and we saw several worn in this manner by the children as well as by adults. It was likewise, that the rude frames to the looking glasses carried by some of the men, were carved so as to approximate towards the same form.

Vol. II. p. 39.

A larger party was subsequently fallen in with, consisting of Kaskaias, Kiawas, Shiennes, and Arrapahoes, who are there described.

These Indians differ, in many particulars, from those of the Missouri, with whose appearance we had been for some time familiar. Their average stature appeared to us less considerable; and although the general appearance of the countenance was such as we had been accustomed to see, yet their faces have, perhaps, somewhat more latitude, and the Roman nose is obviously less predominant; but still the direction of the eyes, the prominence of the cheek bones, the form of the lips, teeth, chin, and retreating forehead, are precisely similar. They have also the same habit of plucking the hair from various parts of the body; but that of the head, in the females, is only suffered to attain to the shoulders, whilst the men permit theirs to grow to its full extent. They even regard long hair as an ornament, and many wear false hair fastened to their own by means of an earthy matter, resembling red clay, and depending in many instances (particularly the young beau) to their knees, in the form of queues, one on each side of the head, variously decorated with ribbons, like slips of red and blue cloth, or coloured skin. Others, and by no means an inconsiderable few, had collected their long hair into several flat masses, of the breadth of two or three fingers, and less than the fifth of an inch in thickness, each one separately annulated with red clay at regular intervals. The elders wore their hair without decoration, flowing loosely about their shoulders, or simply intermixed with slender plaited queues. In structure and colour it is not distinguished from that of the Missouri Indians, though, in early youth, it is often of a much lighter colour; and a young man, of perhaps fifteen years of age, who visited us to-day, had hair decidedly of a flaxen hue, with a tint of dusky yellow.

Their costume is very simple, that of the female consisting of a leathern petticoat, reaching the calf of the leg, destitute of a seam, and often exposing a well-formed thigh, as the casualities of wind or position influence the artless foldings of the skirt. The leg and foot are often naked, but usually invested by gaiters and moccasins. A kind of sleeveless short gown, composed of a single piece of the same material, loosely clothes the body, hanging upon the shoulders, readily thrown off, without any sense of indecacy, when suckling their children, or under the influence of a heated atmosphere, displaying loose and pendant mammae. A few are covered by the more costly attire of coarse red or blue cloth, ornamented with a profusion

of blue and white beads: the short gown of this dress has the addition of wide sleeves descending below the elbow; its body is of a square form, with a transverse slit in the upper edge for the head to pass through; around this aperture, and on the upper side of the sleeves, is a continuous stripe, the breadth of the hand, of blue and white beads, tastefully arranged in contrast with each other, and adding considerable weight as well as ornament to this part of the dress. Around the petticoat, and in a line with the knees, is an even row of oblong conic bells, made of sheet copper, each about an inch and a half in length, suspended vertically by short-leathered thongs as near to each other as possible, so that when the person is in motion, they strike upon each other, and produce a tinkling sound. The young unmarried females are more neatly dressed, and seem to participate but little in the laborious occupations, which fall chiefly to the lot of their wedded companions.

The dress of the men is composed of a breech cloth, skin legging, moccasins, and a bison robe. In warm weather the three latter articles of dress are sometimes thrown aside as superfluous, exposing all the limbs and body to view, and to the direct influence of the most ardent rays of the sun. Such are the habiliments that necessity compels the multitude to adopt; but the opulence of a few has gained for themselves the comfortable as well as ornamental and highly esteemed Spanish blanket from the Mexican trader, and of which we had previously seen two or three in the possession of Pawnee warriors worn as trophies. Another species of garment, in their estimation equally sumptuous with the blanket, is the cloth robe, which is of ample dimensions, simple in form, one half red and the other blue, thrown loosely about the person, and at a little distance, excepting the singular arrangement of colours, resembling a Spanish cloak.

Some have, suspended from the slits of their ears, the highly prized nacre, or pearly fragments of a marine shell, brought probably from the N. W. coast.' Vol. III. pp. 46—48.

The Shionese, or Shawhays, who have united their destiny with these wanderers, are a band of exiles from their own nation; and some time since, on the occurrence of a serious dispute with their kindred on Shienne river of the Missouri, fled their country, and placed themselves under the protection of the Bear Tooth.

These nations have been for the three past years wandering on the head waters and tributaries of Red river, having returned to the Arkansa only the day which preceded our first interview with them, on their way to the mountains at the sources of the Platte river. They have no permanent town, but constantly rove, as necessity urges them, in pursuit of the herds of bisons in the vicinity of the sources of the Platte, Arkansa, and Red rivers.' Vol. III. p. 52.

These tribes are habitually at war with all the nations of the Missouri. Within four days' march of Belle Point, the exploring party met with a company of the Osages, or Waw-sah-es. This nation are at war with all their neighbours, except the Konzas and a part of the Sauks and Foxes. With

the *Konzas* they freely intermarry. In stature, they are by no means superior to the Missouri Indians, nor do they differ from them in features or in colour. Their dresses and decorations also are similar to those of the *Omahaws*, *Otoes*, and *Konzas* except that, owing to their proximity to the settlements, they are furnished with a greater proportion of manufactured articles from the Whites. Being more peacefully inclined than some of the fiercer tribes, they are freely branded by the Missouri Indians with the epithet of cowards. They are distinguished by one very remarkable custom. Previously to retiring to rest, they perform 'their vespers,' by chanting 'in a wild and melancholy tone, a kind of hymn to the Master of Life.'

There can be no doubt that the *Konzas* and *Osages*, the *Otoes*, *Missouries*, and *Ioways*, the *Omahaws* and *Puncaks*, to which may be added the *Quawpaws* and several other tribes, are all descended from a common origin. Their dialects are only varieties of the same language. Some of them have a tradition that their fathers came from beyond the Lakes; and all accounts agree in their having migrated from the North. It is within a comparatively recent period that they have diverged from the course of the Mississippi in a westerly direction, establishing themselves on the Missouri and its tributaries. Their probable numbers are thus stated: *Otoes* and *Missouries*, 1400; *Omahaws*, 1500; *Puncaks*, 200; *Konzas*, 1500; *Osages*, 4000. The *Pawnees* are a distinct race, their language being radically different: the three bands of *Grand*, *Republican*, and *Loup* *Pawnees* amount to about 6500 souls. Of the *Kaskaias*, *Kiaways*, *Arrapahoes*, &c. little is known. They are believed to diffuse themselves extensively within the range of the Rocky Mountains, but, having no fixed residence, it is impossible to estimate their numbers. Their language is peculiarly difficult to be acquired or even understood; and individuals of the several nations are accustomed, it is presumed through ignorance of each other's dialect, to communicate chiefly by the common language of signs. These tribes are in a much more hopeless state of degradation; but still, there is nothing in their character to warrant the idea that they are beyond the reach of civilization. A belief in the existence of a Supreme Being is common to all these Western nations, and they have some indistinct notions of the immortality of the soul. They are generally in the habit of offering in sacrifice, a portion of the game first taken on a hunting expedition, a part of the first products of the field, and often a small portion of the food provided for their refreshment. A singular custom prevails among the *Omahaws*.

* From the age of about five years to that of ten or twelve, custom

obliges the boy to ascend to a hill-top, or other elevated position, fasting, that he may cry aloud to the Wahconda. At the proper season, his mother reminds him that "the ice is breaking up in the river, the ducks and geese are migrating, and it is time for you to prepare to go in clay." He then rubs his person over with a whitish clay, and is sent off to the hill-top at sunrise, previously instructed by his mother what to say, and how to demean himself in the presence of the Master of Life. From this elevation he cries out to the great Wahconda, humming a melancholy tune, and calling on him to have pity on him, and make him a great hunter, horse-stealer, and warrior. This is repeated once or twice a week, during the months of March and April.' Vol. I. pp. 219, 220.

In many respects, these savages will sustain an advantageous comparison, not only with the several varieties of the degraded Ethiopic family, but, in point of intellectual vigour and range, with many tribes less absolutely illiterate, and in respect to their social character and moral sense, with most of the Asiatic nations. Their not having sunk into idolatry, while they retain the sense of an Invisible Object of worship, is a striking peculiarity. In this, they are distinguished not more remarkably from the idolatrous nations of the Eastern Continent, than from the Aztecs and other Indian nations of South America. This circumstance is in favour of their remote origin, as a separate branch of the great human family; but over this subject, there will ever rest, we apprehend, an impenetrable obscurity. They are, so far as can be ascertained, without traditional knowledge relative to either their own history, or the great facts to which the traditions of all countries more or less distinctly point. They can seldom trace back their pedigree more than a few generations, and there is nothing to mark their genealogy, but their language.

Some interesting particulars are given in these volumes, relative to the Cherokee Indians, with whose name our readers must be more familiar. Among them, a considerable degree of civilization has been successfully introduced. One of their chiefs, resident at the settlement on Rocky Bayou, is known by the name of Tom Graves.

'Though entirely an Indian in his character and habits, he has the colour and features of an European; and it was not without some difficulty we could be made to believe that he was in reality allied by birth to the people among whom he holds the rank of a chief. His house, as well as many we passed before we arrived at it, is constructed like those of the white settlers, and, like them, surrounded with enclosed fields of corn, cotton, sweet potatoes, &c.; with cribs, sheds, droves of swine, flocks of geese, and all the usual accompaniments of a thriving settlement. He treated us with a good degree of attention, and shewed himself well acquainted with the

manner of making amends by extravagant charges. Our dinner was brought in by black slaves, and consisted of a large boiled buffalo, fish, a cup of coffee, corn bread, milk, &c. Our host and his wife, of unmixed aboriginal race, were at table with us, and several slaves of African descent were in waiting. The Cherokees are said to treat their slaves with much lenity. The part of the nation now residing on the Arkansas, have recently removed from a part of the State of Tennessee. They are almost exclusively agriculturists, raising large crops of corn and cotton, enough for clothing their families, which they manufacture in their own houses.

'A miserable remnant of the Shawnee, Delaware, and Peoria tribes, with a few Chickasaws and Cherokees, were at this time scattered through the country from the Mississippi at the mouth of Apple Creek, westward to the sources of Black River. They were, however, about to remove further west, and many of them were already on their way to the country about the upper branches of White River, where, by becoming intruders upon the territories of the Cherokees, it may be expected their speedy and entire extinction will be insured.' Vol. III. pp. 128, 146.

The length to which this article has extended, will not admit of our giving even an abstract of the interesting geographical and geological information contained in this work, relative to the immense valley, thirteen hundred miles in length from East to West, situated between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains. This vast basin, embracing more than twenty degrees of latitude, and about thirty of longitude, is traversed longitudinally by the Mississippi, being bounded on the South by the Gulf of Mexico: to the northward, no precise boundary can be assigned. Major Long, in his official Report, remarks, that

'Although many have supposed that the waters of the Mississippi are separated from those running north-westwardly into the Pacific Ocean, and north-easterly into the Atlantic, by a mountainous range of country, yet, from the best information that can be had on the subject, the fact is quite otherwise. The old and almost forgotten statement of savage origin, viz., that four of the largest rivers on the continent have their sources in the same plain, is entitled to far more credit. The rivers alluded to are the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Saskashawin, and the Oregon or M'Kenzie's river. Agreeably to the accounts of Colonel Dixon and others who have traversed the country situated between the Missouri and the Assinaboin, a branch of Red River of Hudson's Bay, no elevated ridge is to be met with: but, on the contrary, tributaries to both these streams take their rise in the same champaign, and wind their way in various directions to their far distant estuaries.' Vol. III. p. 261.

With regard to the extensive section of this tract of country westward of the meridian of Council Bluff, embracing an area

of about 400 miles square, lying between 96° and 105° W. long. and between 35° and 42° N. lat., the Major gives it as his decided opinion, that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence.

‘Although tracts of fertile land considerably extensive are occasionally to be met with, yet the scarcity of wood and water, almost uniformly prevalent, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country. This objection rests not only against the section immediately under consideration, but applies with equal propriety to a much larger portion of the country. Agreeably to the best intelligence that can be had, concerning the country both northward and southward of the section, and especially to the inferences deducible from the account given by Lewis and Clarke of the country situated between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains above the river Platte, the vast region commencing near the sources of the Sabine, Trinity, Brases, and Colorado, and extending northwardly to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, by which the United States’ territory is limited in that direction, is throughout of a similar character. The whole of this region seems peculiarly adapted as a range for buffaloes, wild goats, and other wild game; incalculable multitudes of which find ample pasturage and subsistence upon it.

‘This region, however, viewed as a frontier, may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an extension of our population westward, and secure us against the machinations or incursions of an enemy that might otherwise be disposed to annoy us in that part of our frontier.’ Vol. III. pp. 236, 7.

This plain was crossed by the exploring party in three different lines; the first time in ascending the Platte, between lat. 40° and 41° 30'; again, in descending the Arkansa, in lat. 38°; and thirdly, by the route of the Canadian in lat. 34°. But the greater part of this vast region still remains unknown, though its general character may be considered as adequately ascertained. The Rocky Mountains are evidently a continuation of the Andes of the southern hemisphere. They consist of primitive rocks, with a screen of red and argillaceous sandstone skirting their base, in which are imbedded numerous *reliquia* of the animals of a former world. Behind these, the stupendous granitic range towers up into the regions of perpetual winter. Their highest elevation is computed at 12,000 feet above the level of the sea; and rising abruptly from the plains, they are visible at more than a hundred miles distance.

Art. II. *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle, translated, with an Exposition and Notes.* By the Rev. Thomas Belsham, Minister of Essex-street Chapel. 8vo. 4 vols. pp. 2247. London. 1822.

(Concluded from page 399.)

IN respect to the volumes before us, as a Translation of the Epistles of Paul, the readings have in general been anticipated in the Improved Version, the notes of which also exhibit in outline, the more diffuse explanations of Mr. Belsham's Commentary. In some instances where the sense is not disturbed, Mr. Belsham's version exhibits a change of expression for the better; as in the examples, '*wrath*' for '*anger*,' '*grace*' for '*favour*.' But there are several cases in which Mr. Belsham's translation does not accord with the readings of the Improved Version, where the variation is of importance; as in the following, and some other instances.

'Whose are the fathers, and of whom by natural descent Christ came. God, who is over all, be blessed for ever. Amen.' I. V.

'Whose are the fathers, of whom is Christ according to the flesh, whose is the God over all blessed for evermore.' Mr. Belsham.

The conjectural reading of Slichtingius, $\alpha \iota$, for $\iota \delta$, which the Editors of the Improved Version thought very plausible, but which they did not venture to insert in the text, Mr. Belsham has adopted, in opposition to all authority, because he thinks 'it is next to impossible that the Apostle, when enumerating the distinguishing privileges of his countrymen, should omit the greatest privilege of all; namely that God was in a peculiar sense their God.' The fact is, that he has not omitted it: the "*adoption*" evidently includes their special relation to God, and the relation of God to them. Mr. Belsham's notions of what it might be next to impossible for the Apostle to omit, cannot furnish any reason for his altering the Apostle's text. This, as Mr. B. somewhere says of one of Macknight's comments, is rather making Scripture than interpreting it. But the violent proceeding by which Mr. Belsham has changed the text, is insufficient for his purpose; it should have included the removal of the $\chi \alpha \iota$ from the place where it now stands, immediately after $\pi \alpha \tau \epsilon \rho \iota \varsigma$, to a station directly after $\sigma \alpha \upsilon \tau \omega \nu$ *. 'Whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ according to the flesh, whose is the God over all blessed for evermore'—this is a strange construction; it is the reading.

* We owe this observation to Dr. Wardlaw's Discourses. p. 420.

however, which Mr. Belsham's unwarrantable emendation requires, though no one can suppose that the Greek of such a passage could have proceeded from the Apostle. The received reading is fixed immoveably. Innovations may be proposed and adopted in respect to this passage; and so they may in all other cases where the doctrine which the received text exhibits, is in opposition to the tenets of a party; but 'making Scripture' must be perilous employment.

'1 Cor. i. 30. *But of him are ye both justified, and sanctified, and redeemed in Christ Jesus, who from God hath been made wisdom to us.*'

Few of the critics, we are told in Mr. Belsham's note, besides Mr. Wakefield,

'seem to have attended to the construction of the Apostle's language. He does not say that Christ is made by God to us, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption,—but that ye, in Christ, that is, believing in the Christian doctrine, are thereby justified, sanctified, and redeemed.'

What the Apostle, according to the present Expositor, does not say, the Editors of the Improved Version have, however, made him say: 'And by him ye are in Christ Jesus, whom God hath made unto us wisdom, and justification, and sanctification, and redemption.' This rendering seems to be the most natural construction of the original; though the one proposed above, is, certainly, not contrary to the reading of the Greek text, and was published long before Wakefield's time. Mr. Belsham's paraphrase furnishes a gloss in unison with the theory of explanation which runs through his volumes in reference to the doctrine of the apostles,—transition from a state of ceremonial separation into a state of external privilege.

'Ephes. ii. 1—5. *'Who were dead in offences and sins'—'when we were dead in offences.'* I. V.

'*Who are now dead to transgressions and sins'—'who are now dead to sins.'* Mr. Belsham.

'Not in sins, but to sins: i. e. to our former unconverted state.' Mr. Belsham's note.

'1 Tim. v. 21. *"chosen messengers," i. e. the apostles of Christ who were chosen to bear testimony to his resurrection.*' I. V.

'*"chosen messengers," eminent believers who were selected to accompany and assist the apostle,—delegates of the Church who often accompanied the apostle in his journeys.*' Mr. Belsham.

'Heb. ii. 16. *For indeed Christ helpeth not angels.*' I. V.

'For it [the fear of death] layeth not hold of angels.' Mr. Belsham.

Mr. Belsham occasionally remarks, that angels know a little of us, as we know of them; and as he states that they are unacquainted with the inhabitants of this world, so, it follows that the inhabitants of this world are in perfect ignorance of them; but, in his comment on the preceding verse, he informs us, that 'angels and beings of a superior order are not exposed to the fear of death, not being liable to mortality.'

1 Cor. i. 2. Mr. Belsham renders, 'Who take upon themselves the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.'—τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. "Who call upon the name of our "Lord Jesus Christ," is the reading of the Common Version, which, we are most firmly persuaded, is the correct rendering. The exigencies of the Author's system has led him to frame a reading at variance with the uniform usage of the New Testament in regard to this expression. He has himself translated τὸν ἐπικαλουμένον τὸν Κύριον, 2 Tim. ii. 22. 'those who call upon the 'Lord;' and in every passage in which the phrase occurs throughout the entire range both of the Septuagint and the New Testament, there is no instance in which any other version than that which conveys the idea of invocation, would be a proper representation of the meaning of the words. Ἐπικαλοῦνται τὸ ὄνομα μου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς—ὄνομα τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, are the expressions which correspond to the other formula, 'who are called by the 'name.' But as to the text in question, the meaning is not less definitely fixed by the connexion of the phrase, which restricts its import to invocation, while in no one example is its sense otherwise determined. Ps. xcvi. 6. "Samuel among them that call upon his name"—οἱ τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. (Sept.)—"he answered them." Zech. xiii. 9. "He shall call on my name"—αὐτὸς ἐπικαλοῦνται τὸ ὄνομα μου—"and I will hear." In the instance on which we are animadverting, Mr. Belsham follows the "Improved Version;" as he also adopts its reading of 2 Tim. ii. 22., where it agrees with the common text. In Rom. x. 13, 14. the first edition of the "Improved Version" followed the reading of the public version; but, on consulting the fourth edition of that book, we find that the reading has been changed for, 'Whosoever taketh upon himself the name of the Lord;' which Mr. Belsham's translation exhibits. If an example had been produced of the indubitable appropriation of the formula in question to this sense, there might then have been some ground for alleging that, in respect to a phrase of ambiguous import, it was correct for the translator to give such an interpretation as was in accordance with the clear, ed-

mitted import of the expression. But no such example can be produced; the positive sense of the phrase is determined to another meaning, by clear, indisputable instances, while, to convey the sense to which we are objecting, other expressions are definitely used. We cannot hesitate, therefore, in rejecting the new interpretation as erroneous, and must tenaciously adhere to the rendering of the Common Version in 1 Cor. i. 2. and in every other instance of the use of this formula, as the true one.

It is easy to perceive that the new reading is forced into the support of the Author's system, which is hostile to the invocation of Christ. As it is our full persuasion that the invocation of Christ, in acts of prayer, which are acts of religious worship, is a doctrine established by the authority of the New Testament, we shall bring together some of those passages on which that doctrine is founded, occurring in the portions of the New Testament comprised in Mr. Belsham's "Translation and Exposition," for the purpose of examining the principles on which they are explained in these volumes.

'Concerning this, I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he said to me, My grace is sufficient for thee.' 2 Corin. xii 9.

'But may our God and Father himself, and our Lord Jesus Christ direct our way unto you, &c.' 1 Thess. iii. 11.

'Now may our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, who hath loved us, and graciously given us everlasting consolation and good hope, encourage your hearts and establish you in every good doctrine and work.' 2 Thess. ii. 16, 17.

On the first of these passages, the following remarks are made by Mr. Belsham.

'Concerning the Apostle's conduct upon the occasion to which he refers, it may be proper to observe, that it cannot reasonably be doubted that he addressed his prayer for relief immediately to Jesus Christ. But in him it was not in the least degree improper, having been called by Christ himself to the profession of the gospel, having been invested by him with the office of an Apostle, having been instructed by him in the Christian doctrine, and endued with the gifts of the holy spirit; having been honoured by him with visions and personal appearances upon various occasions; and acting in the whole course of his ministry immediately under his direction. It was probably at one of these sacred interviews that the apostle humbly and earnestly requested to be relieved from that bodily infirmity which was so great an obstruction to him in the course of his public duty; and it was upon such an occasion that he received the gracious and memorable answer here recorded. But all this, though perfectly proper in the apostle in his peculiar circumstances, being in fact no

more than asking a favour of a friend who is sensibly present, is no warrant for the general practice of praying to Christ in the present circumstances of the church, when all sensible intercourse is withdrawn, and in direct disobedience of his express command to worship the Father only. And such will-worship is undoubtedly an unjustifiable encroachment upon the honour and sole prerogative of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God.' Vol. II. p. 623.

This paragraph comprises the substance of Mr. Belsham's remarks on the whole number of passages in which the language of invocation and prayer is used in relation to Christ in the New Testament. Christ is admitted to be the object of supplicatory address, but the propriety of so regarding him, is restricted to the case of those who were favoured with his personal intercourse, and is denied in respect to all other persons. So, in the case of Stephen's invoking the Saviour with his dying breath, and committing his departing spirit into his hands, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,"—we are told that this address of Stephen to Jesus when he actually saw him, does not authorise us to offer prayers to him, now he is invisible. To this latter case, the explanation proposed in reference to the example in 2 Corinth. xii. 9, does not apply; for there is no evidence that Stephen was favoured with any personal interviews with Christ. Full of the Holy Spirit, he looked up stedfastly to heaven, and saw "Jesus standing on the right hand of God." But, if it were an unjustifiable encroachment on the Divine prerogative, to regard Jesus as the object of adoration, how came it that Stephen did not invoke the Father, and commit into his hands that deposit which it is quite impossible that a righteous man should intrust to the safe-keeping of a creature? The visibility or the invisibility of the object, can make no difference in respect to the nature and propriety of the act of religious worship. If, when consuming in the flames, Latimer had looked up to heaven, and seen, or supposed that he was beholding, Paul, or any other of the apostles standing in the presence of God, would he have thought of invoking his name, and have yielded up his spirit into his hands? Till the case of Stephen shall be expunged from the New Testament, the propriety of invoking Christ will receive strong confirmation from its testimony. But to return to the other instances under consideration. It is an assertion altogether gratuitous, that the Apostle was favoured with personal intercourse with Christ in any such manner as would seem to be implied in the expression, 'sacred interviews.' Christ appeared to him on the journey to Damascus, and on some other occasions; but those appearances bear no resemblance to the personal interviews of one man with another, and as little, we

imagine, is the address of Paul to be compared with any one's asking a favour of a friend who is personally present. Nothing is said respecting personal intercourse in the case. The language of prayer is used, and Christ is the object of the invocation. So much is clear. But we would seriously ask, whether the answer which was given to the Apostle's repeated supplications, "My grace is sufficient for thee"—could come from a creature's lips. With respect to the other examples, the assistance and blessings which are invoked, are of a kind which it would assuredly be 'unjustifiable' to solicit from the hands of a creature: they are guidance and support in regard to important undertakings, spiritual aids in reference to the consolation of the minds of Christians, and the establishment and advancement of their piety and usefulness. If the Apostle supplicated these blessings from Christ on behalf of the Thessalonians, that could not be an exclusive case; it would be as proper for him to entreat them for others. And if he supplicated these blessings from Christ, they must have been communicable by Christ, who was surely not personally present with every Christian at Thessalonica, as it is assumed he was with Paul. Now it must have been quite as proper in those Christians, on whose account the Apostle prayed for spiritual aids from Christ, themselves to invoke those aids by prayer addressed to Christ, as it was for him to use the language of prayer on their behalf. In supplicating our Lord to bestow those blessings, he was, in fact, teaching them to address to Christ their own supplications.

On 1 Timothy vi. 13, 'In the presence of God, who giveth life to all, and of Jesus Christ, &c.' we have this note:

'And of Jesus Christ.'] There appears to have been a peculiar personal presence of Christ with his church, and especially with the apostles, and with Paul in particular, during the apostolic age, which since that time has been withdrawn, at least in its sensible manifestations; to which presence the apostle here alludes.'

But was not Timothy, to whom was given the very solemn charge which follows, as much in the presence of Jesus Christ, as the Apostle himself who delivered it? What evidence, or what ground is there for supposing, that there was any personal presence of Christ at all on the occasion? The appeal to Christ as a witness, had surely as much reference to Timothy in receiving the charge, as to the Apostle in committing it to him. This supposition of a real personal presence of Christ on earth after his resurrection, appears to us strange and unwarranted. Some passages of the New Testament indispensably require for their explanation, the fact of Christ's

presence, which all those passages very amply shew was supernatural; but, because the plain, obvious import of them would recognise in Christ attributes properly Divine, an hypothesis is advanced in opposition, which is destitute of all Scriptural support.

On 2 Corinthians viii. 9, and Philippians ii. 7, 8, two passages which have generally been considered as affording clear and decisive testimony to the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ, we of course expected to find the version and exposition of Mr. Belsham running in the channel of modern Unitarian interpretation, in accordance with the notes of the "Improved Version," and the "Calm Inquiry."

'For ye know the munificence of our Lord Jesus Christ, how, while he was rich, for your sakes he lived in poverty, that ye by his poverty might be enriched.—Our Lord was rich in miraculous powers, which he could employ, if he pleased, for his own advantage. But, for the benefit of his followers, he chose to lead a life of poverty and dependence.'

'Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, did not peremptorily lay claim to this resemblance of God, but divested himself.—Christ possessing voluntary powers of working miracles, did not regard them as his own property and right.'

On these passages thus explained, we shall offer some remarks, for the purpose of shewing how entirely the principle assumed as the basis of the modern Unitarian exposition, fails in the hands of the present Interpreter. Christ was possessed of voluntary miraculous powers; he could exercise at pleasure the power of working miracles. Did he, then, ever divest himself of this power? From being in a state in which he could work miracles, did he ever pass into another state, in which he was without the power of controlling or changing the laws of nature? If his being in the "form of God" denote the possession of voluntary miraculous powers, he was always in that form, always appeared in that form; for it was a power which he uniformly and constantly retained, and there could be no change in this respect, no difference of appearance in Christ during the entire course of his ministry. But, we are told, 'he did not regard those powers as his own property and right;' 'while in possession of these great powers, he vouchsafed to live in a state of voluntary poverty;' he did not employ those powers for his own advantage, for his own secular aggrandisement, to furnish himself with the means of living in splendour and with entire command of the luxuries of life. And on Unitarian principles, could he have done so? If Jesus were a mere human being intrusted and honoured with the high office of publishing the Christian dispensation to the

world, 'the greatest of all the prophets of God,' had he any option of this kind? Could he have employed the power of working miracles for his own personal and secular advantage? Could he have exhibited them for the purpose of display? No; he could have employed those powers only for the purposes for which they had been conferred; and they had their special and appropriate use, as the proofs of the Divine origin of the doctrine which they established. Mr. Belsham, we think, has very amply furnished the confutation of his own hypothesis, in his paraphrase on the second of the passages before us.

'He had been taught by the discipline of his temptation in the wilderness, that he was not to exercise the powers entrusted to him, to promote his own interest, or to gratify his own ambition; nor, in general, to extricate himself from danger. . . . He knew that he possessed these mighty powers as a trust for which he was accountable, and in the use of which he had been fully instructed: and therefore he strictly confined the exercise of them to the purposes for which they were communicated.'

Could he, then, have diverted them to other objects? Would those powers have been permitted to be exercised for other purposes than those for which they had been communicated? If the only answer be a negative one, the entire fabric of Mr. Belsham's exposition is broken up. If our Lord had been fully instructed in the use of the miraculous powers which he possessed, if he had been taught that he was not to exercise them for his own advantage, it was quite impossible for him to make them subservient to any objects of personal gratification or aggrandisement, without such a dereliction of virtue as not even Unitarians themselves would dare attribute to him. Is it possible, then, to receive the interpretation which they give of the passages in question? In both examples, the words which follow, in the one case, the expression '*being rich*,' and, in the other, the phrase '*being in the form of God*,' are a negation of the properties denoted by those expressions; and, in their received acceptation, the opposition is evident. But to what does the negation relate, where is the negative force of the expressions, according to the explanation given by Mr. B.? What opposition or contrast is there between Christ's possessing miraculous powers, and his invariably using them according to the instructions he received, and for the purposes for which he was intrusted with them? The passage in 2 Cor. viii. 9, is delivered as a motive to the liberal exercise of Christian beneficence. Let us see how it bears on that duty, read in this manner?—'For ye know the grace, the exuberant goodness of

‘our Lord Jesus Christ, who being rich, possessed of the voluntary power of working miracles, for your sakes became poor, he strictly confined the exercise of them to the purposes to which they were entrusted to him.’ Is this an example of exuberant goodness? Does it furnish any motive by which to urge the exercise of Christian beneficence? Could this be the meaning of the Apostle? And in the other case, which is addressed as an argument and example of generous and beneficent condescension, would the reading which Mr. Belsham’s interpretation requires, place the language of the Apostle in accordance with the design of his writing? ‘Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God,’ possessing voluntary miraculous powers, ‘did not peremptorily lay claim to this resemblance of God, but divested himself, assuming the form of a servant;’ he adhered closely to the instructions which he had received, and strictly confined himself to the exercise of those powers for the sole purposes for which they were communicated to him, never using them for his own personal interests, for which purpose they were not given to him. ‘And becoming like other men, and being in condition as another man,’ by not deviating from the objects marked out by that authority which prescribed his duty, ‘in obedience to God, he humbled himself unto death, even unto death upon a cross:’ he submitted to a death which the purposes of his mission required, and his heavenly Father directed. Mr. Belsham completes this last clause with the words, ‘which it was in his power to have avoided.’ But we must maintain, in the argument with a Unitarian, that it was no more in the power of Christ to avoid a death which the purposes of his mission required, and his heavenly Father directed, than it was for him to employ a miraculous endowment for purposes different from those for which that power was communicated.

2 Corinthians XIII. 14. ‘*May the favour of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the participation of the holy spirit be with you all.*’ This text, Mr. Belsham asserts, ‘so far from supplying an argument in favour of the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit, militates directly against it: for the participation of a person is absolutely unintelligible.’ Mr. Belsham must pardon us for saying, that the first member of this sentence is altogether a gratuitous affirmation, while the other is so entirely void of propriety, that we are surprised that even he should have ventured it. The Holy Spirit, it seems, can have no personal existence, because we read of the participation of the Holy Spirit, and the participation of a person is clearly an absurdity! *Κοινωνία του αγίου πνεύματος, is*

‘the communion, or participation of the Holy Spirit;’ and *φίλων κοινωνία*, is, in Euripides, (Medea 256,) the ‘communion,’ or ‘participation of friends:’ if there be any thing like reason in Mr. Belsham’s construction, he will have taught us to deny the real personal existence of the friends to whom an individual may attach himself. ‘The participation of a person is absolutely unintelligible;’ and therefore, *φίλων* cannot mean persons, just as *το ἅγιον πνεῦμα* cannot denote personal existence! What would be the effect of Mr. Belsham’s criticism applied to Heb. iii. 14.—‘we are made partakers of Christ,’ which is Mr. Belsham’s own translation of *μετοχοὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*? This text, so far from supplying an argument in favour of the distinct personality of Christ, militates directly against it: ‘for the participation of a person is absolutely unintelligible.’ Mr. Belsham would doubtless say, that partaking of Christ denotes participation in the blessings of the gospel; if so, then the expression ‘partakers of Christ’ cannot be absolutely unintelligible; and why should the expression, ‘the participation of the Holy Spirit,’ be less intelligible? If being ‘partakers of Christ’ does not militate against Christ’s distinct personality, ‘the participation of the Holy Spirit’ may perfectly consist with the notion of distinct personality, even though we should adopt Mr. Belsham’s interpretation of the phrase as denoting miraculous gifts.

‘It is,’ we are told in this same note, ‘highly improper to use these words of the Apostle as a general form of benediction at the close of our public assemblies for Christian worship, as the gifts of the Holy Spirit are now withdrawn.’ The extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit are evidently intended, Mr. Belsham’s use of the expression referring uniformly to the miraculous donations of the primitive periods of the Christian economy. But to us it seems impossible to restrict the phraseology of the New Testament relative to the influence of the Holy Spirit, to a miraculous agency. ‘The Roman Christians,’ says Mr. Belsham, (Vol. I. p. 166.) ‘neither themselves possessed, nor perhaps had often witnessed the operation of miraculous powers.’ With this preparatory statement, we shall cite the text and comment of two passages, Rom. viii. 14. 16.

‘For as many as are led by the spirit of God, these are the sons of God.’

‘All who have been induced by the consideration of the miraculous powers communicated to Christ and his apostles, to embrace the doctrine of Christ, are nominally sons of God; and if they are practically influenced by the spirit of the gospel, they are really such, and heirs of immortality.’

'The spirit itself beareth witness with us, that we are the children of God.'

Those gifts of the holy spirit, of the existence of which, though you may not yourselves possess them, you have no doubt been credibly informed, and which constitute the proper proofs of the resurrection of Christ, and of the divine original of the gospel, are the most satisfactory evidence that we can possess or desire, that we are taken into the new covenant, that we are no longer subject to the terrors of the law, and that we are adopted into the family of God, and acknowledged by him as his children.'

The extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit were of limited communication, and, as they had not been imparted to the Romans, all this seems far-fetched and inappropriate illustration; very remote from the purpose of the Apostle, who is evidently, in this part of the Epistle, describing a state of internal sanctity, and the moral influence by which it is produced. The same remark applies to 1 Thes. i. 4, 5., which is common with several expositors, Mr. Belsham explains: 'Because the gospel preached by us came to you, not in word only, but also in power, and in the holy spirit, and with great conviction:—*in power*, confirmed by miraculous works;—*in the holy spirit*, we conferred on you the extraordinary gifts of the holy spirit.' The Apostle, in the preceding portions of the Epistle, gives thanks for the active faith, the laborious love, and the patient hope of the Thessalonians; these being proofs of an internal state and of a moral character, which he adduces to shew the moral efficacy of the gospel, and not any impressions produced upon their minds by miraculous works; these, we well know, did not accomplish the conversion of thousands who beheld them. When the evangelist Luke (ch. iv. 32.) describes Christ's word as being "with power," the reference is not to miracles, any more than it is, we apprehend, in the case of the Thessalonians. But, to return to the passage which led to these remarks, Mr. Belsham, we suppose, would not deem it 'highly improper' that the formula of Baptism (Matt. xxviii. 19.) should now be used. To us there appears quite as much reason for retaining the Apostolic benediction. But we must confess, that it would seem a strange combination, to unite the love of God, which is one of the blessings of the gospel, with the blessings of the gospel, and with the miraculous powers of the primitive church: these, not being distributed to all its members, would seem to be introduced with but little propriety in the expression of a devout prayer for them all.

The following note deserves transcription, as coming from the pen of a writer who has published three Discourses for the

purpose of shewing, that the preservation of Christianity is entirely owing to the patronage and protection of the Civil powers.

2 Thess. ii. 8. And then shall that lawless one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will consume with the breath of his mouth, and will disable with the manifestation of his presence.

That lawless one, &c. *l. avopos*. "Who sets himself up above all laws, human and divine." Chandler. Grotius, who interprets the *man of sin*, of the Emperor Caligula, understands the person here predicted of Simon Magus. He is singular in his opinion. Expositors almost universally regard the whole description as relating to one and the same object, the anti-christian power. Protestant interpreters commonly apply the description to the Church of Rome; but it is more applicable to the establishment of a corrupt and persecuting Christianity by the civil power, in the reign of Constantine the Great. This took place, agreeably to the language of the prophecy, immediately upon the downfall of the Pagan empire; whereas popery, properly so called, did not commence till some centuries afterwards, as Protestants themselves allow. And why indeed should one apostasy be foretold, rather than another? Why the corrupt, persecuting, idolatrous establishments of the West, rather than those of the East? Aye, why the apostate, usurping, oppressive Catholic, rather than the apostate, persecuting Protestant Church, of every description, almost without exception? for all, when in power, have been equally intolerant; all have made themselves drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; all have bound upon the necks of those whom Christ made free, an iron yoke grievous to be borne; all have enforced their respective creeds by pains and penalties; all have propped up their disjointed fabrics by fraud and falsehood, by fine and imprisonment, by torments and death; and if Popery has slain its ten thousands, Protestantism may at least boast of having slain its thousands.

Wherever, therefore, a church professing Christianity exists, wielding the power of the state to establish and support its own corrupt, unscriptural, and idolatrous system, there is a limb of the great apostasy; there, in the temple of God, sits the *man of sin*, exalting himself above all that is called God's, whose coming is according to the operation of Satan, and whom the Lord Jesus will destroy with the breath of his mouth, and consume with the brightness of his appearance.

In connexion with the comment on the '*man of sin*,' Mr. Belsham asks, 'What can we think of those who, in the seventeenth century, when petitioning for their own toleration, expressly stipulated that their Anti-trinitarian brethren should be excluded?'—We have only to say in reply, that we reprobate the conduct of those persons in such proceedings as warmly as he does. But his "Three Discourses," and the preceding remarks, have not much of a family resemblance.

The design of the Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is
Vol. XIX. N.S. 2 Q

stated by Mr. Belsham to be, to reconcile the minds of the Hebrew Christians to the doctrine of a suffering Messiah; 'to impress them with the fact that Jesus was a mortal man, not different from other men.' But how could this be at all necessary, if it were the belief of those same Jewish Christians, as Unitarians profess to teach, that the Messiah whom they were expecting, was to be a man in all respects like one of themselves, and nothing more than a human being? What prejudice could exist in their minds on that point, which could make it of moment for the Writer to enlarge on it so much in his address to them? To reconcile their minds to the doctrine of Christ's simple and exclusive humanity, was surely altogether a superfluous task in respect to persons who believed that doctrine; and we are told, that the 'Hebrew Christians' were always strictly Unitarian.' But if this were the design of the Writer, 'to impress these Hebrew Christians with the fact, that Jesus was a mortal man, not different from other men,' he would appear to have adopted a singularly strange method of executing his purpose; and the readers of the Epistle must have needed some theological *Œdipus*, to solve the enigmas which the Epistle exhibits.

That it was a popular notion of the Jews, that angels are a permanent order of celestial spirits, we have Mr. Belsham's authority for assuming. (Vol. II. p. 74.) Now it must be allowed to be a singular method of effecting an important design, when a writer, having before him a term which would directly and unequivocally convey his meaning, convey it so clearly and so properly, that the very possibility of his reader's mistaking the import of his expressions would be excluded, adopts another term which does not explicitly exhibit the intended sense, and which, to say the least, perplexes the mind of the reader by its ambiguity. To introduce our example, we extract Mr. Belsham's Version of Hebrews i. 1—4.

'God, who in many parts, and in many ways, spake formerly to our fathers by the prophets, in these last days hath spoken to us by his son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, with a view to whom he even constituted the former dispensations.

'Who being an effulgent ray of his brightness, and an exact image of himself, and conducting all things by his powerful authority, after he had by himself made the purification of sins, sat down at the right hand of supreme majesty.

'Being become so much greater than those messengers, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they.'

It must appear strange, we say, that a writer should adopt this language to impress his readers with the fact, that the subject of this splendid diction was 'a mortal man, not dif-

'ferent from other men.' Modern Unitarians who write with that design, never use a style like this; and one would suppose, that the Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews could not have been less solicitous or less careful to be understood. "God spake to our fathers by the prophets"—*οἱ τοὶ προφῆται*.—this certainly is not liable to any misconception. The Hebrew Christians could no otherwise understand this expression, than that the Divine Being had employed the ministry of the ancient prophets in the delivery of the messages of his will to their ancestors of the Jewish nation. Now it would be quite as easy for the Writer to convey his meaning intelligibly and definitely in the fourth verse, as he has done in the first; and had he wished to express himself in accordance with the design attributed to him of emphatically inculcating the simple exclusive humanity of Jesus Christ, he had only to preserve *τοὺς προφῆτας*, those prophets, in the fourth verse, and his design would have been answered. No one could then have failed to perceive, that the superiority of Jesus to the prophets of the ancient economy, was the specific comparison instituted. Had this been his object, we should doubtless have read *προφῆται*, prophets, instead of *αγγέλων*, angels. But the latter is the reading, the uniform reading of all authorities. A word is used, which is of frequent occurrence as denoting a class of celestial spirits superior in nature to human beings, and the belief of the existence of which was an article in the popular faith of the ancient Jews.

To us, the use of *αγγέλων* in this passage is a clear proof, that it was *not* the design of the Writer to impress the Hebrew Christians with the fact, that Jesus was nothing but a mortal man: his design, we are persuaded, was of an opposite kind.

We must reject then the interpretation given of *οἱ αγγέλων*, those messengers, referring to prophets; and adhere to the Common Version and to all other authorities, with the exception of modern Unitarians, in reading *angels*. Nor do we believe that, in a single definite example, the sense of *messengers* in reference to human beings, can be shewn to be intended by the use of the word throughout the whole of the Epistles of Paul, including the Epistle to the Hebrews. That the reading *angels*, is proper in some cases, Mr. Belsham himself maintains. In this Epistle, we have, "Unto angels (God) hath not committed the world to come"—"lower than the angels"—"layeth not hold of angels." Chap. ii. vs. 5, 7, 16. And in 1 Cor. iv. 9. we read, "a spectacle to—angels and to men;" on which text Mr. Belsham remarks:

'It is hardly necessary to observe, that the apostle here is not laying down any doctrine concerning angels, as of divine authority; but

that he is merely alluding to a popular notion of the Jews, of angels being a permanent order of celestial spirits, who were the medium of divine communications with mankind, which was a branch of oriental philosophy which the Jews had probably taken up during the captivity, and which was then become familiar.

To translate *αγγελος* by *messengers*, was found impracticable in this passage; but that the first acquaintance of the Jews with the doctrine of the existence of angels, should be assignable to the period of the Captivity, and to their knowledge of the Oriental philosophy, will seem not a little surprising to a reader of those books of Scripture which were in being long before the time of the Captivity!

The following passages of the Epistles included in Mr. Belsham's volumes, are all that occur, in which the words *αγγελος* and *αγγελοι* are exhibited; we give them as rendered in Mr. Belsham's version. Rom. viii. 38. 'I am persuaded that neither death—nor angels.' 1 Cor. iv. 9. 'A spectacle to angels.' vi. 3. ; we shall judge angels.' xiii. 1. 'If I speak in the languages of men and of angels.' 2 Cor. ii. 14. 'an angel of light.' Gal. i. 8. 'an angel from heaven.' Coloss. ii. 18. 'worship of angels.' 2 Thesa. i. 7. 'the angels of his might.' Heb. ii. 5, 7, 9, 16. 'angels.' xiii. 2. 'angels.'—1 Cor. xi. 10. 'because of the messengers.' Galatians iii. 19. 'administered by messengers.' iv. 14. 'a messenger of God.' 1 Tim. iii. 15. 'appeared to his messengers.' v. 21. 'the chosen messengers.' Heb. i. 4, 5, 6, 7 twice, 13. 'messengers.' ii. 2. 'messengers.' xii. 22, 'messengers.' Of the passages here enumerated as presenting the reading *messengers*, the first is far enough from being a decisive instance of the usage: as to the second, Gal. iii. 19, we shall endeavour to shew that the interpretation of the following note is erroneous.

'Administered by messengers.] *διαταγαι*, 'through the ministry of angels.' Wakefield.—I have given to this passage the sense which appears to me most natural and intelligible. Of the existence and ministry of angels we know nothing; nor does it concern us to know any thing. But that the law was communicated to Israel by Moses, as the medium of divine communications, and that the observation of it was enforced from age to age by a succession of prophets or divine messengers till the coming of Christ, is a fact perfectly intelligible, and much to the apostle's purpose. That the word *αγγελος* will bear this sense, it would be superfluous to prove; and there can be little doubt that it is used in the same sense through the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. See Mr. Wakefield's translation.'

Vol. III. p. 67.

In this passage, the Apostle is clearly referring, not to any supposed succession of prophets, but to a specific circumstance in the history of the Divine dispensations, the giving of the law

from Sinai. He refers in vs. 17, to the precise date of its introduction—"the law which was given four hundred and thirty years afterwards;" to the purpose of its delivery—"it was added because of transgression;" and to the manner of its publication—"it was administered by angels in the hand of a mediator." Stephen refers to this circumstance precisely in the same terms, Acts vii. 53. It is to the publication of the law at Sinai, that the Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews evidently alludes, Chap. ii. 2; and that transaction seems to be the object of frequent reference throughout the book. Deut. xxxiii. 2, is sufficient evidence to support the representation of the preceding texts.

In the only two remaining passages in which the word is rendered *messengers* by Mr. Belsham, (with the exception of those which occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews,) 1 Tim. iii. 16. v. 21, we are not sure that the reference is not to celestial, rather than to human beings; there is at least no definite evidence that the latter are intended. On Heb. xii. 23, where Mr. Belsham translates *μυριασιν ἀγγέλων*, to *myriads of messengers*, he remarks, that the Writer may be understood as alluding especially to 'the great number of missionaries who were employed at the first promulgation of the gospel; these,' he adds, 'are called *angels* or *messengers*, 2 Cor. viii. 33. Rev. i. 20.' These references are, however, of no avail. In the former place, the word is not *ἄγγελοι*, but *ἀποστολοι*, which is the proper expression in the Epistles of Paul, for *messengers*; and in the latter, the term is clearly used in an appropriate and unusual acceptation, to which, perhaps, 'messenger' is by no means a parallel expression. We may therefore pronounce of the entire number of passages in which the word in question occurs in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the common reading, *angels*, is correct, and that the substitution of the term '*messengers*,' as denoting prophets and teachers, is inadmissible: *λατρευτικά πνεύματα* in the 14th verse of the first chapter, would be so strange an expression for prophets, and is so appropriate a one for angels, that we cannot persuade ourselves that any critic, unless driven to it by the exigencies of his system, would ever give another meaning than that of the Common Version, to the passages of this book in which the word occurs. But we must strongly insist, that no writer in the supposed circumstances of the Author of this Epistle, writing to impress on the minds of the converted Hebrews the fact, that Jesus was a mortal man, though superior to the prophets, would, if that were his purpose, have introduced the word *ἄγγελοι* into the fourth verse, in relation to *προφῆταις* in the first. It is not the fact, as Mr. Belsham states in his paraphrase of verse 4, that 'former prophets, however eminent their cha-

'racter, or however important their mission, were not granted with the honourable appellation of son.' The ancient Jews universally included Solomon in the number of their prophets; he is repeatedly designated as a prophet in the Targums; and the honourable appellation of *son* was expressly given to Solomon. The words of the 5th verse, "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son," were spoken, Mr. Belsham himself states, of Solomon. But there is no instance of God's addressing himself in this manner to any one of the angels; and therefore angels, and not messengers as referring to prophets, must be the correct reading throughout this whole discourse.

As a proof that the advantages which Unitarians sometimes congratulate themselves on perceiving in their system, are more imaginary than real, we may refer to the supposed relevancy and force of Christ's example, on their hypothesis, inasmuch as it is the example of one who was 'a man like other men,' and nothing more. On any other supposition, his example would, it is contended, be of no use, for the 'cases of the teacher and the disciple would be totally dissimilar.' 'He was,' says Mr. Belsham, (on Heb. ii. 17.) 'a man like ourselves, who had all the frailties, all the feelings, and all the fears of a human being, and who suffered all the pains which any other man in the same circumstances would have endured.' But even on Unitarian principles, the cases of the teacher and the disciple are far from being parallel; they are, indeed, 'totally dissimilar.' The perfect exemption of Christ from guilt, is now conceded by Mr. Belsham: 'Christ in his moral character was sinless.' But if so, there must be the widest difference between the disciple and his Lord. There is a vast dissimilarity between the case of a sufferer who is perfectly free from all consciousness of sin, and others suffering with the consciousness of guilt: the former cannot have all the feelings and all the fears of the latter. The example of Christ, therefore, is in no respect more advantageous to Unitarians, who, while they deny his divinity, assert his entire moral purity, than it is to those who, believing his divinity, maintain his real humanity.

It would far exceed the limits to which a reviewer must confine his observations, if we should attempt to notice every passage in these volumes which is open to remark; and we must now hasten to the conclusion of the present article. With our persuasion of the unscriptural character of the tenets which find in Mr. Belsham so persevering an advocate, we cannot designate his labours as being either of high value, or of great utility. To some readers his sentiments will be surprising by their boldness, and others they will offend by their freedom;

though with the temper which pervades his volumes they will have less reason to quarrel, than with the spirit of some others of his publication. The plan of his work is, we think, to be approved. The translation is accompanied with an exposition, not in the manner of Doddridge, in which the paraphrase is incorporated with the text; but a portion of the text is immediately followed by one or more paragraphs of explanation, and in the bottom margin are inserted the notes. These are frequently borrowed, with due acknowledgements, but many of them are from the pen of the Translator. The version is professedly select, rather than new; and though, as might be expected, its theological character is in accordance with that of the Improved Version, it frequently deviates from it verbally: the translation is paraphrastical, rather than literal.

We agree with Mr. Belsham, that 'translators are then only to be censured, when, through the bias of system, they are induced to give a turn to the translation which the original does not warrant.' This 'bias of system' discovers itself frequently and strongly in these volumes. Mr. Belsham may be right in avowing that 'he translates passages which admit *equally* of two senses,' in that sense which is consonant with his own professed doctrine; but we are sure that we cannot be wrong in maintaining, that he is bound to shew, with regard to the passages which are thus treated as ambiguous, that the expressions do admit *equally* of two senses, and are so applied. For, unless this is the case, unless the words or phrases are well known to convey opposite or different meanings, the translator violates the most important duties of his office, and proceeds on a principle of accommodation which subjects the authority of the original to his own prejudices and caprice. In respect to such words or phrases as are once read only, *απαξ λεγομενα*, some difficulty will necessarily occur in fixing their meaning. But cases of this kind are excluded; and where the case is otherwise, and numerous examples are at hand of the use of a particular word or form of expression, the diversity of meaning should be shewn, by the production of an instance clear and unquestionable, of a meaning varying from the customary sense, and directly supporting another usage. Mr. Belsham was bound to produce an example of the formula *ὁ επικαλουμαι το ονομα*, expressly denoting a person's taking upon himself the name of some other person, before he ventured to translate the passage in 1 Cor. i. 2, and other parallel texts to which we have already referred, '*who take upon themselves the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.*' But he has produced no such instance; such an instance he is unable to produce: the New Testament furnishes no such instance; and the New Testament exhibits the formula with considerable frequency. Mr.

Belsham's translation is, in this case, without authority or sanction from the diction of the Scriptures, and is palpably and eminently an example of the bias of system. The facility with which Mr. Belsham can accommodate the language of the New Testament to the support of system, has often attracted our attention in proceeding through these volumes. He would not, we are persuaded, fail to represent as visionary, those deductions made by commentators in opposition to his own doctrines, from texts which afford far more support to their positions, than many passages which he has made subservient to hypotheses of his own, render to some of the tenets advanced in his Exposition. That any sober commentator should represent 1 Cor. xv. 24—28 as 'treating of the resurrection of the wicked, and of their eventual restoration to virtue and happiness,' after having 'passed through the necessary state of discipline and purification,' is to be explained only on the principle of *quidlibet ex quolibet*. Is there in the passage any intimation of such a corrective dispensation? 'The apostle,' says Mr. Belsham, 'in imagination passes over the state of future discipline, the process of which may last for ages.' But what reason can be assigned for this supposed omission? The resurrection of the righteous is a doctrine on which the Apostle is perfectly explicit: but in what part of his writings does he teach us, that a purifying process will be established for the correction and renovation of the impenitent? Is there in his epistles a declaration of any other doctrine than that which the New Testament with undeviating constancy exhibits, that the state which will succeed the present, will be retributive, final, and unchangeable? We have neither disposition nor feeling that would induce us to reject or explain away any revealed fact or principle; and we should without hesitation receive the doctrine in question, if, as Mr. Belsham declares, the Apostle had asserted it. But where is such assertion to be found? Where has the Apostle made himself 'intelligible' on that point? We cannot allow the abettors of that hypothesis to assert any superior claims to benevolence, or to take any advantage from their belief of it, over others who, on that subject, profess a different faith, in relation to either the profoundest reverence of God, or the warmest and most active charities in respect to men. The style of these volumes is correct and pure, but not always satisfactory to a reader who is pleased only with simplicity of diction. '*Lapse*,' '*elated*,' &c. are examples of objectionable words which occur in the work. '*Collated together*' (pref. p. 1) is not a very critical expression. The book is one of the most handsomely and carefully printed works that we have lately seen.

Art. III. *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22.* By John Franklin, Captain, R. N. and Commander of the Expedition. Plates and Maps. pp. xvi. 768. 4to. Price 4l. 4s. London. 1823.

THE principal phenomena of the Polar regions may now, we think, be considered as ascertained to the full extent of reasonable curiosity, and at the expense of too much anxiety and suffering to admit of any renewal of enterprise in that direction. The voyage of Captain Ross, however it might have been mis-conducted in one important instance, was satisfactory in its determination of the general character of what is usually called Baffin's Bay, though it left undecided the question of the continuity of its coast, by his neglecting to explore to their closures or their outlets the numerous openings which break its outline. The expedition of Captain Parry cleared up this point in the case of what has been hitherto called Lancaster's Sound, and solved many of the most interesting problems in different branches of Arctic investigation. And the narrative of extreme but resolute endurance which lies before us, has sufficiently determined the limit of the American continent in one portion of its bearing, to give, in connexion with previous discoveries, an unequivocal indication of its general form. The deficiencies of Hearne have been supplied, his errors corrected, and additional value given to the discoveries of Mackenzie, by adjusting them to a more accurate scale.

When the British Government had resolved on sending out a second expedition under Captain Parry, to complete, as far as might be practicable, the track of discovery which he had so skilfully commenced in his first, it was, at the same time, determined to explore the land route by the Copper-mine river, and the trending of the coast from the mouth of that stream to the eastern extremity of the American continent. At the head of the party selected for this arduous service, was placed Lieut. Franklin, who has amply justified the recommendation which led to his appointment, by the perfect combination of prudence, courage, and ability, which he displayed throughout. Indeed, there seems to have been a very sound discrimination exercised in the choice of the little band to which the enterprise was consigned. Dr. John Richardson, with Lieutenants Hood and Back, were indefatigable in their exertions; and John Hepburn, the 'English Seaman,' was a man of admirable qualities: to his activity, fidelity, and 'uniform good conduct in the most trying situations,' 'we owe,' writes Capt. Franklin, 'under Divine Providence, the preservation of the lives of some of the party.' The instructions

given to the Travellers, directed their attention to the objects; the determination of geographical positions, the observation of atmospheric appearances and variations, and the general improvement of natural science. In addition to these, they were enjoined to take every method of conveying information to Captain Parry, by the erection of 'conspicuous marks' pointing out the situation of favourable points for the entrance of ships or the landing of boats. Messrs. Hook and Back were the draughtsmen, and Dr. Richardson the naturalist.

Lieut. Franklin and his companions sailed on the 23d of May 1819, in a ship belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. He had relied on being able to procure a sufficient number of hands to convey the necessary provisions as far as possible into the interior, when he should arrive at the Company's American Factory; but, ascertaining from some of his fellow passengers, the improbability that men enough could be spared for that indispensable service, he engaged, on his arrival at Stromness, four Orkney fishermen, who engaged to accompany the Expedition as far as Fort Chepewyan.

'I was much amused,' he says, 'with the extreme caution these men used before they would sign the agreement; they minutely scanned all our intentions, weighed every circumstance, looked narrowly into the plan of our route, and still more circumspectly to the prospect of return. Such caution on the part of the Northern Mariners forms a singular contrast with the ready and thoughtless manner in which an English Seaman enters upon any enterprise, however hazardous, without enquiring, or desiring to know, where he is going, or what he is going about.'

On the 7th of August, while the vessel in which they had embarked was struggling with the ice and the currents at the entrance of Hudson's Straits, they were in circumstances of extreme peril. Surrounded with a dense fog, and unable in the smallest degree to control the movements of the ship, which drifted at the mercy of the eddies occasioned by the masses of ice, they found themselves within a few yards of 'a barren, rugged shore towering over the mast-heads.' The vessel struck, but was heaved off by a gentle swell, and 'hurried along in contact with the rocky shore.' The rudder had been displaced by the previous shock, and no prospect appeared but that of inevitable destruction. While passing over a ledge of rocks, they struck a second time; but the blow replaced the rudder, and enabled them to take advantage of a light breeze, and to direct their course to seaward of a projecting cliff which threatened to complete this series of disasters. The wind, however, died away before they had

cleared the point, and they were, a third time, driven aground. Again the hand of Providence appeared; the swell lifted them off, and, as they were drifting towards another promontory, the sails once more caught the breeze, and the ship drew off shore.

'We had made but little progress, however, when she was violently forced by the current against a large ice-berg lying aground After the first concussion, the ship was driven along the steep and rugged side of this ice-berg with such amazing rapidity, that the destruction of the masts seemed inevitable, and every one expected we should again be forced on the rocks in the most disabled state; but we providentially escaped this perilous result, which must have been decisive.'

Of all this, a dangerous leak was the consequence; but it was partially stopped, and on the 30th, the ship anchored at York Factory, where they met with a hospitable reception from Mr. Williams, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts. After a very short interval occupied in preparation, Captain Franklin and his associates commenced, on the 9th of September 1819, their journey into the interior. Their first object was Cumberland House, one of the Company's posts, in latitude 53° 56' 40" N. longitude, 102° 16' 41" W. The route was by Hayes' river, or its tributary streams, and the boat was urged forward by sails, oars, or tracking, as circumstances required. A careful survey by bearings and calculation, was regularly made by Messrs. Back and Hood, and corrected by observations taken, as frequently as the weather would admit, by Capt. Franklin. Mr. H. protracted the route every evening on a ruled map; and the diligence and extraordinary talent of that young officer in this line of service, are strongly commended by his Commander. On the 14th, they had an opportunity of admiring the dexterity of two Indians, who, with no weapon but a hatchet, had contrived to kill, in a single day, 'two deer, a hawk, a curlew, and a sturgeon,' the inhabitants of earth, air, and water. A rocky islet, of magnetic iron ore, in Knee Lake, which they passed on the 25th, 'totally' overpowered the regular traversing of the compass. At another place, they were compelled to break a passage through a newly constructed beaver-dam; it was stated that the animal would close the breach in the course of a single night. They reached Lake Winnipeg early in October.

'The waters of Lake Winnipeg, and of the rivers that run into it, the Saskatchewan in particular, are rendered turbid by the suspension of a large quantity of white clay. Play Green Lake and Nelson River, being the discharges of the Winnipeg, are equally opaque; a circumstance that renders the sunken rocks, so frequent in these

waters, very dangerous to boats in a fresh breeze. Owing to this, one of the boats that accompanied us, sailing at the rate of seven miles an hour, struck upon one of these rocks. Its mast was sprung away by the shock, but fortunately, no other damage was sustained. The Indians ascribe the muddiness of these lakes to an adventure of one of their deities, a mischievous fellow, a sort of Robin Puck, whom they hold in very little esteem. This deity, who is named Weesakootchaht, possesses considerable power, but makes a capricious use of it, and delights in tormenting the poor Indians. He is not, however, invincible, and was foiled in one of his attempts by the artifice of an old woman, who succeeded in taking him captive. She called in all the women of the tribe to aid in his punishment, and he escaped from their hands in a condition so filthy, that it required all the waters of the Great Lake to wash him clean; and ever since that period, it has been entitled to the appellation of 'Winipeg, or Muddy Water.' pp. 42, 43.

It was on the 22d of October, that the Travellers reached Fort Cumberland, where they were received by Governor Williams, who had previously passed them on the river. The winter had now commenced, and they determined on accepting that gentleman's invitation to remain with him, instead of pressing forward their journey at an impracticable season.

The Indians appear to be great sufferers from the effects of disease and severe weather. The hooping-cough and the measles had, at the time of Capt. Franklin's journey, made great ravages among them; and the combined efforts of debility and depression, had prevented the hunters from obtaining the usual supply of food. Under such circumstances, their distress has been known to drive them to desperate remedies. 'A shocking case was cited of a woman who had been principal agent in the destruction of several persons, and, amongst the number, her husband and nearest relatives, in order to support life.' While the Expedition was detained at Cumberland House, an Indian came to the post, with his wife and the body of his only child. He had been hunting separately from his tribe, and the epidemical disease had seized upon them all. When the fever had abated, he set out for the fort, having been for some time destitute of any food excepting the morsels of skin and offal which had been previously rejected. The sole anxiety of the parents, intense as were their own sufferings, was directed to the preservation of their infant, which the exhausted parent bore in his arms. It died when they had nearly reached their journey's end; and 'no language,' says Dr. Richardson, 'can describe the manner in which the miserable father dashed the morsel from his lips; and deplored the loss of his child.' The Cree, or Kristeneaux, are the natives of this quarter; they were formerly

distinguished for valour and ferocity, but, in this respect, they are much altered, and no longer retain their superiority among the surrounding tribes. They are now of a more peaceable cast, with the usual vices and good qualities of the savage character. They are affectionate and hospitable, but changeable, improvident, indolent, and fatally addicted to the use of spirituous liquors. Their conjurers turn their superstitious fears to good account.

A fellow of this description came to Cumberland House in the winter of 1819. Notwithstanding the then miserable state of the Indians, the rapacity of this wretch had been preying upon their necessities, and a poor hunter was actually at the moment pining away under the influence of his threats. The mighty conjurer, immediately on his arrival at the house, began to trumpet forth his powers, boasting, among other things, that although his hands and feet were tied as securely as possible, yet, when placed in a conjuring-house, he would speedily disengage himself by the aid of two or three familiar spirits, who were attendant on his call. He was instantly taken at his word, and that his exertions might not be without an aim, a capot or great coat was promised as the reward of his success. A conjuring-house having been erected in the usual form, that is, by sticking four willows in the ground, and tying their tops to a hoop at the height of six or eight feet, he was fastened completely by winding several fathoms of rope round his body and extremities, and placed in its narrow apartment, not exceeding two feet in diameter. A moose-skin being then thrown over the frame, secluded him from our view. He forthwith began to chant a kind of hymn in a very monotonous tone. The rest of the Indians, who seemed in some doubt respecting the powers of a devil when put in competition with those of a white man, ranged themselves around, and watched the result with anxiety. Nothing remarkable occurred for a long time. The conjurer continued his song at intervals, and it was occasionally taken up by those without. In this manner an hour and a half elapsed; but at length, our attention, which had begun to flag, was roused by the violent shaking of the conjuring-house. It was instantly whispered round the circle, that at least one devil had crept under the moose-skin. But it proved to be only the 'God-like man' trembling with cold. He had entered the lists, stripped to the skin, and the thermometer stood very low that evening. His attempts were continued, however, with considerable resolution for half an hour longer, when he reluctantly gave in. He had found no difficulty in slipping through the noose when it was formed by his countrymen; but, in the present instance, the knot was tied by Governor Williams, who is an expert sailor. After this unsuccessful exhibition, his credit sunk amazingly, and he took the earliest opportunity of sneaking away from the fort.

About two years ago, a conjurer paid more dearly for his tamerity. In a quarrel with an Indian, he threw out some obscure threats of vengeance, which passed unnoticed at the time, but were

afterwards remembered. They met in the spring at Carlson's House after passing the winter in different parts of the country, during which the Indian's child died. The conjurer had the folly to boast that he had caused its death, and the enraged father shot him dead on the spot. It may be remarked, however, that both these Indians were inhabitants of the plains, and had been taught, by their intercourse with the turbulent Stone Indians, to set but comparatively little value on the life of a man.* pp. 64, 65.

Their traditions respecting the origin of the present earth, are clearly deduced from the Neotic deluge. The fish had quarrelled with a sort of genius or demigod, who is distinguished by the harmonious name of Wasack-ootchack, and with the intention of drowning him and his family, conjured up a mighty flood. He constructed a raft on which he embarked not only his kindred, but every species of bird and beast. After the waters had continued a long time, he employed some of his water-fowl in diving; but they successively perished in the attempt to reach the bottom, until the muskrat succeeded in bringing up a mouthful of earth, out of which Wasack manufactured a new *terra firma*. This worthy personage is the same that we have previously commemorated as the mud demon of Lake Winnipeg. The Indians appear to hold him in little esteem; they offer him no sacrifice, nor, in any way, make acknowledgement of his divinity. Such worship as they can be said to pay, is given to a being called Kepoo-chikawn, who is represented either by rude imitations of the human figure, or by a few willow bushes tied together at the top. With a view to obtain success in hunting, they propitiate the animal, 'an imaginary representation of the whole race of larger quadrupeds that are objects of the chase.' The Indians, though they do not seem to pay distinct worship to any other being, will often speak of the Keetchee-Maneeto, or Great Master of Life, and of an evil spirit called Maatche-Maneeto. They also describe a kind of vampyre, or demon, into which those are changed who feed on human flesh. While Dr. Richardson was at Carlton, he availed himself of an opportunity which presented itself, to question a 'communicative' old Indian, of the Blackfoot nation, concerning the opinions entertained by his tribe respecting a future state.

'He replied, that they had heard from their fathers, that the souls of the departed have to scramble with great labour up the sides of a steep mountain, upon attaining the summit of which, they are rewarded with the prospect of an extensive plain, interspersed here and there with new tents, pitched in agreeable situations, and abounding in all sorts of game. Whilst they are absorbed in the contemplation of this delightful scene, they are descried by the inhabitants of the happy land, who, clothed in new skins, approach and welcome with

every demonstration of kindness, those Indians who have lodged lives; but the bad Indians, who have imbrued their hands in the blood of their countrymen, are told to return from whence they came, and, without more ceremony, precipitated down the steep sides of the mountain.

‘ Women, who have been guilty of infanticide, never reach the mountain at all, but are compelled to hover round the seats of their crimes, with branches of trees tied to their legs. The melancholy sounds which are heard in the still summer evenings, and which the ignorance of the white people considers as the screams of the goat-sucker, are really, according to my informant, the moanings of these unhappy beings.

‘ The Crees have somewhat similar notions; but, as they inhabit a country widely different from the mountainous lands of the Black-foot Indians, the difficulty of their journey lies in walking along a slender and slippery tree, laid as a bridge across a rapid stream of stinking and muddy water. The night-owl is regarded by the Crees with the same dread that it has been viewed by other nations. One small species, which is known to them by its melancholy nocturnal hootings, (for, as it never appears in the day, few even of the hunters have ever seen it,) is particularly ominous. They call it the *chespai-peethes*, or death bird, and never fail to whistle when they hear its note. If it does not reply to the whistle by its hootings, the speedy death of the inquirer is augured.’ pp. 77, 78.

The *half-casts*, derived from the intercourse of Europeans with native females, have become extremely numerous, and, as is usually the case with *Mestizos*, are a worthless and licentious race. A decided difference is, however, said to subsist, in this respect, between the children of the Orkney men, and those of the Canadian *voyageurs*. The former have usually some attention paid to their education; the latter, none whatever: the consequence is manifest in the better qualities of the semi-Europeans.

Although it was found expedient for the main body to halt at Fort Cumberland, Capt. Franklin resolved on pushing forward to a more advanced settlement, for the purpose of procuring information, and making arrangements connected with the prosecution of the journey to the northward. Jan. 18, 1820, he set out, accompanied by Mr. Back and John Hepburn, with fifteen days’ provision loaded on sledges. Of their personal equipment, the most novel feature consisted in the snow-shoes, each from four to six feet long, by one foot and a half wide, and weighing about two pounds. These useful machines are made of two longitudinal bars of wood, meeting at the extremities, and kept apart in the intermediate space by transverse pieces, the interstices of which are filled up by a close network of leather. The front curves upward like the prow of a canoe, and straps are fastened to the middle into

which the toes are inserted, while the heel plays freely in an open socket. The contrivance is an ingenious one; as it was the necessity of lifting a fatiguing weight, but it requires practice to accustom the feet to the motion, which galls the severely before they acquire dexterity in its use. After fourteen days' travelling, Capt. Franklin and his party reached Carleton House; a palatine title oddly enough applied to a log-burrow in the wilds of North America. Here they were in the neighbourhood of the Stone Indians, a far more savage race than the degenerate Kristeneaux. They are much addicted to stealing, and horses they hold to be general property, fairly seizable at all times and places. They will probably be better known to our readers under their old name of Assinibonnois, or, as it is written by Dr. Richardson, Assenenaboine; a distinctive term common among former writers on Indian names and history. They are a branch of the great stock of the Iroquois. The following extract will give a sufficient description of the predatory and murderous habits of this ferocious tribe.

' About two years ago, a band of them had the audacity to attempt to take away some horses which were grazing before the gate of the N. W. Company's fort; and, after braving the fire from the few people then at the establishment through the whole day, and returning their shots occasionally, they actually succeeded in their enterprize. One man was killed on each side. They usually strip defenceless persons whom they meet, of all their garments, but particularly of those which have buttons, and leave them to travel home in that state, however severe the weather. If resistance is expected, they not unfrequently murder before they attempt to rob. The traders, when they travel, invariably keep some men on guard to prevent surprise, whilst the others sleep; and often practise the stratagem of lighting a fire at sunset, which they leave burning, and move on after dark to a more distant encampment. Yet, these precautions do not always baffle the depredators. Such is the description of men whom the traders of this river have constantly to guard against. It must require a long residence among them, and much experience of their manners, to overcome the painful apprehensions their hostility and threats are calculated to excite. Through fear of having their provisions and supplies entirely cut off, the traders are often obliged to overlook the grossest offences, even murder, should the delinquents present themselves with unblushing effrontery almost immediately after the fact, and perhaps boast of having committed it. They do not, on detection, consider themselves under any obligation to deliver up what they have stolen, without receiving an equivalent. The Stone Indians keep in amity with their neighbours the Creeks, from motives of interest; and the two tribes unite in determined hostility against the nations dwelling to the westward, which are generally called Slave Indians—a term of reproach applied by

the Crees to those tribes against whom they have waged successful wars. The Slave Indians are said greatly to resemble the Stone Indians, being equally desperate and daring in their acts of aggression and dishonesty towards the traders.

These parties go to war almost every summer, and sometimes muster three or four hundred horsemen on each side. Their leaders, in approaching the foe, exercise all the caution of the most skilful generals; and whenever either party considers that it has gained the best ground, or finds it can surprise the other, the attack is made. They advance at once to close quarters, and the slaughter is consequently great, though the battle may be short. The prisoners of either sex are seldom spared, but are slain on the spot with wanton cruelty. The dead are scalped, and he is considered the bravest person, who bears the greatest number of scalps from the field. These are afterwards attached to his war dress, and worn as proofs of his prowess. The victorious party, during a certain time, blacken their faces and every part of their dress in token of joy, and in that state they often come to the establishment, if near, to testify their delight by dancing and singing, bearing all the horrid insignia of war, to display their individual feats. When in mourning, they completely cover their dress and hair with white mud.' pp. 105—107.

In these and a few other characteristics, they discover an affinity to the Missouri Indians; but they are evidently much more degraded.

On the 9th of February, Capt. Franklin and his party left Carlton, and on the 23d, reached the Hudson's Bay establishment at Isle à la Crosse. On the 26th of March, they closed this division of their journey at Fort Chipewyan, where they were joined on July 13th, by Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood. The intermediate period was actively employed by Capt. F. in procuring information, and making preparations. The Chipewyan Indians have been so often and so recently described, particularly by Hearne and Mackenzie, that we shall not extract any portion of the few illustrations given in the present volume, with the exception of the following curious anecdotes.

'The Northern Indians' (the Chipewyans) 'suppose that they originally sprang from a dog; and, about five years ago, a superstitious fanatic so strongly pressed upon their minds the impropriety of employing these animals, to which they were related, for purposes of labour, that they universally resolved against using them any more, and, strange as it may seem, destroyed them. They now have to drag every thing themselves on sledges. This laborious task falls most heavily on the women.'

July 18, 1820, the party, with the addition of sixteen Canadian *voyageurs*, proceeded on their route, with a slender supply of provisions, and three bark canoes. Their journey led them, as before, along rivers, lakes, and portages. The navigation

was frequently interrupted by rapids, some of which were extremely dangerous. The last portage, or place where the canoes are usually carried over land, received its name, 'the Portage of the drowned,' from a melancholy accident, which will shew the hazardous nature of this mode of travelling.

'Two canoes arrived at the upper end of the portage, in one of which there was an experienced guide. This man, judging from the height of the river, deemed it practicable to shoot the rapid, and determined upon trying it. He accordingly placed himself in the bow of his canoe, having previously agreed, that if the passage was found easy, he should, on reaching the bottom of the rapid, fire a musket, as a signal for the other canoe to follow. The rapid proved dangerous, and called forth all the skill of the guide, and the utmost exertion of his crew, and they narrowly escaped destruction. Just as they were landing, an unfortunate fellow seizing the loaded foot-ropes, fired at a duck which rose at the instant. The guide anticipating the consequences, ran with the utmost haste to the other end of the portage, but he was too late: the other canoe had pushed off, and he arrived only to witness the fate of his comrades. They got alarmed in the middle of the rapid, the canoe was upset, and every man perished.' pp. 195, 6.

At Fort Providence, the most important of the necessary arrangements were made. Mr. Frederick Wentzel, in the employ of the North-West Company, a gentleman well acquainted with the Chipewyan language, and long a resident in the country, engaged to accompany the Expedition to the mouth of the Copper-mine river; and assistance was procured from Akaitcho, an Indian chief. The whole party then consisted, Europeans, Americans, and Indians, of twenty-eight individuals. Captain Franklin found himself unable to carry into execution his earnest wish to push forward at once to the river, and was under the necessity of taking up his winter quarters at a spot, called by him Fort Enterprise, having travelled four hundred and fifty-three miles since his departure from Fort Chipewyan.

The interval from August 19th, 1820, to June 14th of the following year, was actively and variously occupied. Excursions were taken in different directions, and the proper route to the Copper-mine river was ascertained by inspection. When the Travellers at length started for the final object of the Expedition, they were accompanied by Akaitcho and his people. They reached the sea on the 18th of July, their Indian companions having left them a few hours previously. Mr. Wentzel quitted them on his return the next day, when the party, reduced in number to twenty, prepared to explore the coast to the eastward. Their encampment was in latitude 67° 47' 30"

N., longitude $115^{\circ} 36' 49''$ W., the variation of the compass $46^{\circ} 25' 52''$ E. No situation can be conceived more discouraging to enterprise, than that in which Captain F. and his companions were now placed. With a thousand charges of powder and ball, and fifteen days' provision, they were about to embark in two canoes, on an unknown and inhospitable ocean. The Canadian boatmen were a great annoyance, owing to their shameless and improvident gluttony: instead of husbanding their store, they thought only of the present moment, and would, if unrestrained, have consumed the sustenance of a week, at a single meal. On the whole, however, these men displayed great courage and perseverance during a voyage on an element with which they were little conversant, and attended with circumstances of danger and privation. The high sense of duty, and the hope of reward and fame, which actuated the Commander and his officers, did not exist for their subordinate agents; and it must have required a continual exercise of firmness and temper, to over-rule their tendency to resist, and to keep their spirits from absolute despondency.

The coast voyage of five hundred and fifty-five geographical miles, which brought the Expedition to its last encampment in lat. $68^{\circ} 18' 50''$ N., longitude $110^{\circ} 5' 15''$ W., subsequently corrected to $109^{\circ} 25' 00''$ W., was protracted by the accumulation of ice in Detention Harbour, by the loss of 'nine invaluable days in exploring' Bathurst's Inlet, and by the necessity for examining the deep indentation of Arctic and Melville Sounds. In fact, the distance which Captain Franklin passed over in this tedious coasting, would, if he had been previously acquainted with the navigation, and could have stretched across the openings, have carried him nearly to Repulse Bay, supposing the correctness of its assigned longitude. We shall insert Captain Franklin's observations at this concluding point of his discoveries.

'Our researches, as far as they have gone, seem to favour the opinion of those who contend for the practicability of a north-west passage. The general line of coast probably runs East and West, nearly in the latitude assigned to Mackenzie's River, the Sound into which Kotzebue entered, and Repulse Bay; and very little doubt can, in my opinion, be entertained of the existence of a continued sea, in or about that line of direction. The existence of whales, too, on this part of the coast, evidenced by the whalebone we found in Esquimaux Cove, may be considered as an argument for an open sea; and a connexion with Hudson's Bay is rendered more probable from the same kind of fish abounding on the coasts we visited, and on those to the North of Churchill river. I allude more particularly to the Capelin or *Salmo arcticus*, which we found in large shoals in Bathurst's Inlet, and which not only abounds, as Augustus told us,

in the bays in his country, but swarms in the Greenland fiords. The portion of the sea once which we passed, is navigable for vessels of any size; the ice we met, particularly after quitting Detmold Harbour, would not have arrested a strong boat. The chain of Islands affords shelter from all heavy seas, and there are good harbours at convenient distances. I entertain, indeed, sanguine hopes that the skill and exertions of my friend Captain Parry will soon render this question no longer problematical. His task is doubtless an arduous one, and, if ultimately successful, may occupy two, and perhaps three seasons; but confiding as I do, from personal knowledge, in his perseverance and talent for surmounting difficulties, the strength of his ships, and the abundance of provisions with which they are stored, I have very little apprehension of his safety. As I understand his object was to keep the coast of America close on board, he will find in the spring of the year, before the breaking up of the ice, can permit him to pursue his voyage, herds of deer flocking in abundance to all parts of the coast, which may be procured without difficulty; and even later in the season, additions to his stock of provision may be obtained on many parts of the coast, should circumstances give him leisure to send out hunting parties. With the trawl or seine nets also, he may almost every where get abundance of fish, even without retarding his progress. Under these circumstances, I do not conceive that he runs any hazard of wanting provisions, should his voyage be prolonged even beyond the latest period of time which is calculated upon. Drift timber may be gathered at many places in considerable quantities; and there is a fair prospect of his opening a communication with the Esquimaux, who come down to the coast to kill seals in the spring, previous to the ice breaking up; and from whom, if he succeeds in conciliating their good-will, he may obtain provision, and much useful assistance.' pp. 388, 389.

In the state of destitution to which the party was reduced, and under the impossibility of finding subsistence during the return to the mouth of Copper-mine River, it became necessary to fix on some intermediate point at which to commence their inland journey; it was, in consequence, determined to pursue the ascending line of Hood's River,—a stream emptying itself into Arctic Sound. Aug. 22nd was the date of their retrograde movement. The fear of wanting food absorbing every other terror, the men voluntarily hazarded the traverse of Melville Sound, a run of fifteen miles, before a stiff breeze and a heavy sea. Though the canoes were within hail, the high waves often hid the mast of one from the other; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the boats were kept from broaching to in mid channel, where the sea was most violent, and the possibility of escape nearly hopeless. On the 25th, they reached the first

rapid in Hood's River, and encamped. The Canadians were now in high spirits 'at having turned their backs on the sea,' and amused themselves with humorous and exaggerated recapitulation of their past adventures. On reaching the magnificent falls of Wilberforce, it was found impracticable to make any further use of the canoes, and they were broken up for the purpose of reconstructing them on a smaller scale. At an early period of the journey, the larger of these was rendered unserviceable, probably from intention, as the Canadians had murmured at the fatigue occasioned by the necessity for carrying these vehicles by hand, after leaving the stream of the Hood. Cold, hunger, and debility, now visited the Travellers with combined severity. Lichens, called by the Canadians *tripe de roche*, eked out their scanty repast: at times, though injurious to some, and affording little nourishment to any, they furnished their only meal. Had Capt. Franklin been aware of his exact position, much delay, and a serious accident might have been avoided; but the errors of Hearne's map misled him, and by crossing a river instead of keeping to the westward, he exposed himself to much consequent embarrassment and suffering. In crossing a rapid on Sept. 14th, some of the party were in imminent danger, and the canoe was nearly lost. Their sufferings increased daily; bones, rendered friable by burning, deer skins, and even 'old shoes,' were acceptable food. The men became desperate, and refused any longer to carry the canoe; a determination which afterwards severely aggravated their calamities. Occasionally, a supply of flesh was obtained from a passing flock of deer; and, but for this, it seems hardly probable that any would have survived to tell the story of their misery. They reached the Copper-mine river on the 26th of Sept; and the necessity for crossing it, compelled the Canadians to deplore their folly in abandoning the canoe. At length, a substitute was made of the painted canvas in which the bedding was folded up, and with some difficulty, the whole of the party was ferried across. Such was their present condition, that the putrid carcase of a deer was a feast, and the corrupt marrow of the spine, though 'so acrid as to excoriate the lips,' was deemed 'a valuable prize.' The unpalatable and unwholesome *tripe de roche* was the staple food, and scarcely left them strength to gather it. Previously to passing the river, one of the Esquimaux, called Junius, who had joined the Expedition, had been for some time missing, but it was hoped that he would be able to fall in with some of the wandering hordes of his countrymen. After reaching the southern bank, Mr. Back and three of the Canadians were sent forward, while the remainder followed with

slower steps. After his departure, two of the hindmost divisions failed; and Dr. Richardson, with Mr. Hood and Hepburn, proposed to halt in a thicket of small willows. This step was, on the part of Mr. H., the result of inability to proceed further. Dr. R. was moved to it by his unwillingness to forsake his helpless companion; and Hepburn by the sibe feeling which uniformly led him to neglect his own comfort whenever he could assist his officers. A few miles further, Belanger, another Canadian, and Michel, an Iroquois Indian, declared their inability to proceed, and their intention of returning to the tent which had been pitched for Mr. Hood and his friends. Soon after this, a *voyageur*, named Perrault, turned back; and about two miles in advance, Tontano, an Italian, sunk under his fatigue. The remaining few proceeded as well as they were able, staggering at every step, and frequently blown down by the violence of the wind. They were now within a few miles of Fort Enterprise, where they expected to find that Mr. Wentzel and the Indian chief had taken care to make sufficient provision for their supply. Five only in number, they reached it, and found it empty and desolate: 'there was no deposit of provision, no trace of the Indians, no letter from Mr. Wentzel to point out where the Indians might be found.' Our readers may in part be able to imagine the intense agony of this moment. Not only their own lives, but those of the unfortunate men whom they had left behind, had been suspended on the hope of a sufficient supply at this place; and the man on whom they depended, had clearly dismissed from his mind the possibility of their return. A note was found written by Mr. Back, stating that he had reached the House two days before, but, finding no resources there, had gone forward in search of the Indians, and, in the event of not meeting with them, that he should make for Fort Providence. The situation of Capt. Franklin seemed now to have reached its height of hopelessness. It was quite uncertain whether Mr. Back would find the Indians, and if he failed, he had himself expressed his fears that he should not have strength enough left to enable him to reach Providence. The log-hut in which Capt. F. and his companions were, afforded them a miserable shelter against the weather, and the temperature of the atmosphere was from 15° to 20° below zero. They could only get firing by pulling up the floors, water by melting the snow, and food by boiling putrid bones with salt and *tripe de roche*. An attempt made by Capt. Franklin to follow Mr. Back, proved unsuccessful, and he returned to the House. While they were seated round the fire, in the evening of Oct. 29th.,

* discoursing about the anticipated relief, the conversation was suddenly interrupted by Peltier's exclaiming with joy, "ah! le monde!" imagining that he heard the Indians in the other room. Immediately afterwards, to his bitter disappointment, Dr. Richardson and Hepburn entered, each carrying his bundle. Peltier, however, soon recovered himself enough to express his joy at their safe arrival, and his regret that their companions were not with them. When I saw them alone, my own mind was instantly filled with apprehensions respecting my friend Hood, and our other companions, which were immediately confirmed by the Doctor's melancholy communication, that Mr. Hood and Michel were dead. Perrault and Tontano had neither reached the tent, nor been heard of by them. This intelligence produced a melancholy despondency in the minds of my party, and on that account the particulars were deferred until another opportunity. We were all shocked at beholding the emaciated countenances of the Doctor and Hepburn, as they strongly evidenced their extremely debilitated state. The alteration in our appearance was equally distressing to them; for, since the swellings were subsided, we were little more than skin and bone. The Doctor particularly remarked the sepulchral tone of our voices, which he requested us to make more cheerful if possible, unconscious that his own partook of the same key.' pp. 446, 447.

At the first fitting opportunity, Dr. Richardson detailed to his Commander the particulars of the tragedy which had deprived the service of an accomplished officer. When Michel, the Iroquois, returned, as we have already stated, to the party at the tent, he came alone, but delivered to them a hare and a partridge which he had shot as he came. On his favourable report, they removed their tent to a spot at some distance, where fuel was more abundant. The conduct of the Iroquois soon, however, became very suspicious; he refused to hunt, and became sullen and unmanageable. The rest must be told in Dr. Richardson's own words.

* *Sunday Oct. 20.* In the morning, we again urged Michel to go a hunting, that he might, if possible, leave us some provision, to-morrow being the day appointed for his quitting us; but he shewed great unwillingness to go out, and lingered about the fire, under the pretence of cleaning his gun. After we had read the morning service, I went about noon to gather some *tripe de roche*, leaving Mr. Hood sitting before the tent at the fire-side, arguing with Michel; Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a short distance from the tent, being desirous of accumulating a quantity of fire-wood before he left us. A short time after I went out, I heard the report of a gun, and about ten minutes afterwards Hepburn called to me in a voice of great alarm, to come directly. When I arrived, I found poor Hood lying lifeless at the fire-side, a ball having apparently entered his forehead. I was at first horror-struck with the idea, that in a fit of despondency he had hurried himself into the presence of

his Almighty Judge, by an act of his own hand; but the conduct of Michel soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions which were confirmed, when, upon examining the body, I discovered that the shot had entered the back part of the head, and passed out at the forehead, and that the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night-cap behind. The gun, which was of the longest kind supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound, except by a second person. Upon inquiring of Michel how it happened, he replied that Mr. Hood had sent him into the tent for the short gun, and that during his absence the long gun had gone off; he did not know whether by accident or not. He held the short gun in his hand at the time he was speaking to me. Hepburn afterwards informed me, that, previous to the report of the gun, Mr. Hood and Michel were speaking to each other in an elevated angry tone; that Mr. Hood being seated at the fire-side, was hid from him by intervening willows, but that, on hearing the report, he looked up, and saw Michel rising up from before the tent door, or just behind where Mr. Hood was seated, and then going into the tent. Thinking that the gun had been discharged for the purpose of cleaning it, he did not go to the fire at first; and when Michel called to him that Mr. Hood was dead, a considerable time had elapsed. Although I dared not openly to evince any suspicion that I thought Michel guilty of the deed, yet, he repeatedly protested that he was incapable of committing such an act, kept constantly on his guard, and carefully avoided leaving Hepburn and me together. He was evidently afraid of permitting us to converse in private, and whenever Hepburn spoke, he inquired if he accused him of the murder. It is to be remarked, that he understood English very imperfectly, yet, sufficiently to render it unsafe for us to speak on the subject in his presence. We removed the body into a clump of willows behind the tent, and returning to the fire, read the funeral service in addition to the evening prayers. The loss of a young officer of such distinguished and varied talents and application, may be felt and duly appreciated by the eminent characters under whose command he had served; but the calmness with which he contemplated the probable termination of a life of uncommon promise, and the patience and fortitude with which he sustained, I may venture to say, unparalleled bodily sufferings, can only be known to the companions of his distresses. Owing to the effect that the *tripe de roche* invariably had when he ventured to taste it, he undoubtedly suffered more than any of the survivors of the party. *Bickersteth's Scripture Help* was lying open beside the body, as if it had fallen from his hand; and it is probable that he was reading it at the instant of his death. We passed the night in the tent together without rest, every one being on his guard. Next day, having determined on going to the Fort, we began to patch and prepare our clothes for the journey. We singed the hair off a part of the Buffalo robe that belonged to Mr. Hood, and boiled and ate it. Michel tried to persuade me to go to the woods on the Copper-mine river, and hunt for deer instead of

going to the Fort. In the afternoon, a flock of partridges coming near the tent, he killed several, which he shared with us.

Thick snowy weather and a head wind prevented us from starting the following day; but, on the morning of the 23rd, we set out, carrying with us the remainder of the singed robe. Hepburn and Michel had each a gun, and I carried a small pistol, which Hepburn had loaded for me. In the course of the march, Michel alarmed us much by his gestures and conduct, was constantly muttering to himself, expressed an unwillingness to go to the Fort, and tried to persuade me to go to the southward to the woods, where he said he could maintain himself all the winter by killing deer. In consequence of this behaviour, and the expression of his countenance, I requested him to leave us and to go to the southward by himself. This proposal increased his ill-nature; he threw out some obscure hints of freeing himself from all restraint on the morrow; and I overheard him muttering threats against Hepburn, whom he openly accused of having told stories against him. He also, for the first time, assumed such a tone of superiority in addressing me, as evinced that he considered us to be completely in his power; and he gave vent to several expressions of hatred towards the white people, or, as he termed us, in the idiom of the voyageurs, the French, some of whom, he said, had killed and eaten his uncle and two of his relations. In short, taking every circumstance of his conduct into consideration, I came to the conclusion, that he would attempt to destroy us on the first opportunity that offered, and that he had hitherto abstained from doing so from his ignorance of the way to the Fort, but that he would never suffer us to go thither in company with him. In the course of the day, he had several times remarked that we were pursuing the same course that Mr. Franklin was doing when he left him, and that by keeping towards the setting sun, he could find his way himself. Hepburn and I were not in a condition to resist even an open attack, nor could we by any device escape from him. Our united strength was far inferior to his; and beside his gun, he was armed with two pistols, an Indian bayonet, and a knife. In the afternoon, coming to a rock on which there was some *tripe de roché*, he halted, and said he would gather it whilst we went on, and that he would soon overtake us. Hepburn and I were now left together for the first time since Mr. Hood's death, and he acquainted me with several material circumstances, which he had observed of Michel's behaviour, and which confirmed me in the opinion that there was no safety for us except in his death, and he offered to be the instrument of it. I determined, however, as I was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of such a dreadful act, to take the whole responsibility upon myself; and immediately upon Michel's coming up, I put an end to his life by shooting him through the head with a pistol. Had my own life alone been threatened, I would not have purchased it by such a measure; but I considered myself as intrusted also with the protection of Hepburn's; a man, who, by his humane attentions and devotedness, had so endeared himself to me, that I felt more anxiety for his safety than for my own. Michel had gathered no *tripe de roché*,

and it was evident to us that he had halted for the purpose of putting his gun in order, with the intention of attacking us, perhaps while we were in the act of encamping.' pp. 455—458.

It can scarcely admit of a doubt, that Michel had previously killed both Belanger and Perrault. Fort Enterprise now became a scene of aggravated wretchedness. Increasing weakness of body brought with it debility of mind and irritability of temper. Poor Hepburn was so surprised at this change in himself and his companions, that he exclaimed on one occasion, 'Dear me, if we are spared to return to England, I wonder if we shall recover our understandings.' It was not till the 7th of November, that relief came. Mr. Back, after sufferings which occasioned the death of one of his companions, had overtaken the Indians, and immediately despatched assistance to Fort Enterprise. A shout from three natives announced to the expiring inmates, the approach of their deliverers. On the 16th, they left the House, and on the 26th, reached, though with much difficulty, the tents of Akaitcho. The rest of their adventures occupy but a few pages. In December, they reached a settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company on Moose-deer Island, where they experienced the utmost hospitality from Messrs M'Vicar and M'Auley. On the 14th July, they arrived at York Factory.

'Thus terminated,' says Capt. Franklin, 'our long, fatiguing, and disastrous travels in North America, having journeyed by water and by land, (including our navigation of the Polar Sea,) five thousand five hundred and fifty miles.'

The Appendix contains a considerable variety of valuable scientific matter, comprising 'Geognostical Observations' by Dr. Richardson; Remarks on the Aurora Borealis by Messrs. Hood and Franklin; and by Dr. R., Astronomical and Magnetic Tables; Zoology by Mr. Sabine; and Botanical Memoranda by Dr. Richardson.

The decorations are not altogether such as we could wish. Some of the plates are coloured aquatints of inferior merit; others are line engravings, feeble, scratchy, and deficient in effect and richness. The representations of subjects from natural history, are excellently executed by Curtis. The Maps are interesting documents, and well got up.

Art. IV. *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren, with a brief View of the Progress of Architecture in England, from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles I., to the End of the Seventeenth Century ; and an Appendix of authentic Documents.* By James Elmes, M.R.I.A. Architect. 4to. pp. 715. Price 8l. 8s. London. 1823.

THE life of Sir Christopher Wren is a central point in the history of Architecture in England ; and the subject might be with propriety made the medium of information, embracing the rise, progress, and vicissitudes of the art, while it should include extensive and important illustrations of its principles and practice. The attractions of the subject led us to take up this massy quarto with somewhat eager expectations ; more especially when we learned from the first sentence of the preface, that the subject had occupied Mr. Elmes's attention during the space of nearly fourteen years. We cannot say that our anticipations have been altogether answered. In the collection of facts and documents, reasonable diligence appears to have been used ; and there is no room to complain of the manner in which they are brought forward, so far as fairness and distinctness are concerned ; but the book is deficient in scientific analysis, as well as in vigorous and discriminative criticism, nor are these indispensable adjuncts, when they do occur, precisely of that high quality which we naturally look for in such a work. We cannot think that the plan adopted by Mr. Elmes in the arrangement of these memoirs, is free from objection. The method of taking up a man's history at his birth, and carrying it straight forward through successive years until his death, is vastly convenient to the Writer, and may sufficiently answer the requirements of a reader, where the life has been undistinguished by any connexion with the progress of science, or has been directed towards the attainment of a single object. But where the pursuits of the individual have been various, and to a high degree difficult, important, and successful, such a mode is most bewildering. The attention is fixed, one moment, on a profound and interesting inquiry, and in the next, is called off to some remote and unconnected investigation : the chain of thought and recollection is thus continually broken, and the general effect of the perusal is neither pleasant nor definite. Most of the usual methods of encountering or evading this difficulty, are liable to inconveniences ; but, in the present instance, we should, for our own part, have preferred either textual references with a running accompaniment of notes, or the consignment of all collateral disquisitions to an Appendix. Instead of this, we have a teasing alternation of

meetings and conversations at the Royal Society, with the chronological details of Wren's architectural labours, occasionally relieved by the interlude of an official squabble. For the gratification and instruction of unprofessional amateurs, like ourselves, it would have been advisable that a decided lead should be given to Sir Christopher's career as an architect, that his peculiar excellencies and defects should be minutely analyzed and impartially canvassed, and that, if it had been possible to form an accurate classification of his works, their variations of principle and application should be determined and characterized. We do not mean to imply that nothing of this has been done in the work before us; but the plan does not appear to us either distinctly made out, or completely filled up. As we cannot, however, undertake the task of supplying what appears to us Mr. Elmes's deficiencies, we must content ourselves with giving a brief abstract of the contents of his quarto.

Inigo Jones was the first who successfully introduced the Roman style into the palaces and public buildings of England. He had visited Italy, and studied with kindred feeling and genius, the rich and scientific structures of Bramante, Palladio, and Scamozzi, as well as the magnificent remains of ancient Rome. It was, however, unfortunate, both for this great man and for his greater successor, that they imbibed the rudiments of their style from a deteriorated school of art. We are fully aware that the severe simplicity of Grecian taste was scarcely applicable to the circumstances of the Romans; and that for the gorgeous melodrame of the Papal ceremonial, a yet more splendid theatre, and a more ornamental style, were required. Still, there was decided error in the unnecessary departure from sanctioned *principle*. There was ample room for the extended application of the faultless elements of Hellenic art; nor was there any pretext for the unmeaning confusion, and the infirm sacrifice of the whole to parts, which degrade the works of some of the ablest Italian architects. They violated the sanctity of Grecian style by licentious additions; they frittered their effects by rustics and channelings, and they seem to have been insensible to the beauty and majesty of expanded surface and unbroken perspective. It is impossible, then, not to indulge a wish that, instead of wandering amid these seductive examples of mistaken talent, Jones and Wren had visited the shores of Attica, and taken the lessons of their art from the unrivalled models of the Athenian citadel.

Christopher Wren was born on the 20th of October, 1632. His father was a respectable clergyman, afterwards dean of Windsor; and his uncle, Dr. Matthew Wren, was successively bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely. The latter identified

himself with many of the obnoxious measures of the high-church party, and was imprisoned, without trial, during nearly twenty years. At the treaty of Uxbridge, in 1644, he was included among those who were, by name, declared incapable of pardon. The father of Sir Christopher was a man of considerable attainments, and directed the early efforts of his son to scientific pursuits, the infirmity of his constitution making it advisable to conduct his education under the management of a domestic tutor, until, at a proper age, he was consigned to the severer regimen of the celebrated Busby, at Westminster school.

'The genius, and taste for learning and the mathematics, of the youthful architect, began to develop themselves at a very early age, and his industry and perseverance in his studies, to produce the most promising results. In 1645, while only in his thirteenth year, he invented a new astronomical instrument, which he dedicated, in Latin of a superior style, to his father. He also produced in the same year an exercise in physics, and invented a pneumatic machine.'

In his fourteenth year, he left Westminster for Oxford, where he entered at Wadham College as gentleman-commoner. He took his bachelor's degree in his eighteenth year. In 1647, he took out a patent 'for a diplographic instrument for writing 'with two pens.' Notwithstanding his youth, he was at this time the associate of men high in scientific repute; and when the Royal Society began its meetings, Wren appears to have been somewhat more than an *alumnus* of its first illustrious members. Dr. Wilkins introduced him as a 'prodigy in 'science' to the Elector Palatine; and the celebrated Oughtrid characterised him as a youth *admirando prorsus ingenio*. 'He 'is recorded as being the first inventor of the micographic art; 'that of drawing enlarged views of subjects as they appear 'through a microscope.' The invention of the barometer, also, has been attributed to Wren. It is affirmed, that Oldenburg, the first secretary to the Royal Society, who was a Saxon by birth, clandestinely communicated to his scientific countrymen, the secrets of the learned body whose confidence he possessed. However this may have been, there can, we apprehend, be no reasonable doubt of the correctness of Denham, who assigns the barometer to Torricelli as its inventor in 1643; adding, that 'the real use of it, and the discovery that it was 'the gravitation of the atmosphere which kept up the quick-silver to such a height, which the learned abroad, particularly 'Torricelli, had only before suspected, was first proved by 'Boyle, at the suggestion of Wren.' In 1658, Wren was elected fellow of All Souls' College, and in 1657, he was chosen Gresham Professor of Astronomy, an office then held in higher

estimation than at present. At the Restoration, Charles II., surrounded by hungry petitioners, and unable to satisfy them by a fair adjustment between their claims and their abilities, was sometimes under the necessity, where the man did not fit the office to which he was appointed, of so arranging the office as to make it suitable to the incumbent. Among other blunders which required rectifying in this way, was the appointment of Sir John Denham to the post of surveyor-general of his Majesty's works. Whatever might be the brilliancy of Sir John's poetical talents, his architectural skill seems to have been so questionable as to induce Charles to give him an assistant, happily for the interests of art and the credit of the nation, in the person of Sir Christopher Wren. In 1663, his powers were called into action by the necessity for continuing the repairs of the Cathedral of St. Paul, which had been commenced under the direction of Inigo Jones; and in the same year, he gave in the design of the first public building that he actually erected, the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford. But it was the Fire of London, in 1666, that called the splendid talents of this great man into full exercise. That event, disastrous in its first effects, proved most beneficial in its remote consequences, and changed a metropolis, gloomy, unventilated, and built of the most combustible materials, into one of the healthiest capitals in Europe. It is, however, deeply to be regretted, that Wren's admirably conceived and adapted plan of re-construction was not resolutely followed up. A neat engraving of it is given in the present volume; and it is difficult to say whether it would have excelled in picturesque effect, general convenience, or architectural character, or whether it would not rather have been perfectly unrivalled in its exquisite combination of them all. One part of his plan, the observance of which was provided for by the Rebuilding Act, was the erection and preservation of a clear and wide public quay on the river side; and the encroachments which have been made on it are thus referred to by Mr. Elmes.

¹ This noble and beneficial design, which it was the intention of the legislature, on the recommendation and from the designs of Wren, to carry into effect, has been gradually rendered ineffectual, and is now nearly destroyed, by the cupidity of certain brewers, &c. whose very trades were prohibited by this proclamation to be carried on in this situation, but who have nearly built a series of wretched storehouses over this intended quay, and would have completely robbed the public of the little now left, but for the interference of a few public-spirited neighbours, who opposed an intended bill for stopping them all up by repealing the act of 22 Charles II. cap. 2. These gentlemen have stayed the pestilence; but it is hoped that on the proposed rebuilding of London bridge they will renew their efforts, and effect the completion not only of a grand public quay from London bridge to the

Temple, as granted to the citizens by Charles, but also as far as Westminster, and on both sides of the Thames, by inclosing from the mud nearly to low water-mark, which is public property. The majestic Thames would then be rescued from its present inferiority to even the dumber Liffey, which the public-spirited citizens of Dublin have decorated with noble quays on either side, in lieu of its former muddy banks.'

In 1669, the death of Sir John Denham, made way for Wren's advance to the office of surveyor-general. The Royal Exchange, of which he was rather the 'tasteful restorer' than the 'original designer,' was opened in the same year. The new campanile which has been recently erected over the portico, provokes from Mr. E. the following fair criticism.

'Whether the new tower be in better taste than the old one, is not the question; but it (the latter) was more accordant with the rest of the building, and marked the taste of the age. Mr. Smith was, I think, wrong in seeking criticism by his new design, which becomes the ancient building, as the fur cap of a lanceer would a venerable bishop, and alters the whole character of the building. Mr. Cockrell, jun. might, with as much propriety, have designed a new hall and cross to St. Paul's cathedral, in his judicious restoration last year.'

The stupendous Doric column near London bridge was first used as an observatory, but it

'was abandoned on account of its vibrations being too great for the nicety required. This occasioned a report that it was unsafe; but its scientific construction may bid defiance to the attacks of all but earthquakes, for centuries to come.'

The church and spire of St. Mary-le-Bow, commenced in 1671, are usually reckoned, at least the latter, among the master-pieces of Sir Christopher Wren. A minute description of its parts occurs in this volume, which, with the elevation and section, given in outline, fully explains the skilful construction of the edifice, but does not quite so satisfactorily vindicate the epithet 'beautiful.' Though it is eminently so in parts, yet, to our view, there is, in the whole, an effect of incongruity. The tower and the spire do not seem made to accompany each other; nor can we relish the strange compound which the latter presents, of obelisks, flying buttresses, scroll pyramids, vases, balustrades, and Corinthian temples. In October 1672, the first stone was laid of that exquisite structure, St. Stephen's, Walbrook. The objections made to it by Mr. Elmes, amount to little more than that it is not perfect. His general criticism, however, allowing for a few affected phrases, is excellent.

'The beauty of the interior of this church arises from its lightness and elegance. On entering from the street, by about a dozen or more of steps, through a vestibule of dubious obscurity, on opening the handsome folding wainscot door, a halo of dazzling light flashes at once upon the eye; and a lovely band of Corinthian columns, of beautiful proportions, appear in magic mazes before you. The expansive cupola and supporting arches, expand their airy shapes like gossamer, and the sweetly proportioned embellished architrave cornice, of original lightness and application, completes the charm. On a second look, the columns slide into complete order, like a band of young and elegant dancers, at the close of a quadrille. Then the pedestals, concealed by the elaborate pewings, which are sculptured into the form of a solid stylobate, opening up the nave, under the cupola, to the great recess which contains the altar, and West's fine historical picture of the stoning of St. Stephen, lift up the entire column to the level of the eye: their brown and heavy solids supporting the delicate white forms of the entire order. The composition of the order, the arrangement of the parts, the effect of the whole, exhibit the originality of Wren's mind in a captivating point of view; and its excellencies, like Aaron's rod, swallow up the trivial faults of the detail. He who doubts the excellencies of Wren, as an architect of the first order, should deeply study this jewel of the art.'

St. Paul's now excited the attention of the King and of the nation. Sir Christopher Wren, after receiving, in 1672, the honour of knighthood, was called on to design an edifice entirely new, the old idea of reparation having been quite abandoned. The first model, which is said to have been the favourite plan of the Architect, was the same which is now exhibited, in a neglected state, in one of the apartments of the Cathedral. Its rejection is ascribed to its bold innovations on the received arrangement of metropolitan churches, in their adaptation to public worship. It departed from the usual distribution of naves and aisles, and substituted a series of minor cupolas surrounding the central dome. The Duke of York, anticipating the introduction of the Popish ceremonial, insisted upon an adherence to the old plan, and on the construction of side oratories. Sir Christopher pleaded for his cherished model, even with tears, but he was obliged to give way. We cannot say that we regret the change; for, though we quite agree with Mr. Elmes in his eulogy of the various, beautiful, and picturesque combinations of the model, yet, we prefer the fine and ever varying perspective of the actual structure, built in imitation of St. Peter's, but with an originality that made it his own. If such imitation be destructive of the claims of genius, who shall escape excepting Homer and Shakspeare? The strongest and clearest intellects must, in a measure, par-

sue the path traced by their predecessors; as the Greeks, in their principles of Architecture, followed the Egyptians, and the Romans, the Greeks.

‘ It was thus that Michael Angelo honestly imitated the Pantheon of Agrippa, in his tremendous cupola of the Vatican: and it is thus that our neglected countryman, Wren, rivalled and surpassed, in purity of taste and scientific construction, the basilica of St. Peter at Rome.’

His second design having been approved, and licence being given to make such variations as should not interfere with the general plan, the building went forward with spirit. The first labour was the removal of the standing walls of great height and thickness; but the main obstacle was presented by the ruins of the old tower, nearly two hundred feet high. The judicious use of eighteen pounds of gunpowder, lifted

‘ a weight of more than three thousand tons, and saved the work of a thousand labourers. The fall of so great a weight from a height of two hundred feet, gave such a concussion to the ground, that the inhabitants round about took it for the shock of an earthquake.’

The second experiment was made in Sir Christopher's unavoidable absence; and from some negligence in closing the mine, a fragment of stone was projected to such a distance as to enter a room where some females were sitting. This accident put a stop to the use of gunpowder. The Architect's next expedient was the battering-ram. Thirty men plied an enormous beam shod with iron, during a whole day, apparently in vain; and with the usual propensities of such folk, began to prognosticate the failure of the machine. On the second day, however, the wall began to yield, and, after a few hours' exertion, gave way. During the earlier proceedings in the construction of the edifice,

‘ when Sir Christopher was arranging and setting out the dimensions of the great cupola, an incident occurred which some superstitious observers regarded as a lucky omen. The architect had ordered a workman to bring him a flat stone to use as a station; which, when brought, was found to be the fragment of a tomb-stone, containing the only remaining word of an inscription in capital letters, “RE-SURGAM.” This has been asserted, (but I do not remember the authority) to have been the origin of the emblem—a phoenix on its fiery nest—sculptured by Cibber, over the south portico, and inscribed with the same word; but the rising again of the new city and cathedral from the conflagration, were quite sufficient hints for the artist.’

In 1693, Sir Christopher completed St. James's church, ‘ one of the most perfect of his designs, whether it be con-

'sidered for its commodiousness, beauty, or ingenuity of construction.' The roof, of which a clear description is aided by an outline plate, is given, 'is the most novel, scientific and satisfactory as to the results, of any roof in existence.' In 'simplicity, strength, and beauty,' it 'is a perfect study of construction and architectural economy.' The following note occurs in reference to the 'beautiful spire of St. Dunstan's in the East,' styled by Mr. Elmes, 'the noble monument of geometrical and constructive skill in existence; and unequalled also for lightness and elegance.'

'An anonymous friend sent me, during the progress of this work, the following anecdote; but, as he communicated no authority, I have placed it as an entertaining note, rather than as a portion of the text. The first part is evidently incorrect, and it is hardly possible that such a mathematician as Wren would have attempted what is doubted. On the contrary, when he was informed that a hurricane which occurred in the night, had damaged all the steeples in London, he replied, with the rapidity of thought, 'Not St. Dunstan's, I am sure.' The anecdote is as follows. When Sir Christopher Wren made the first attempt of building a steeple upon quadrangular columns in this country (St. Dunstan's in the East), he was convinced of the truth of his architectural principle; but as he had never before acted upon it, and as a failure would have been fatal to his reputation, and awful in its consequences to the neighbourhood of the edifice, he naturally felt intense anxiety, when the superstructure was completed, in the removal of the supporters. The surrounding people shared largely in the solicitude. Sir Christopher himself went to London bridge, and watched the proceedings through a lens. The ascent of a rocket proclaimed the stability of the steeple; and Sir Christopher himself afterwards would smile, that he ever could even for a moment, have doubted the truth of his mathematics.'

Queen Anne continued Wren, then in the sixty-ninth year of his age, in all his employments; and he persevered with unabated energy of mind in urging forward the building of Greenwich and Chelsea hospitals, as well as the completion of the cathedral. In 1705, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for erecting fifty new parish churches in London and Westminster, and he delivered an excellent report on the general subject to one of his coadjutors. The accession of George I., however, was unfavourable to the prospects of the great Architect: in the eighty-sixth year of his age, he was superseded in his office of surveyor-general, by the contemptible Benson, whose ignorance prevented him from long retaining the appointment. Even in his great work at St. Paul's Wren was now annoyed by petty cabals and teasing interferences. When pestered to crown the upper cornice with a balustrade, he sarcastically replied, that '*ladies think nothing*

well without an edging. He seems, happily, not to have suffered these vexations to prey on his mind. He lived until the 25th of February, 1723, on which day, taking his usual after-linner nap,

the servant who constantly attended him, thinking he slept longer than usual, went into his apartment, and found him dead in his chair.

Sir Christopher Wren was twice married, but the dates are uncertain. Mr. Elmes fixes the first marriage early in 1674; and the second could not have taken place at a much greater interval than that of two years. In 1681, he was chosen President of the Royal Society; and in 1685, he was returned to parliament as member for Plympton.

Of the school formed towards the close of this great man's life, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, and Gibbs, were the greatest ornaments. As Mr. Elmes seems to have discriminated their respective abilities with much skill, we shall insert the leading features of his estimate. The first, he styles

'a bold and erratic genius, picturesque and poetical in his imagination, but neither learned nor refined in his art. He rather resembled the painter-architects of Henry the VIIIth's time, than a follower of Palladio, Jones, and Wren.'

Gibbs, the best successor of Wren, aspires, in his St. Martin's in the Fields, to the title of an architect; but his blunderings at the Radcliffe Library, Oxford, take away from him all character for science; and his New Church in the Strand does not say much for the purity of his taste.

Of Nicholas Hawksmoor we are informed, that

'this highly original architect was born in 1666, the year of the great fire of London; and was placed in his seventeenth year, as a domestic clerk, or pupil, with Wren. His genius is unquestionable, but his taste not of the most refined order; nearer approaching the bold flights of Vanbrugh, than the chastened correctness of his master. His knowledge of every science connected with his art is allowed, and his character has been spoken of from authority, with commendation. He was deputy surveyor, under Wren, at the building of Chelsea College; clerk of the works at Greenwich Hospital; in which offices he remained during the reigns of William, Anne, and George I.....He was appointed superintending surveyor to all the new churches, and of Westminster Abbey, after the death of Sir Christopher; and designed many that were erected in pursuance of the statute of Queen Anne, for building fifty new churches. Among others, besides the church above-mentioned (St. Mary Woolnoth), are Christ-church Spitalfields, St. George Middlesex, St. Anne Limehouse, and St. George Bloomsbury, which has been condemned by hasty critics, from not falling within their narrow rules of art. This church is a bold, original, and striking composition, built

in a masterly and scientific manner, and designed in a masterly style. The interior is commodious, appropriate, and picturesque worthy of its author, his master, and his school. The portico is remarkably handsome, and the tower is placed in a judicious and proper situation. The steeple is novel, ingenious, and picturesque.

Hawksmoor assisted Vanbrugh in the erection of Blenheim and Castle Howard, and died in 1736.

The decorations of this volume are not quite so successful or so ornamental as we could have wished. There are no finished views of any of Wren's works, nor are any diagrams given in illustration of the structure of St. Paul's as it now stands. A plan and section, at least, should have been inserted. The portrait of Sir Christopher, from Kneller, is well executed, but a little deficient in depth and richness. An Appendix of important papers closes the volume.

Art. V. Details of the Arrest, Imprisonment, and Liberation of an Englishman, by the Bourbon Government of France. 8vo. pp. 148. Price 4s. London. 1823.

THE case of Mr. Bowring, of which the details are here given to the public in an authentic form, has been generally made known by means of the daily press, that cannot be necessary for us to state it to any of our readers. The grounds on which was rested the decision of our Government not to interfere, were, that nothing had been done in Mr. Bowring's case, according to the opinion of the most eminent French lawyers, which was not warranted by the laws of France; and that whatever remedy a French subject might have, if proceeded against unjustly on such charge or suspicion, was equally open to him. The opinion of one of the counsel was given in these words:

‘ Upon the first question, the Counsel perceives nothing in the papers submitted to him, which indicates any irregularity in the arrest of Mr. Bowring. The Counsel has not at present to examine if the criminal laws would not admit of great melioration. He has not explain himself as a writer on public law, but as an Advocate. In his private opinion, he thinks that the liberty of individuals in France requires other securities than those which exist; but having to pronounce upon what is, and not upon what ought to be, he decides that nothing has been done to Mr. Bowring, but what might have been done to a Frenchman under similar circumstances. Doubtless it is cruel to deprive a person of his liberty for suspicions which the end prove unfounded: it is a rigour which I do not approve

contracts. But, in the existing state of legislation, nothing is more frequent than arrests of this kind.'

It is probable, that the discussion to which this atrocious arrest has given rise, the indignation it has excited on both sides of the water, and the contemptible light in which it has placed the French Government, will answer all the purpose which might have been served by a direct remonstrance from our Ambassador. We shall not, therefore, discuss the policy of abstaining, in this particular instance, from diplomatic interference. But it seems to us that the principle on which that policy rests its justification, is an unsound one. It is quite clear, that a foreigner is, equally with a native, bound to obey the laws of the country in which he sojourns. If a Frenchman residing in England, be found guilty of one of the very many crimes which our penal laws have made capital, he must suffer the penalty; even though, in his own country, the same crime would subject him to a minor punishment. The only condition on which a foreigner of any nation can be allowed to remain in a country, must be, that of observing its laws, or abiding the consequences of breaking them. Had Mr. Bowring been convicted of breaking any of the French laws, we do not see that our Government could have interfered on his behalf with any propriety, unless it had been to solicit the clemency of the Crown towards an English subject; an application which only very extraordinary circumstances would justify. But it does not appear that Mr. Bowring was guilty of violating any statute of either the civil or the criminal code of France, or that his conduct rendered him obnoxious to any law whatsoever, except what are indefinitely termed by M. Batonnier Billecoq, *les lois de police et de sûreté*; that is, the *secret by-laws of the French police*. Now, to fall under the operation of these unknown and arbitrary laws, it is only requisite that the individual should become an object of suspicion to the Police; and he is liable, therefore, to be deprived of his liberty, without having knowingly given any occasion of offence.

The right which an arbitrary Government has to deal thus arbitrarily with its own subjects, must not be disputed: at least, no other nation has any right in such a case to interfere. Whether it be to incarcerate the suspected person in a Bastille, to torture him in the secret chambers of a Holy Office, to apply the Turkish bowstring, or, according to the politer custom of Japan, to send the gentleman a court order to rip himself up with his own sword,—the right to proceed in either way towards its own happy and devoted subjects, must be held

perfectly legitimate. In all such cases, no *irregularity* is committed; all takes place according to the laws, and nothing more frequent than occurrences of this kind. Now the simple question is, whether such wholesome *local* laws as authorize these proceedings in the countries alluded to, may or may not be applied to Englishmen without justifying any diplomatic interference on the part of our Government. The degree of atrocity makes no difference in the principle. Does the protection of his own Government cease, or does it not, when an Englishman sets his foot on a foreign territory, where the Government maintains an amicable relation with our own? Let us suppose a case; that some cousin of Mr. Planta's, or of Mr. Secretary Canning's, had become, under the old legitimate reign of Ferdinand and the Inquisition, obnoxious to the Holy Office, at a time when we had a minister residing at Madrid; or, in the days of Louis XV. and the Bastille, had become an object of jealousy to the prime minister or the prime minister in that country; would it have been thought a sufficient reason for passing over such an outrage on a British subject, that nothing was done to him, but what might have been done to a Spaniard or a Frenchman, that it was warranted by the local laws, that nothing was more frequent than such arrests, and that whatever remedy a native subject might have, was equally open to the foreigner? If this be Mr. Canning's principle, it is fit that the country should understand it. We judge that his conduct in such a case would have been different.

But here is the true difficulty—our *Alien Bill*, which creates in this country precisely the same kind of arbitrary power though the nation and the laws would not tolerate a similar exercise of it, as that against which, awkwardly enough, our Ambassador would have had to protest.

‘That Bill,’ says Mr. Bowring, ‘that inhospitable and un-English Bill,’ was constantly quoted against me in the progress of the proceedings. When I complained of their illegality and violence, I was constantly asked, ‘What protection from *your* laws has a foreigner in England?’ Could I do aught but hang down my head in silence? It was the second time that *this* Bill had been used to justify acts of oppression and outrage committed on my person. It was employed against me in 1820, in Spain, when I was detained by the arbitrary mandate of a petty magistrate, who, however, afterwards apologised for his mistake. The *Alien Bill*,—which has scarcely ever been employed at all against those against whom it was directed,—has been a constant weapon to be used against Englishmen by other Governments. Our own countrymen are its victims. We have forged arms, useless for our own defence, but terrible when employed against us. Few individuals have had more extensive opportunities than myself for maintaining the general estimation of the English character through

different countries of Europe; and I may truly assert, that no one circumstance ever tended so much to diminish our national reputation, as the existence of the Alien Bill. To England—amidst the vicissitudes and calamities of political events—men were accustomed to look as to a haven, where the distant storm might be heard, but dared not reach. I know the terrors of the Alien Bill have been exaggerated; but such terrors exist; and whether they have misrepresented, or not, the temper of the British Government, certain it is, that the charm of perfect confidence is broken;—this asylum, which was formerly sacred, may now be violated. Who shall guaranty to the fugitive stranger that it *will* not be violated? To be instrumental in removing this foul stigma on the character of my country, I would cheerfully pass over again the days of my imprisonment, even though they had been tenfold; and should that imprisonment lead to a repeal of this most obnoxious statute, it would be to me a proud privilege so to have suffered.' pp. x—xii.

Bad, however, as the Alien Bill is in its principle, the right of dismissing a foreigner from the soil, even though it may involve his ruin,—inequitable, arbitrary, disgraceful as such a proceeding may be, would not afford the same ground for diplomatic interference as the detention and imprisonment of an innocent individual. The safety of the State may be made a plea for the former: it is an insufficient pretext for the latter. The one is obviously the exercise of a discretionary power vested in the Executive: the other is a judicial act, a sentence implying alleged guilt, and, in the absence of real criminality, however legal, is an outrage both upon the individual and upon his nation. If diplomatic interference can neither prevent such wrong, nor remedy such wrong, nor obtain reparation for such wrong, then, indeed, as Mr. Bowring observes, it is perfectly chimerical. 'A man may be impaled in Turkey, knouted to death in Russia, or hanged in Austrian Italy, and all according to the laws, and yet be innocent, since the laws give arbitrary power to the judges.' We cannot agree with Mr. Canning.

Art. VI. *Sermons on Infidelity*. By the Rev. Andrew Thomson, A.M. Minister of St. George's, Edinburgh. 18mo. pp. 442. Price 5s. Edinburgh. 1821.

WE apprehend that sermons on Infidelity, however excellent, are not likely to obtain the attention of a very numerous class of readers. They who are already infidels, will have little disposition to read sermons of any kind, and still less, to read those the professed object of which is, to cure them of their infidelity; and with regard to serious Christians, among whom

the great body of sermon readers is to be found, as they entertain no doubts on this subject, they will rather be disposed to turn their attention to such books as have a more immediate tendency to promote their religious improvement. The general feeling with regard to this work, from a mere inspection of the title, is likely, therefore, to be rather unfavourable. But those who look into the book itself, will not long retain this impression: they will find, not only that the general argument with regard to Infidelity is handled in a most masterly way, but that a large proportion of the work is of extensive practical utility, and tends directly to the instruction and edification of Christians.

The Author has not undertaken any illustration of the evidences of Christianity; nor is it any part of his object to answer the objections which have been brought against it. This has been ably and amply done by former writers. The ground which he has taken up, is simply, to point out the bad effects of infidelity. It is very true, that no man who disbelieves Revelation, will be brought to believe it, merely because the rejection of it is attended with bad consequences to mankind. The belief of any proposition depends on the evidence we have of its truth, and not on a view of consequences of one kind or another attending such belief. Yet, admitting this, there is ample room for taking a view of consequences, without finally resting the weight of the argument upon them. In as far as concerns those who are already infidels, a view of the unhappy effects of infidelity on the morals, the peace, and the happiness of society, might perhaps induce them to review the subject with more attention, and perhaps with more candour and seriousness than they have ever done; and at all events, it would cause them to pause in the work of proselytism, as to desist from any active endeavours to propagate a creed which they see to be so injurious to the welfare of their species. There is also a very numerous class, including a great number of thoughtless young men, and many men who are not very young, but who on these subjects are very thoughtless, as: who being much immersed in the business or pleasures of life, feel great indifference with regard to the whole affair, and if they do nothing against Christianity, do as little for it. There are also many who are possessed of much influence, as parents, rulers, and magistrates, and the higher classes of society, many of whom may by no means be fully aware of the unhappy tendency of infidelity. A demonstration of the injurious effects of infidelity on the good order, morals, and happiness of society, may have the best effect on these persons, and engage them to more active exertions in behalf of revealed

religion, than they have ever been accustomed to make. Those persons also, who are in a wavering state of mind between Christianity and infidelity, may, under the impression of this view, be led to consider the subject without levity, and to give the argument for the truth of Christianity a full and candid consideration. This is all that the advocates for revealed religion desire; and they persuade themselves, that wherever these arguments receive an unbiassed consideration, they will produce conviction. Nor will true Christians feel uninterested in the general argument; for surely they cannot be indifferent to any thing which tends to recommend their religion to mankind, to check its opposers, and to render the zeal of its friends more ardent and active.

The text on which all the discourses in this volume are founded, is Heb. iii. 22. "Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God." The object of the Preacher is distinctly stated in the following words:

'There is a natural connexion between the disbelief of Christianity in particular, and the disbelief of religion in general. The one leads directly to the other. And, therefore, to every one who may feel himself tempted to abandon the Gospel as a cunningly devised fable, or to regard it as unworthy of any great sacrifice, or of any strong attachment, I would with all earnestness address the admonition of the text, and enforce it by the consideration, that your unbelief as to the doctrine of Christ, will be followed by your departure "from the living God."'

In proof that the rejection of revealed religion leads to the abandonment of all religion, the Author appeals, 1. to the history of Deism, as it is to be found in the writings of those who have embraced and supported that system; 2. to the character of the prevailing infidelity of the day; 3. to the objections which have been urged against Christianity, and upon which Deists have mainly rested their rejection of it; and 4. to the nature of those causes of infidelity, which are not connected with reasoning. In appealing to the history of Deism, he remarks, that those who have held the most conspicuous place in the ranks of infidelity, are found,

'not only, amid their occasional professions of respect for Christianity, throwing out against it the language of ridicule and condemnation, but even in their avowed attempts to build up a theory of pure Deism, intentionally leaving out, or speaking lightly and contemptuously of some of the most essential principles of all religion. Whether they were allowed to fall into these aberrations by the inherent inconsistency of their system, or whether they were forced into them by the natural course and current of their argument, it is of no consequence

to ascertain. The fact, with which alone we have to do at present is sufficiently certain, that they have not scrupled to cast away a neither useful nor true, the doctrines of God's holiness and justice of a superintending providence, and of a future retribution. Nay, it is to be particularly noticed, that those individuals among them who have brought most intellect into the controversy, who seemed to possess the finest talents for asserting the sufficiency and proving the tenets of natural religion, and whose opinions have been most frequently and submissively appealed to by the enemies of Christianity are the very men by whom Christianity and natural religion have been treated with an almost equal degree of indifference or dislike. If natural religion has appeared to be the object of their respect, and has experienced their support, it was only that, by alleging its sufficiency, they might give the deadlier blow to the faith of Jesus. But there is not a truth in the one or in the other, which they have not exposed to ridicule by their profane wit, or brought into question by their ingenious speculations. And though they have not had the hardihood to avow themselves the supporters of Atheism, yet it is impossible to peruse what they have published, without perceiving, that to Atheism we must come at last, if we acquiesce in their positions, and follow out the course which they have pursued.*

The Author adverts to the case of Lord Herbert, as a seeming exception to this statement. But he remarks, that his Lordship's scheme of natural religion was chiefly drawn from the Bible; that, after all, it is extremely imperfect; and, what especially deserves notice, that he has scarcely had a follower in his more serious views, among the multitude of infidels who have succeeded him.

Mr. T. then appeals to the prevailing infidelity of the day, as a proof that the rejection of revealed religion leads to the rejection of all religion.

* We have heard, indeed,' he remarks, 'of men who affected to hold fast by the tenets of natural religion, while they repudiated those of Divine revelation; but we have never been so fortunate as to see and converse with one of them, whose creed, select, and circumscribed, and palatable as he had made it, seemed to have any serious footing in his mind, or any practical influence on his life: who could restrain his sneer at piety the most untinctured with enthusiasm; or who could check his speculations, however hostile to the system he had affected to embrace; or who worshipped the God in whose existence and attributes he acknowledged his belief; or who acted with a view to that immortality for which he allowed that the soul of man is destined.'

'It is true,' he adds, 'that the votaries of infidelity are often placed in circumstances which constrain them to hold such language, and maintain such a deportment as by itself might indicate the presence of Christian principle.' But we

must look at them when under no restraint, and then see what proofs they give of retaining any sense of religion.

‘ Say if, instead of affording you positive proofs of such remanent and distinctive piety, they are not displaying daily and inveterate symptoms that God, and Providence, and immortality, are not in all their thoughts. Say, if you have not seen many a melancholy demonstration of that general irreligion which we have ascribed to them as the consequence of their throwing off the dominion of the Gospel. And say, if you have not been able to trace this down through all the gradations of Infidelity, from the speculative philosopher, who has decided that there is no Saviour, till you come to the fool, who says, in the weakness and the wickedness of his heart, that there is no God.’

The Author remarks, in the third place, that the objections which have been urged against Christianity, shew, that they who are hostile to Revelation, are also hostile to all religion; since the same objections bear as strongly against natural religion. After briefly disposing of the superficial objection founded on the mysterious nature of its doctrines, he proceeds to notice that which is drawn from the want of universality in Christianity; in reply to which he makes the following striking remarks.

‘ If this objection have any force at all, it must go much further than Revelation. It may bring suspicion upon Christianity, but it must wholly overturn and annihilate the pretensions of the religion of nature. For Christianity has evidently a footing in the world—it has made a certain progress—and it is daily advancing towards universality. But where is the religion of nature to be found, except in the alleged capacity of man to discover it, or in the mouths or writings of those who borrow its doctrines from holy writ? Thousands of years have passed away, and still there is not a tribe upon the face of the earth where it can be said to prevail in its genuine form. Nay, among the heathen, instead of there being any approach to it, there seems to be a gradual departure from every thing that is pure and rational in its theory. And had it not been for the doctrine of Jesus of Nazareth, there is every reason to believe, that the religion of nature would have been supplanted and superseded by the grossest and most unlimited paganism.’

But the great objection on which unbelievers chiefly found their opposition to Christianity, is, that it implies what is miraculous. So much has been said and written on the subject of Miracles, that there is no room for novelty. Mr. Thomson justly remarks, that ‘ a miracle in itself is nothing but a fact.’

‘ It is one of the operations of Providence. It holds its place among the various and multiplied events which present themselves to the attention of mankind. And, in this point of view, it is just as

capable of proof as any other fact, operation, or event, which happens in the world. It comes under the cognizance of those very senses which witness the existence and the movements of all the different objects in creation; and any one who is competent to convey to us his impression of the one, must be equally competent to convey to us his impression of the other. He simply tells what he saw and heard in both cases. For example, he saw a man die, and he saw the same man rise from the dead. Between these two things, so far as a mere physical fact is concerned, there is not the shadow of difference. And there can be no difference in the possibility of the witness testifying what he observed in the latter instance, as well as what he observed in the former. But, on this principle, revealed religion and natural religion are on precisely the same footing. Those who saw the miracles of Christ, inferred from these the truth of his mission and of his doctrine. And upon what other or more favourable ground do they stand, who see the ordinary phenomena of nature, and the ordinary course of providence, and from these infer the tenets of Theism? Each of them embraces an inductive argument. Certain ascertained facts are combined with certain acknowledged first principles, and these conduct the understanding to certain conclusions, in which it rests as sound and irresistible.'

But, though it is true, that Christianity and natural religion alike rest upon facts, the infidel objects, that the way in which we arrive at the knowledge of the facts by which they are respectively attested, is dissimilar. He will perhaps admit that those miraculous facts would furnish sufficient evidence of the truth of Christianity, but he denies the validity of the testimony respecting them. Mr. Thomson shews, that, on the one hand, 'natural religion must be proved in a great measure by facts which we receive upon the evidence of testimony;' and, on the other, that *all* the miraculous facts which establish the truth of Christianity, do not rest upon testimony, but appeal, in some cases, to our observation. 'The internal evidence of the Gospel is miraculous.' And besides this, the fulfilment of the Scripture predictions, is an existing fact, 'actually presenting to our view a miraculous interposition of the power and agency of God.'

Mr. T. now proceeds, in the fourth place, to consider some of the causes of infidelity 'which are not connected with any reasoning on the evidences of Christianity, or on the soundness of the objections brought against it.' He justly remarks, that,

'when the question ceases to respect the real truth or falsehood of the system under consideration, and to hinge entirely on feelings, and views, and circumstances that are independent of its external evidence or its essential merits, there can be no security for its being

embraced under any modification whatever. If a man rejects the Gospel from any thing but a belief produced by reasoning of some kind or another, you have no hold at all on his attachment to religion. It becomes the mere sport of his likings and his distillings, of his humours and caprices, of his tumultuary passions and his varying interests. In obedience to these, he has thrown away the religion of Christ; and in obedience to these, he may also throw away the religion of nature, even though its truth were capable of mathematical demonstration.

The most prevalent causes of infidelity are, Mr. T. remarks, inconsiderateness, pride of understanding, and moral depravity. Now, if inconsiderateness lead any to neglect the Gospel of Christ, it will lead them equally to neglect natural religion. If intellectual pride lead any to reject Christianity, the same cause will operate against their acquiescing in natural religion. And moral depravity will assuredly cause a disregard of all the feeble barriers which reason can oppose, after a man has thrown off Christianity. Much clear and forcible reasoning occurs under this head. With the greater part of mankind indeed, the position would require no proof, that he who rejects revealed religion, will have no religion at all. The individual may possibly be just, and honourable, and even benevolent; but, as to religion, who expects to find any traces of it in a Deist? Who expects to hear of such a man worshipping God regularly, either in public or in private, loving him, trusting in him, being resigned to his disposals, feeling habitual gratitude to him, and holding himself ready to conduct himself in all things according to the will of the Deity in as far as he can discover it? And yet, all these are duties as imperatively called for by natural, as by revealed religion.

The infidel, however, will probably care very little about the matter, though it be proved that he has no religion whatever. He will still lay claim to honour, and integrity, and generosity, and truth, and think well of himself as possessed of these qualities, though destitute of religion. Mr. Thomson therefore goes a step further, and undertakes to shew, that 'infidelity is in every respect hostile to the interests of morality.' The following paragraph deserves the attentive consideration of the admirers of Mr. Hume.

'He who in point of talent and personal amiableness may be considered as standing at their head, and of whom another said, that he came as near as possible to the idea of "a perfectly wise and virtuous man," thus expressed himself, in speaking of its being unphilosophical to suppose that the Deity will inflict punishments on vice, and bestow rewards on virtue, beyond what appears in the ordinary course of nature. "Whether this reasoning of theirs be just or not, is no

matter; its influence on their life and conduct must still be the same, and those who attempt to disabuse them of such prejudices, may, ought I know, be good reasoners, but I cannot allow them to be good citizens and politicians, since they free men from one restraint on their passions, and make the infringement of the laws of equity a society in one respect more easy and secure." Such was his recent language; and what was his conduct? Why, to publish the very thing whose tendency he allowed to be unfriendly to the interests of morality, and to labour with all his genius, and eloquence, and might to undermine every religious principle that goes to restrain the influence of the wicked and encourage the virtues of the good. Could there be any love here to good morals?—any virtue in the heart?—any thing but indifference or aversion to its prevalence in the world? No, my friends; we may as well say that the man is not guilty of murder, who has a fatal poison in his possession, but who, instead of taking it himself, circulates it through every corner of the land, while he knows, and believes, and confesses, that it is to slay its thousands and its tens of thousands of unsuspecting mortals. So much for the morality of infidel philosophers, and so much for the wisdom and the virtue of their "perfectly wise and virtuous men!"

In the fourth discourse, the Author advances a step further still. He undertakes to shew, that infidelity is destructive to the comfort and the happiness of those who embrace it. As leading to immorality, he justly argues that this must in general be the case, although there may be particular exceptions. But he argues, that it has a direct influence in destroying human comfort and happiness, as 'it implies the negation of all those truths which tend most effectually to cheer and support us under the calamities of our lot.' Here he enters, with much pathos, and in a strain of natural eloquence manifestly proceeding from a mind deeply impressed with the subject, into a description of the happiness which Christians derive from their faith in every situation of life, particularly under its afflictions, and compares this with the miserable comfort held out by infidelity.

However numerous unbelievers may be, it is seldom that any professed infidels find their way into a Christian congregation; thus far, therefore, these sermons, when originally preached, might fail of reaching those to whom they might have been most useful. But in the fifth and sixth sermons, the Author has taken up rather a new ground of discussion, and has brought forward such views as would come much closer home to the consciences of many among the ordinary hearers of the gospel. There are great numbers who are always well pleased to hear those faults exposed and condemned, in which they feel or fancy that they are not implicated; and there is little doubt that many individuals in Mr. Thomson's audience, when he de-

lived: these powerful sermons on the demoralising and unhappy effects of infidelity, were ready to congratulate themselves that they had no part in this evil. With a view to the benefit of such hearers, the Author commences a scrutiny into the more secret and less suspected symptoms of infidelity, which will be found to include many who think themselves good Christians. In this investigation, he shews his intimate knowledge of the human heart, and his sound views of what is required of a man to constitute him a truly religious character; and we have no doubt that the great majority of those who read for personal benefit, will find these the most useful sermons in the volume. After remarking that the charge of infidelity ought not to be restricted to those who reject Revelation *in toto*, but that, in strict propriety, it applies to many others; he shews this to be the case, in the first place, with those who acknowledge Revelation in general, but reject or object to some particular part of the Scriptures; he shews that they have entered on the path of infidelity, and that there is nothing to prevent their going on till they reject the whole. The next class whom he charges with the essence of infidelity, though they may not avow the principle, consists of those whose lives are characterised by impiety and immorality. He then brings forward 'the case of those who exhibit in their practice, the decencies, and honesties, and charities of a good life, but do so without any regard to the principles of godliness, or the authority of the gospel.' This is a point on which Dr. Chalmers has dilated with his characteristic eloquence, and it is pleasing to observe the complete agreement in the views of these distinguished preachers. We shall only say here, that Mr. Thomson does not suffer by the comparison.

In the fifth sermon, the Author proceeds to charge with practical and constructive infidelity, those who are characterised by worldly mindedness; next, those who neglect religious ordinances; and finally, 'those whose conduct manifests indifference to the preservation and success of Christianity in the world.' Under the last head, we were much pleased to meet with the following striking appeal.

'Now let me ask you what greater credit is due to those who profess to believe in Christianity, and in the face of this profession, do nothing for the cause of Christianity? If they truly believe in Christianity, they must believe it to be of divine origin—they must believe it to be full of interest and importance to every human being—they must believe it to be intended by its great author to be of universal benefit—they must believe it to be the cause of God, and of truth, and of mankind—they must believe it to be a system of compassion, a system

which shews compassion to *them*, which requires them to have compassion on others, and which holds it out as the highest style of compassion, that they vindicate its honour, and spread its influence—and they must believe that for the manner in which they treat it, both as it respects themselves and their fellow-men, they must render a strict account to him who is to “judge the quick and the dead.” Their faith, if they have faith, must include all this; but what if, professing to have such faith, that system on which it is avowedly fixed, secures from them no active interference in its behalf? What if they sit and hear unmoved, the blasphemy and derision with which its adversaries assail it in their presence? What if they put forth no energy in order to stem the torrent of infidelity which may be threatening to overwhelm it? What if they turn a deaf ear to those ignorant and helpless sinners that are beseeching them to impart it for their instruction and their salvation? What if they withhold their countenance and aid from those institutions which have it for their object to circulate the knowledge and increase the influence of Christianity at home and abroad? What if they embrace none of the various opportunities that are afforded them in the course of Providence, of widening its dominion? What if they feel and express no joy when they hear of the triumphs which it is gaining over every thing that exalts itself against God, that enslaves the conscience and degrades the condition of man? And what if in wantonness or malignity they oppose the labours of the Christian philanthropist, and brand him with the stigma of fanaticism, and hold him up to the ridicule and contempt of a world already too willing to laugh at those who care for the souls and the eternity of their brethren, and thus try to paralyse every generous effort for the cause of the gospel, and to doom the race of Adam to that idolatry and superstition, that sin and misery, from which it was revealed to rescue them? What does all this mean, and what can it mean, but that the persons alluded to have no real conviction of Christianity—that if they think they have, they are somehow or other deceiving themselves—that they have the “evil heart of unbelief.”

‘I would be far from saying, indeed, that this charge is applicable to any man, merely because he does not adopt the precise methods of supporting or propagating Christianity which others have proposed to him—because he does not enter into this scheme to-day, and into that scheme to-morrow—because he does not join this Bible Society and that Missionary Society—because he does not attend a sermon for this spiritual purpose, and a meeting for that spiritual purpose—because he will not give money at one time, and active service at another—because, in short, he will not submit to be guided and controlled in all his movements by those who choose to be dictators in the field of Christian benevolence. Such modes of judging, we lament to say, are sometimes practised; but they are uncandid, unjust, and injurious; and I would equally deprecate and avoid them. I leave every man to the exercise of his own discretion as to the plans he is to adopt, the means he is to employ, the efforts he is to make, for promoting the interests of Christianity. I only desiderate that he

shall keep these interests in view, and that he shall pursue them : I desiderate this as an essential evidence of his faith ; and if he is destitute of this evidence, I feel myself necessitated to conclude, that he has the " evil heart of unbelief." And I put it to the judgement of every one of you to say, if the conclusion be not legitimate and irresistible.

' You may not have hitherto considered the subject in this light, and you may be still unwilling to view it in this light. But surely if you do nothing for supporting the religion of Christ when it is attacked, or for communicating it to those who have it not—if you do not rejoice in the conquests which it achieves over its enemies—if you assist in loading with obloquy and scorn such of your fellow-men as are zealously affected in the work of evangelizing the earth—if you even withhold your aid from those institutions we have referred to, merely because you love your money better than your Saviour, or than those for whom your Saviour died—and if your recollection does not furnish you with any instances in which, by means of religious truth, you have attempted to " save a soul from death, and to hide a multitude of sins"—then how is it possible that you can, with any consistency, be said to have believed with your heart in the gospel of divine truth—the gospel of eternal salvation—the gospel of compassion and of love ? Possessing a scheme of philosophy, in whose tendency to advance the improvement of the species you had every degree of confidence—possessing a discovery in one of the common arts of life, from the communication of which you would anticipate an accession of comfort and prosperity to the people—possessing a medical preparation, of whose efficacy in curing diseases, heretofore deemed hopeless, you had a perfect conviction—would not your belief in all these things determine you to make them known, and to bring them into beneficial operation as widely as possible ? And what can we say for you, if, professing to believe in the truth, and necessity, and efficacy of the gospel, as a system of eternal redemption for the human race, you are at no pains to give it circulation and effect ? What can we say for you, but that your profession is vain, and that there lodges beneath it an " evil heart of unbelief."'

Sermon VII. is on the Sinfulness of Infidelity. In the last two discourses, we have the application of the whole subject, which is in every point of view truly excellent. The Author addresses, first, parents ; secondly, young men ; thirdly, those who occupy the higher stations ; fourthly, those who fill the lower stations of society ; and fifthly, preachers and ministers of the gospel.

One of the most distinguishing qualities of the present work is, the distinct method and clearness which pervade every part of it. There is not a single sentence at which the most ordinary reader will need stop, in order to discover the Author's meaning. The style is strong and pointed, and rises often to true eloquence ; not that eloquence which consists in a glitter

of metaphor and antithesis, but that which results from thinking clearly and feeling warmly, and which consists in the energetic and unaffected statement of the most important and interesting sentiments. We consider the style of these sermons as furnishing an excellent model for pulpit composition. The discourses cannot but be regarded as extremely seasonable, and we have unmingled satisfaction in recommending them to the attention of our readers.

Art. VII. *The Grave of the last Saxon ; or the Legend of the Curslew*. A Poem. By the Rev. W. L. Bowles, Author of *Letters to Lord Byron*, *Poems*, &c. 8vo. pp. 112. 8vo. Price 6s. London. 1822.

WE have already slightly adverted to the critical controversy which Mr. Bowles appears in his titlepage anxious to commemorate. It was a quarrel, we believe, about the poetical claims of Pope, and the 'eternal principles' of poetry, which Mr. Bowles seems to understand better in theory than in practice, and his noble opponent better in practice than in theory. The former is very orthodox in his poetical creed, and had he but the requisite placidity and calmness of temper, might even do for a Reviewer; while Lord Byron, it is evident, is fit only to be a poet. Those finer, unwritten rules which genius works by, he understands, or instinctively observes without understanding; but he makes sad work with criticism. Indeed, we cannot avoid taking this opportunity of remarking, how much worse off poets and authors would find themselves in each other's hands, than in those of the licentiates of criticism. There is as much difference between the temper of an angry rival or petulant satirist, and that of a professional critic, as between the temper of a lancet and that of a tomahawk. To be sure, Jeffray and Gifford, the former especially when he falls foul of a Laker, the latter when he clutches a radical or a woman, are rather merciless. But then, Mr. Gifford is a poet, and began his career as a satirist. Think of the *Dunciad*; think of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers; think of the quarrels of authors from time immemorial; read Mr. Bowles's letter to Mr. Gilchrist, &c.; and you will acknowledge, gentle author, that ours is a clement tribunal, and that it were better to fall into the hands of the sourest critic, than to lie at the mercy of a rival poet or angry satirist.

Mr. Bowles is chiefly known, and will longest be remembered, by his sonnets. We are indebted to him for some elegant specimens of that delicate kind of poem, which well suits the miniature painting of sentimental and descriptive writers. In blank verse, they are apt to run riot in epithets, or to wind their readers with the length of their periods. For

instance, in the introductory canto to the present poem, we have (at p. 4) a sentence of eighteen lines, followed by one of eleven, and another of nine; three periods in near forty lines. The simple idea thus enlarged upon, is, that the Poet will not sing either of Italy or of South America, for this very good reason, that he is going to sing of green England; which idea, there can be no doubt that Mr. Bowles would have expressed twice as neatly and as pointedly within the compass of a sonnet, and there would have been a saving of twenty-four lines to the reader. The story in the *Arabian Nights*, of the giant whose immensely expansive bulk was, by means of a certain talisman, comprised within a small casket, was, no doubt, intended to shew the literati of Bagdad, what may be done by compression: at least, it will serve us for an illustration.

We have that respect for Mr. Bowles as an old acquaintance, that would lead us to speak as favourably as we can of his present production; but the truth is, that he has attempted something above his reach. This, in a young writer, would bespeak a commendable ambition: in a veteran, it indicates a mistaken estimate of his powers. In "The Grave of the last Saxon," we have, brought together, agreeably to the most authorized *recipes*, all the fitting materials of poetry; warriors, monks, weird sisters, pages, spirits, and distressed damsels; moreover, for scenery, abbeys, caves, forests, castles; for the dramatic personæ, names of historic grandeur and euphony; and for the subject, an interesting period of English history. But, 'bubble, bubble, toil and trouble,' the charm is wanting to make all good. The materials will not mix, and the cauldron will not boil, though the imps sing to it in such strains as the following:

' Around, around, around,
Troop and dance we to the sound,
Whilst mocking imps cry, Ho! ho! ho!
On earth there will be woe! more woe!"

And again, ministering spirits sing:

' I.
' I have syllables of dread;
They can wake the dreamless dead.

' II.
' I, a dark sepulchral song,
That can lead Hell's phantom throng.

' III.
' Like a nightmare I will rest
This night upon King William's breast!

‘ Spirits and Night-hags.
 ‘ Around, around, around,
 Dance we to the dismal sound
 Of dying shrieks and mortal woe,
 Whilst antic imps shout, Ho! Ho! Ho!’

It is well they do not shout Ha! ha! ha! But, leaving the imps to their pranks, the spirits of the earthquake, of the storm, of the battle, and of the fire—they are certainly spirits much *below proof*—the other persons of the tale or drama, whichever we are to call it, are quite as shadowy and undefined as they are. They swear in character, by St. Anne, and by a name more sacred, which holy name is used much more freely than we think quite befitting a clergyman; but in little else do they act in character. Edgar Atheling prettily enough thus talks to the daughter of Harold.

‘ “ Oh, no! I will keep watch with you till dawn—
 To me most soothing is an hour like this!
 And who that saw, as now, the morning stars
 Begin to pale, and the grey twilight steal
 So calmly on the seas and wide-bush’d world,
 Could deem there was a sound of misery
 On earth? Nay, who could hear thy gentle voice,
 Fair maid, and think there was a voice of hate
 Or strife beneath the stillness of that cope—
 Above us? Oh! I hate the noise of arms—
 Here will I watch with you.” Then, after pause,
 “ Poor England is not what it once hath been;
 And strange are both our fortunes.”

‘ “ Atheling,”

(Adela answer’d) “ early piety
 Hath disciplin’d my heart to every change.”’

All the Saxons in the poem are persons of astonishing piety, warriors and all. But the above dialogue will be thought strange discourse for the supposed time, and place, and personages. Edgar Atheling has been riding hard to bring tidings of the fall of York and the approach of the victorious Saxon army. Adela has been sitting up all night; unattended, by the by, by a single female, and only a grey monk with her; which we should not have recommended to any young lady to do, were the grey monk Mr. Bowles himself. She has been all agitation and anxiety; and when she heard Edgar on the stairs, thought it was the Normans, poor girl, that had somehow got into the castle, and were coming to murder her. Under these circumstances, we think her early piety by no means accounts for her calmness, much less for her keeping Atheling, as she does, from his supper, to hear a long story.

' Listen—I will be
(So to beguile the creeping hours of time)
A tale-teller.'

If she could 'a tale unfold,' Mr. Bowles, it is plain, cannot. The story wants consistency, and it wants a catastrophe; at least, a close. That which the Author designed to be 'a centre,' round which 'the passions brought into action' might revolve, to wit, the grave of Harold, answers neither this purpose of a pivot or hinge for the poem to turn upon, nor that of a point of sufficient interest for its conclusion. Mr. Bowles conducts us to Waltham Abbey, where he has assembled the greater part of the personages of the tale, to look at Harold's grave; and when we are all expectation of some tragic or heroic circumstance to wind up the scene, he coolly opens the portal of the abbey, and turns us adrift, Adela and all, at twelve o'clock at night, into the open air; the Poet vanishing at the same moment, like a mischievous will o' the wisp, just as we thought we had come up to the place which the light shone from.

' " 'Tis dangerous lingering here: the fire-eyed lynx
Would lap your blood!—Westward, beyond the Lea,
There is a cell, where ye may rest to night."
The portal open'd—on the battlements
The moonlight shone, silent and beautiful!
Before them lay their path through the wide world.
The nightingales were singing as they pass'd;
And, looking back upon the glimmering towers,
They, led by Ailric, and with thoughts on Heav'n,
Through the lone forest held their pensive way.'

We know not which to consider as the worst behaviour, for the monks of Waltham to treat Harold's children thus inhospitably, or for Mr. Bowles to act the same part by his readers. Nevertheless, to shew that we bear him no malice, we will exhibit his talents to much better advantage in the following descriptive passage. Here he is more at home.

' Tranquil and clear the autumnal day declined.
The barks at anchor cast their lengthen'd shades
On the gray bastion'd walls. Airs from the deep
Wander'd, and touched the cordage as they pass'd,
Then hover'd with expiring breath, and stirr'd
Scarce the quiescent pennant. The bright sea
Lay silent in its glorious amplitude,
Without; far up, in the pale atmosphere,
A white cloud, here and there, hung overhead,
And some red freckles streak'd the horizon's edge,
Far as the sight could reach. Beneath the rocks,

That rear'd their dark brows beetling o'er the bay,
 The gulls and guillemots, with short, quaint cry,
 Just broke the sleeping stillness of the air,
 Or skimming, almost touch'd the level main,
 With wings far seen, and more intensely white,
 Opposed to the blue spaces; whilst Panope
 Roll'd in the offing. Humber's ocean-stream,
 Inland went sounding on by rocks, and sands,
 And castle, yet so sounding as it seemed
 A voice amidst the hush'd and listening world,
 That spoke of peace; whilst from the bastion's point
 One piping red-breast might almost be heard.
 Such quiet all things hush'd, so peaceable
 The hour. The very swallows, ere they leave
 The coast to pass a long and weary way
 O'er ocean's solitude, seem to renew
 Once more their summer feelings, as a light
 So sweet would last for ever, whilst they flock
 In the brief sunshine of the turret top.

This is a very pleasing picture. We regret to detract from it by a single remark, but can scarcely help suspecting that *Panope* is introduced in downright waggery. Milton has,

‘On the level brine,
 Sleek Panope with all her sisters play’d.’

The propriety and elegance of which, it needed not Milton's name to sanction. But was ever such a travestie of all that is classical, as in the incongruous expressions, ‘Panope rolled in the offing?’ We must just add, that where a red-breast could be *seen*, we should imagine that it might, not only ‘almost,’ but quite be heard.

There are several songs scattered through the poem. The worst is entitled, ‘Song of the Battle of Hastings,’ which opens thus:

‘The Norman armament, beneath thy rocks, St. Valerie,
 Is moor'd; and, streaming to the morn, three hundred banners fly.’

Does Mr. Bowles mistake this for rhyme, or for metre?—We must try to find something better. The following is so little in harmony with the context, that it will gain, rather than lose, by being detached from it.

‘Oh! when ’tis Summer weather,
 And the yellow bee, with fairy sound,
 The waters clear is humming round,
 And the Cuckoo sings unseen,
 And the leaves are waving green—
 Oh, then ’tis sweet,
 In some remote retreat,

To hear the murmuring dove,
With those whom on earth alone we love,
And to wind through the green wood together.

' But when 'tis Winter weather,
And crosses grieve,
And friends deceive,
And rain and sleet
The lattice beat—
Oh, then, 'tis sweet
To sit and sing
Of the friends with whom, in the days of spring,
We roam'd through the greenwood together!

Our readers will perceive that, while we have found ourselves unable to speak in complimentary terms of Mr. Bowles's present performance, we by no means wish to depreciate his just merits. His want of success in this instance, is owing chiefly to his having gone out of his line: he has attempted a song above his compass. A man who can do many things well, may get fairly laughed at for attempting the one thing he cannot do, in which case he has no one to blame but himself.

Art. VIII. *The Doctrines of Grace conducive to eminent Holiness.* A Sermon delivered at New Salter's Hall. By John Boutet Innes. 8vo. pp. 66. Price 2s. London. 1823.

THERE are two classes of preachers by whom the position which this Sermon is intended to illustrate, would seem to be secretly questioned; those who keep back the doctrines, or at least preach them with considerable timidity and reserve, from the fear that they should not have this holy tendency, and those who preach the doctrines exclusively of their practical end. And unfortunately, these two classes too often act as mutual repellents to the extent of driving each other into these opposite extremes; or they furnish each other with a pretext for presenting in either case a mutilated view of Christianity. We have heard it gravely urged in apology for the preacher who has been admitted to confine himself to the statement of doctrine, 'Well, it is a good fault; there are abundance of preachers to set against him, who err on the other side.' And thus, they think, a sort of balance may be struck between the opposite extremes. But even if the two supposed halves of the truth would fit each other, they are never brought into contact. The hearers of the one style of preaching are never found seeking the corrective of the other. Both classes embrace the partial view as the entire Gospel, and both exhibit the mutilated impression in their characters. 'But let me ask,' says Mr. Innes, 'Why

' should there be partiality? Why should we be indignant at the omission of the *doctrinal* parts of the system, and tolerant of the omission of the *practical* parts of it?' The very spirit of such persons proves, that there is a large portion of inspired truth with which their minds have not been fairly brought into contact. They delight in the promises of the Gospel, but "to delight in the law of God" forms no part of their orthodoxy. Jealous of their privileges as set free from the bondage of what is termed a legal spirit, they wince even at the yoke of Christ.

Mr. Innes's Sermon comprises an able vindication of the doctrines of grace from the unfounded objections which have been brought against them on the one side, from the Apostolic day to our own, and a seasonable protest against the abuse of these doctrines which prevails on the other. We regret to think that the publication of a sermon on such a topic, is by no means a work of supererogation or a superfluous service. To the preachers of this system, Mr. Innes thus addresses himself in conclusion :

' 1. We are taught that the interests of holiness will never be injured by a full exhibition of the doctrines of grace. Let us preach them in all their completeness. Let no sentiment which forms a constituent part of them be withheld. Let them be as prominent in our addresses, as they are in the pages of the New Testament. Let us give no just occasion for others to intimate, (and we understand that such intimations are by no means uncommon,) that *they* are the only persons who are not afraid to preach the Gospel. This is a point on which we need not hesitate for a moment.

* * * * *

' But while we preach a scriptural scheme, let it be exhibited in a scriptural form. By every principle of allegiance to God, and regard to the best interests of men, we are required to take heed, lest by any incautious expressions we give countenance to those who say, ' Let us sin that grace may abound.' Oh to be personally the subjects of that holy sensibility, which shall instinctively recoil at the base suggestion! which shall constrain us, under the influence of horror, to say, ' God forbid !' If such be the state of our minds, there will not proceed from our lips that at which the pious would mourn, and the impious rejoice. As ' good men, out of the good treasure of the heart,' we shall ' bring forth good things.' In publishing the Gospel, let us never forget its *character*. It is not merely a system—it is a remedy. Let us not imagine that we have only to preach a system, and that the annunciation of it is to act as a kind of amulet or charm, by which we drive away the evil spirits. Such misconceptions, it is to be feared, are not uncommon. Those by whom they are cherished, are in the habit of referring us for illustrations, if not for proofs, to some of the miraculous facts recorded in the Old Testament. Thus we are told, the walls of Jericho fell down, when the priests of the Lord blew the divinely appointed trumpets. The two cases are in their nature to-

tally different. Such a supposed illustration has no countenance whatever from the New Testament. Paul does not compare his ministry and that of his fellow labourers to the 'blast' of a ram's horn, but to the application of the *appropriate* warlike instrument which levels opposition before it. 'The weapons of our warfare,' said he, 'are not carnal, but mighty through God to pulling down of strong holds.' The Gospel, indeed, is but an instrument, dependant for its success upon the power of God; but it is the appointed and suitable instrument. Let us keep this in view, and then we shall not merely address the faculty of hearing, but 'commend ourselves to every man's *conscience* in the sight of God.' 'Knowing the terrors of the Lord,' we shall 'persuade men.' By the 'mercies of God,' we shall 'beseech' them. We shall 'warn every man, and teach every man.' The judgements of those whom we address, we shall inform on the first principles of the Christian scheme, and prove, by our mode of administering it, that 'the word of his grace is able to build them up, and give them an inheritance among all them that are sanctified.' And whilst we ought not, under any circumstances, to be deficient in doctrinal statement, we shall, I hope, never prove ourselves to be traitors to the *practical part of God's Revelation*. While some assert that they are not afraid to preach the Gospel *doctrinally*,—doughty champions!—considering the predilections of those by whom they are surrounded, they incur no risk:—may we prove that we are not afraid to preach the Gospel *fully*, and that therefore we are not afraid to preach it *practically*: that we are not afraid to tell the servant the duties he owes to a master, or to tell the master the duties he owes to a servant: that we are not afraid to tell the child the duties he owes to a parent, nor a parent the duties he owes to a child: that we are not afraid to 'affirm,' and that not only occasionally, but 'constantly,' and not only generally, but in detail, 'that they which have believed in God, must be careful to maintain good works.' pp. 53—5.

Art. IX. *The Word of God concerning all who are in Trouble or Affliction*. Second Edition. By a Clergyman of the Church of England. 12mo. pp. 26. Price 6d. Retford. 1822.

THIS is a very judicious tract, written with great plainness, and uniting kindness with fidelity. An afflicted mind requires delicate handling, but it is in the time of affliction that truth must be urged home on the conscience, according as the sufferer is able to bear it. Those only who are accustomed to visit the widow, and the fatherless, and the poor in their affliction, know how difficult it is to be faithful and yet not harsh, to administer legitimate comfort tempered with seasonable counsel. It is frequently impossible to say much, but a 'silent preacher' like this tract, may be left in the cottage or the garret, with the happiest effect.

Art. X. 1. *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies.* By William Wilberforce, Esq. M.P. 8vo. pp. 78. London. 1823.

2. *Negro Slavery ; or a View of some of the more prominent Features of that State of Society as it exists in the United States of America, and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica.* 8vo. pp. 118. Price 3s. London. 1823.

ALTHOUGH little room is left us to notice the important subject of these deeply interesting pamphlets, we cannot let another month pass over without earnestly recommending them to the notice of our readers. The degraded state of our colonial population is a consideration which ought to touch every professed Christian. It is a national sin and abomination, the guilt of which the man is guilty in some degree of participating, who can think of it with indifference, or refuse to think of when it is thus placed before him. We are anxious to stand clear of this guilt, and now take shame for our past supineness. The mistaken idea, that when the Abolition of the Slave Trade received the assent of the British Legislature, every thing was secured, has, we fear, too extensively induced, of late years, a criminal inattention to the ultimate object, *the abolition of slavery itself*. The details contained in Mr. Wilberforce's eloquent yet dispassionate pamphlet, will dissipate this mistake, and will leave without excuse those who may have hitherto acted, or rather ceased from taking any active interest in the subject, under a false impression. We trust that the pulpit as well as the press, will be employed to urge home upon the consciences of British Christians, their duty and their responsibility in reference to this important object, which, more than perhaps any other, demands immediate legislative interference. That interference, if called for by the public voice, will not, cannot be withheld. We shall take an early opportunity of returning to the subject. In the mean time, we leave without readers this solemn appeal of the venerable individual who now once more, in his declining years, comes forward with the unspent ardour of his youth, to plead the cause of our African brethren.

ART. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

** * Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

Mr. J. B. Williams, of Shrewsbury, has been for some time past, employing moments of leisure from professional avocations, in selecting and arranging the numerous MSS. in his possession, and within his reach, of the venerable Philip Henry, with a view to a new and greatly enlarged edition of his Life, by his Son Matthew. Mr. Williams is desirous, prior to committing the work to the press, that he may have an opportunity of inspecting every existing document which may at all bear upon the object, and, therefore, solicits from the holders of such papers, the temporary loan of them—more particularly diaries and letters in Mr. Philip Henry's handwriting—under the assurance that, if forwarded to Mr. W. by coach, they shall be most carefully preserved, and returned free of expense.

A volume of Sermons on several Subjects, with notes critical, historical, and explanatory, by the Rev. Charles Swann, late of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, will shortly be published.

In the press, *The Sunday Scholar's Friendly Instructor*, in familiar dialogues. By the Rev. Joseph Kirby.

A new and elegant edition of the whole works of Mr. Archibald M'Lean, in 7 vols. 8vo. will be ready in a few days.

Mr. J. Mitchell is preparing for the press, *Introductory Exercises to the Writing of Greek*, on a plan similar to that of his *Introductory Latin Exercises*.

Dr. Gordon Smith has in the press, a new edition of the *Principles of Forensic Medicine*, which will contain much additional matter. The volume will embrace every topic on which the medical Practitioner is liable to be called to give a professional opinion in aid of judiciary inquiries.

Dr. Forster is about to publish, *Illustrations of the Mode of maintaining Health, curing Diseases, and protracting Longevity*, by attention to the state of the Digestive Organs; with popular Ob-

servations on the Influence of Peculiarities of Air, of Diet, and of Exercise, on the Human System. In one vol. 8vo.

Mr. Earle has in the press a work containing, 1. *Practical Remarks on Fractures at the Upper Part of the Thigh*, and particularly Fractures within the Capsular Ligament; with critical Observations on Sir Astley Cooper's Treatise on that subject.—2. *Observations on Fractures of the Olecranon*.—3. *Description of a new Apparatus for more effectually securing the Upper Extremity in cases of complicated Injury of the Shoulder-joint and Scapula*, and two other papers.

In the press, a second edition of the *Theory and Practice of Gas Lighting*, by T. S. Peckston. In this edition, the author has considerably abridged the theoretical part of the work as given in the first edition; and to render it as useful as possible to every practical man, there is introduced much original matter relative to coal gas, and an entirely new treatise on the economy of the gases obtained for illuminating purposes from oil, turf, &c.

Mr. J. Frederic Daniell, F.R.S., has in the press, a volume of *Meteorological Essays*, embracing, among others, the following important subjects: On the Constitution of the Atmosphere; on the Radiation of the Heat in the Atmosphere; on Meteorological Instruments; on the Climate of London; on the construction and uses of a new Hygrometer.

Mr. Robert Meikleham, Civil Engineer, has in the press, a *Practical Treatise on the Various Methods of Heating Buildings*, by Steam, Hot-air, Stoves, and Open Fires. With some introductory observations on the combustion of fuel, on the contrivances for burning smoke, and other subjects connected with the economy and distribution of heat; with numerous explanatory engravings.

Mr. Charles Dubois, F.L.S., is about to publish in a small volume, an easy *Introduction to Lamarck's Arrangement of the Genera of Shells*, being a free

translation of that part of his work (*P'Histoire des Animaux sans vertèbres*) which treats on Molluscæ with Testaceous coverings; to which are added illustrative remarks, additional observations, and a synoptic table.

Captain A. Cruise, of the 84th Regiment, has in the press, *Journal of a Ten Month's Residence in New Zealand*, which will appear next month in an octavo volume.

James Shergold Boone, M.A. will publish in a few days, a Poetical Sketch, in Three Epistles, addressed to the Right Hon. George Canning, entitled, *Men and Things* in 1823.

The Rev. G. Wilkins, Author of the *History of the Destruction of Jerusalem*, &c. &c., will shortly publish in a duodecimo volume, *An Antidote to the Poison of Scepticism*.

In the course of a few weeks, the Rev. R. Warner, Rector of Great Chalfield, Wilts, will publish the first part of *Illustrations Historical, Biographical, and Miscellaneous*, of the Novels by the Author of *Waverley*, with criticisms general and particular, in three parts.

Preparing for publication, *Historical Notices of two characters in Peveril of the Peak*; to be printed in post 8vo. uniform with that work.

In the press, a *Memoir of Central India*, with the history and copious illustrations of the past and present condition of that Country. In 2 vols 8vo.,

with an original map recently constructed, tables of the revenue, population, &c., a geological report and comprehensive index. By Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., &c.

In the press, *Imaginary Conversations of Eminent Statesmen and Literary Men, Ancient and Modern*. By Walter Savage Landor, Esq.

In the press, *Journal of a Tour in France in the Years 1816 and 1817*. By Frances Jane Cary. 1 vol. 8vo.

Flora Domestica, or the Poetical Flower Garden. Being a Catalogue of Plants that may be reared in the House; especially noticing such as are most remarkable for beauty of form or colour, luxuriance of foliage, sweetness of perfume, or from interesting or poetical associations, with their history; with directions for their treatment. Illustrated with numerous quotations from the works of the poets by whom the several Flowers have been celebrated.

In the press, *Mark Macrabin the Cameronian, a Tale*. By Allan Cunningham, Author of *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell*, &c.

In a few days will be published, a Letter to the Rev. H. H. Norris, M. A. Perpetual Curate of St. John's Chapel, Hackney, &c.; containing *Animadversions on His "Respectful Letter to the Earl of Liverpool," on the Subject of the Bible Society*. By the Rev. John Paterson, D.D. St. Petersburg.

Art. XII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians of North America, from Childhood to the Age of Nineteen. With anecdotes descriptive of their manners and customs, and some account of the soil, climate, and vegetable productions of the territory westward of the Mississippi. By John D. Hunter. 8vo. 12s.

Three Years' Adventures of a Minor, in England, Africa, the West Indies, South Carolina, and Georgia. By William Butterworth, Engraver. post 8vo. 9s.

A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Serjeant B——, late of the Royals. Written by Himself. 12mo. 5s.

FINE ARTS.

A Series of Groups, illustrating the Physiognomy, Manners, and Character

of the People of France and Germany. By G. Lewis. In imperial 8vo. 3l. 3s.—medium 4to. 3l. 15s.—and proofs, on royal 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d. half-bound.

HISTORY.

The Fifth Volume of Dr. Lingard's History of England, containing the Reigns of the Queens Mary and Elizabeth. 4to. 1l. 15s.

Memoires Historiques, Politiques, et Militaires, sur la Revolution de Naples en 1820 et 1821; et les causes qui l'ont amenée. Par le General Carascosa. Accompagnés de pièces justificatives. 8vo. 12s.

The Saxon Chronicles, with an English Translation, and Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By the Rev. J. Ingram, late Saxon Professor in the University of Oxford. To which are added, a new

and copious Chronological, Topographical, and Glossarial Index, with a short Grammar of the Saxon Languages. 4to. 3l. 13s. 6d.

The Third Volume of the History of England during the Middle Ages, comprising the Reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III. and Henry VII. By Sharon Turner, F.S.A. 4to. 8l. 2s.

MEDICINE.

An Exposition of the Principles of Pathology, and of the Treatment of Diseases. By Daniel Pring, M. D. Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. London. 8vo. 14s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Letters on the Art of Miniature Painting. By L. Mansion. 7s.

An Essay on the History and Theory of Music; and on the Qualities, Capabilities, and Management of the human Voice. By J. Nathan, Author of the Hebrew Melodies, &c. royal 4to. 9l.

The Art of Valuing Rents and Tilthages; wherein is explained the Manner of valuing the Tenant's Right, on entering and quitting Farms, in Yorkshire and the adjoining Counties. By J. S. Bayldon, Land Agent. 8vo. 7s.

Integrity: a Tale. By Mrs. Hoffman, Author of 'Tales of the Manor—Son of a Genius, &c. &c. 12mo. 6s.

Body and Soul. Volume the Second. 8vo. 9s.

On Education. By the late President Dwight. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

PHILOLOGY.

An Introduction to the Hebrew Language. By W. H. Heinemann, Professor of the Hebrew and German Languages. 5s.

POETRY.

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CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

Sir, 8, Camden Street, Camden Town, April 21st, 1823

A FEW days ago I met with the passage in the last number of your Review, in which you do me the honour of introducing me and my religious sentiments to the notice of the public. I met with it very accidentally; for I cannot declare myself 'A constant Reader' of your work: and how often I may have similarly figured in your pages, I know not. You are pleased to amuse yourself and your readers with my "absurdities"—my "almost facetious reasoning"—my "Hibernian Logic," &c. &c. I confess I do not consider it altogether fair to let off merely such incidental squibs against one, who has been for so many years publishing his sentiments on scriptural subjects. If you think—as no doubt you do—that my sentiments are false, and that you can refute them, why do you not directly review any of my publications in which they are asserted? I send you copies of two or three of them, that you may not plead ignorance of their existence. Meanwhile I trust that your feelings, as professedly a gentleman and a man of letters,—to say nothing more,—will lead you to give a place to the following brief remarks on the passage, in which you hold me up to the laughter of your readers.

It is rather unfair either to adduce a quotation from my writings, without referring to the work in which it is to be found; or to mark as a quotation from my writings, words which are no where to be found in them. That you have done this, I am sure: though I readily admit that an argument substantially *similar* to that which you form for me, does occur in some of my theological pieces:—I cannot now exactly say in which.—But, passing this, I come to the reasoning which you mark as *absurd*, as *Hibernian logic*, *jesuitry*, &c. And pardon me, as a blundering Hibernian, for avowing my unaltered conviction that the reasoning is most simple, clear, and conclusive.

I have long contended—with those that you term Sandemanians, and against the popular divines—that the scriptural meaning of *faith in Christ* is merely *believing the testimony* contained in the Scriptures concerning Christ;—in that simple sense of the word *believing* which supersedes all further inquiry into the import of the term *faith*, while it leaves open the grand inquiry into the divine *testimony* which is sent into the world "for the obedience of faith." I have maintained this in opposition to all the views, which represent faith as some mysterious work, act, or exercise of the mind, which a sinner yet unbelieving is called to perform—instructed how to perform—and exhorted to exert himself for its due performance. And I admit, Sir, that I have been so *absurd* as to argue, that those who maintain any such views of faith as the latter, are but deceiving themselves and others in asserting—(as they often do)—that a sinner is not justified *by works*, or by something that he *does*; inasmuch as, for the life of me, I cannot distinguish between a *work* done—and an

act done—by the sinner:—such is the habitude of my *Hibernian* intellect. Indeed the only difference between you, for instance, and the grossest advocates for justification *by works*, appears to me plainly to be this; that you conceive the thing to be *done* for justification in the sight of God, is a *mental* act, while they conceive it to be what is called in common parlance—an *outward* good life.

Now, Sir, it is very easy for an anonymous writer in a Review to assert that this simple reasoning is “almost facetious”—“meant to turn the whole subject of justification by faith to ridicule”—that it “hardly deserves a serious answer,” &c. &c. But let me observe to you, that such assertions are no argument; though perhaps the most successful way of opposing truth. The more absurd my reasoning is, the more easily may it be exposed by fair reasoning. I invite you to the attempt, but I suspect you will find it too hard for you.

I am the more confirmed in this suspicion, when I look at the little scrap of Eclectic logic,—(I will not call it *English*: for I would leave the illiberality of such national sneers to the *privileged* order of writers who assume the office of Reviewers)—which you condescend to employ against my “*Hibernian logic*.” You say—“the reasoner would hardly deny that *hearing*...is an *act* of the mind.” It must amuse you greatly to be told, that *I do seriously deny it*. In *hearing* there is an impression made on my bodily organs, and conveyed to my mind: but in receiving that impression, I have learned from Mr. Locke—(who I suppose was of *Irish* extraction)—that I am perfectly *passive*; that I cannot help receiving the impression, and cannot alter or modify it. Your logic may have taught you otherwise. But pardon me for requesting that you will forbear the exercise of your *active* powers, the first time a pistol is fired off by your ear, and try *not* to *hear* it. You seem indeed to have had some misgiving about the assertion that *hearing* is an *act* of the mind; for you immediately subjoin the term *listening*, as if the two things were equivalent. In listening, Sir, the man is *active*, in so far as he endeavours to dispose his organs so as to catch the sound. Yet even then, in *hearing* the sound, I do assert, that the mind *does* nothing. Probably you may perceive in this distinction materials for a very fine popular sermon on the nature of the thing to be *done* by a sinner in order to justification.

One word on my meaning “to turn the doctrine of justification by faith into ridicule.” What is commonly put forward under that name by the class of divines called evangelical, I view as a doctrine at once *wicked* and *absurd*:—most wicked, as an insidious corruption of the most important scriptural truth; and most absurd, as outraging every principle of right reason, and as utterly inconsistent with various principles which they themselves verbally acknowledge. I therefore consider myself not only bound to expose its contrariety with the word of God, but at full liberty to mark its *ridiculous absurdity*. This however is a very different thing from turning the blessed doctrine of *justification by faith* into ridicule.

As to the Rev. James Carlile’s remarks on my sentiments, though you vouch for their *justice*, it would be very easy to expose the so-

INDEX.

- proofs of bias in the translator, 519 ; author's notions of a purgatory, 590.
- Bible, the, Alexander's new version of, 376.
- Society, Norris's charges against the, exposed, 75, *et seq.* ; see Scholefield.
- Bible teacher's manual, 188, *et seq.* ; importance of a literal acquaintance with the Scriptures, 189.
- Biblical illustrations, 171 ; see Belsham, Burder, Gisborne.
- Body and Soul, 283 — 5 ; objections which lie against religious novels, 289 ; avowed object of the author to counteract evangelical religion, *ib.* ; caricature of certain gloomy religionists, *ib.* ; establishments rest on an alliance between religion and the world, 284 ; ribaldry and profaneness of the author, 285.
- Bonaparte, memoirs of, 113, 313 ; see Napoleon.
- Bonar's observations on the conduct of Judas Iscariot, 87, *et seq.* ; the tract recommended by Dr. Doddridge, 87 ; exceptions to its statements as regard the views of Judas, 88 ; Macknight's remarks on the probable motives of the traitor, *ib.* ; Bishop Porteus's view of the case, 89 ; true explanation of his conduct, *ib.*
- Bore, the, phenomenon of, 51.
- Borrenstein's fables of the Syriac and Arabic characters, 285.
- Bracebridge Hall, 233, *et seq.* ; effect produced on the public by the Sketch Book, 233 ; author's farewell to England, 234 ; comparative merit of the present work, 236 ; English scenery, *ib.* ; remarks on the English character, 237 ; Dame Heyliger's shop, 239 ; her son Dolph, 248 ; his introduction to Dr. Knipperhausen, 241 ; a rainy Sunday at an inn, 242 ; the rookery, 243.
- Brown's memoirs of Hervey, 456, 7 ; character of Hervey's writings, 456 ; his want of success as a preacher, 457.
- Bowles's grave of the last Saxon, 562, *et seq.* ; notice of author's controversy with Lord Byron, 562 ; author's sonnets, *ib.* ; want of compression the fault of his blank verse, 563 ; the present poem a failure, *ib.* ; song of the spirits, *ib.* ; speech of Edgar-Atheling, 564 ; defects of the story, 565 ; evening scene, *ib.* ; song, 566.
- Bowring's details of an arrest, &c. 548, *et seq.* ; grounds of the decision of the English government, 548 ; opinion of French counsel, *ib.* ; the principle of non-interference unsound, 549 ; consequences of the alien bill, 550 ; its operation distinguished from Mr. Bowring's case, 551.
- Bristed on the Anglican and Anglo-American churches, 53, *et seq.* ; real nature of the point at issue relative to church polity, 53 ; episcopacy disrelished if divest of power, 54 ; character of Wilks's "correlative claims and duties," *ib.* ; importance of the inquiry to America, 54 ; pedigree and early life of the author, *ib.* ; bishop Mant the head of a school rebellion, *ib.* ; reasons for not entering the church, 56 ; bishop Warburton's theory of alliance, unscriptural, *ib.* ; test and corporation acts impolitic, 57 ; present state of the American episcopal church, 58 ; character of the author's performance, 59 ; state of the Irish church an argument against church establishments, *ib.* ; more evangelical piety out of, than in the church of England, 60 ; obligations of society to English dissenters, 61 ; the Anglican church a persecutor of evangelical religion, 62 ; "Christian observer's" apology for the act of uniformity exposed, 63 ; infidelity in England prevalent before the French revolution, 64 ; moral efficiency of an establishment to be examined apart from the religious institutions independent on it, *ib.* ; complaints of pious churchmen on the subject of patronage an argument against church establishments, 65 ; case of Thomas Scott, *ib.* ; numbers of clergy in America, 66 ; question of supply and demand in respect to religious instruction, *ib.* ; episcopal church of America the least efficient in the country, 67 ; reasons for not wishing the subversion of existing establishments, 68.
- Burder (H. F.) on the attributes, 351, *et seq.* ; the Divine attributes not sufficiently dwelt on by modern divines, 352 ; advantages of preaching in a series, 353 ; merits of the volume, *ib.* ; nature of future blessedness and prospect of the impenitent as arising from the eternity of God, 354 ; Divine patience illustrated in reference to idolatry, 356 ; Divine sovereignty, *ib.*
- Burder's (Sam.) oriental literature, 170, *et seq.* ; verbal coincidences often mistaken for legitimate illustration of Scripture, 171 ; instances of critical trifling, *ib.* ; on the phrase 'daughter of Zion,' 172 ; illustration of Psalm etc.

I N D E X.

- 6, *ib.*; other exceptionable illustrations, 173.
- Batler's, Bishop, definition of piety examined, 106.
- Byron's, lord, 'heaven and earth,' notice of, 216; exhausted appearance of the author's mind, *ib.*
- Werner, 136, 148, *et seq.*; his lordship's public character contrasted with that of lord John Russell, 136; argument of the poem, 148; merits of Miss Lee's original, *ib.*; dialogue between Werner and his wife, 149; remarks on the character of Werner, 153; injudicious deviations from 'Kruitzner,' *ib.*; *fine apostrophe to a diamond*, 154; the poem a confirmation of the opinion that the author has not the dramatic faculty, 155.
- Calvinism, tendency of, vindicated from Dr. Copleston's charges, &c. 22, 261; *indecency of insinuating against*, 232.
- Campan's, madame, memoirs of Marie Antoinette, 415, *et seq.*; licentiousness of the court of France under Louis XV., 415; anecdote of the seduction of *mlle. de Romans*, 416; atrocious abduction of *mlle. Tiercelin*, 417; absurd etiquette of the princess's toilet, *ib.*; character of Marie Antoinette, 418; account of mad. Campan, 419; description of the four daughters of Louis XV., *ib.*; etiquette of their daily interviews with the king, 420; *desterity of the king in breaking eggs*, 421; author's first introduction to the king, *ib.*; sequel to the history of mad. Campan, *ib.*; ominous circumstances connected with the life of Marie Antoinette, 422; affecting anecdote, 423; fatal influence of the abbé de Vermond, *ib.*; first appearance at court, of the dauphiness, 424; death of Louis XV., *ib.*; description of Louis XVI., 425; remarks on author's apology for the queen's levity of conduct, *ib.*; anecdote of the queen's milliner, 426; man with the iron mask, *ib.*; influence of the Polignac family, 427; anecdote of Gluck and Vestrois, *ib.*; anecdote of Necker, 428; disastrous choice of the archbishop of Sens as minister, 429; anecdote of the queen, *ib.*; conduct of the court at the commencement of the revolution, 430; noble conduct of *Barnave*, *ib.*; grossness and weakness of the king, 431; storming of the Tuilleries, 432.
- Cartile's sermons on repentance and faith, 321, *et seq.*; author's illustration of Mr. Walker's sophism, 331; his own view of faith contradictory, *ib.*; correctness of his representation of the efficacy of faith as derived from the truth it introduces into the soul, 340; his distinction between faith and belief inadmissible, *ib.*; reluctance of men to submit to the Divine testimony, 341; contents of the volume, 342.
- Carrington's banks of Tamar, 459; lines on Christmas Morn, 465; author's account of his circumstances, 467; the holiday, 468; scenery of mount Edgecumbe, 469; ship-launch, 470; scene on the Tamar, 471; tower near the Weir, 472; merits of the poem, 473.
- Chateaubriand, character of, 321.
- Churches, remarks on the architecture of, 544, *et seq.*
- Clarke's history of intolerance, vol. ii., 450, *et seq.*; contents and character of the work, 450; respective inconsistency of Mohammedans and Christians, *ib.*; mahomedism more Christian than popery, 451; spread of mahomedism to be accounted for only on this principle, 452; Christianity innocent of sanctioning intolerance, 453; protestantism not the originator of heresies, *ib.*; schisms quite as numerous before the reformation, 454; scriptural nature of heresy and schism, *ib.*; heresy and schism equally chargeable on national and sectarian churches, 455.
- Collet's relics of literature, 557, *et seq.*; the nonsense of one age the wisdom of another, 557; toleration, an American apologue, 558; the snow-spirit, a poem, 560; character of Wilmet, earl of Rochester, *ib.*; letters to his lady, 561; letter from a condemned criminal offering to sell his body, *ib.*; manuscript diary, 1773, 4, 562; 'we have a Douglas yet,' 564.
- Confessions of an opium-eater, 366, *et seq.*; character of the work, 366; records of opium-eaters, 367; early history of the author, *ib.*; origin of his contracting the habit, 368; his absurd denial of the intoxicating power of opium, *ib.*; case of a surgeon, 369; case of an old whiskey drinker, *ib.*; author's own case examined, 370; effects of the practice on the constitution, *ib.*; immoral tendency of the work, 371.
- Copleston's remarks on objections to his inquiry, 18, *et seq.*; state of the controversy, 18; author charged by Mr. Grinfield with eating up his words respecting archbishop King, 19; his attempt to account for the morality of predeterminers,

INDEX.

- 21; his explanation unsatisfactory, 22; author convicted by Philalethes of inaccuracy respecting the arminian divines, 23; logomachy between Dr. C. and Mr. Grinfield, *ib.*; *metaphor and analogy distinguished*, 24; author's distinction inaccurate, 25; extract from *bishop Brown on analogy*, *ib.*; recapitulation of objections to author's philosophy, 26; his account of the manner in which we arrive at the idea of prescience incorrect, *ib.*; expectation not prescience, 27; necessity of what is certainly future, *ib.*; presiences not destructive of motive in holy natures, 28; vulgar sophism examined, that Divine predestination supersedes moral agency, 29; what liberty is necessary to a moral agent, 31; opinion of the assembly of divines respecting free-will, 32; *citation from Diderot on philosophical necessity*, *ib.*; fallacy of his argument, 33; remarks of bishop Horsley on necessity and final causes, *ib.*; Dr. C.'s superficial theologian, 36; calvinism truth ill-stated, 37.
- Crayon, Geoffrey, effect produced by his sketch-book, 233; see Bracebridge Hall.
- Cretion, *geological history of the*, 46; see Penna.
- Cruelty, cursory remarks on the evil of, 177, *et seq.*; atrocious barbarity of Smithfield drovers, 177; treatment of animals a criterion of character, 178; *cruelty proceeds on the belief that brutes do suffer*, *ib.*; importance of the act for prevention of cruelty, *ib.*; *home missionaries called for*, 179.
- Deluge, geological opinions respecting the, 48.
- Dissent, Johnson's reasons for, 91.
- Dissenters, obligations of society to, 61; *not guilty of breaking the laws*, 92; not implicated in the catholic question, 194; vindicated from archbishop Magee, 249.
- Downe's letters from Mecklenburg, 250, *et seq.*; merits of the volume, 250; curious blunders, 251; *acres near Ratzeburg*, *ib.*; *description of the castle of Schwerin*, 252; Lubeck, 253; *shop-keeping at Lubek*, *ib.*; *the druid's altar near Albersdorff*, 254; *royal antiquarianism*, 255; *account of the Probsteiers*, *ib.*; *legend of the Verwollenhoff estate*, 257; visit to Klopstock's widow, 258; *sonnet*, *ib.*
- Driscoll's Ireland, see O'Driscoll.
- Druid's Altar near Albersdorff, 254.
- Excelsio III., life and death of*, 10—16.
- Edmeston's Sacred Lyrics, third set, 277; *hymn on the Divine Omnipotence*, *ib.*
- Edmonstone's, sir A., journey to the Oases, 155, *et seq.*; author's discovery of a fourth oasis, 455; *his refutation of M. Drovetti's counter claim*, 156; geography of the oases, *ib.*; climate, soil, and productions, 157; taxation, 158; reflections suggested by the discovery, *ib.*; *ancient necropolis of El Cargi*, 159; the oases places of Christian exile, *ib.*; their probable origin, 160.
- Edwards's tour of the Dove, 459, *et seq.*; reviewer's apology to the rivers, 459; *apostrophe to water*, 460; *address to the Dove*, 461; *millarism oak*, 462; *cotton mill on the Dove*, *ib.*; *scenery of the peak*, *ib.*; *inaccuracy of Walton respecting the disappearance of the river*, 464; *concluding stanza*, *ib.*; *sonnet*, 'custer,' 465.
- Elliott's love, a poem, 342, *et seq.*; on the love of fame, 343; war among the poets, Byron, Bowles, &c., 344; *author's inactivity against lord Byron*, *ib.*; *apostrophe to Greece*, 345; *address to domestic love*, 346; *effects of agricultural improvements in the country*, 348; *the magdalene*, 349; *autumn flowers*, 350.
- Elmes's lectures on architecture, 270, *et seq.*; difficulty attending the specific application of general principles of art, 270; character of the work, 271; author's hypothesis, that the arch was known to the Egyptians, basilem, *ib.*; importance of a knowledge of construction, 272; *errors of modern builders*, 273; respective character of Greek and Roman architecture, *ib.*; *round tower at Monastirboice*, 276; *estimate of English architects*, *ib.*; *Waterloo bridge*, *ib.*
- Elmes's memoirs of Wren, 539, *et seq.*; plan of the memoirs injudicious, 539; disadvantage of an exclusive study of Roman models, 540; early genius of Wren, *ib.*; invention of the barometer, to whom attributable, 541; circumstances which led to his public employment, 542; *plan of Wren for improving the banks of the Thames*, *ib.*; *author's criticism on the new tower of the royal exchange*, 543; *the monument not unsafe*, *ib.*; church of St. Mary-le-bow, *ib.*; *description of the interior of St. Stephen's, Wallbrook*, 544; comparative merits of the two models for St. Paul's, *ib.*; expedients used in removing the

INDEX.

- old tower, 345; *lucky omen*, *ib.*; St. James's church, 346; *anecdote respecting the spire of St. Dunstan's*, *ib.*; Wren's last days and death, *ib.*; *characters of Vanbrugh, Gibbs, and Hawksmoor*, 347; *embellishments of the work*, 348.
- Emancipation, roman catholic, remarks on, 194, 204, 5.
- English character, observations on the*, 237.
- Episcopacy, tendency of, to identify itself with political rule, 54.
- Erskine's essay on faith, 327, *et seq.*; divinity half metaphysics, 327; history of controversy, 328; nature of the dispute about faith, 329; *the distinctions of theologians respecting different kinds of faith deprecated*, 330; absurd definitions of faith, *ib.*; faith denied by Mr. Walker to be an act of the mind, 331; *illustration from a beggar's working by asking alms*, *ib.*; contradictory representation of faith given by Mr. Carlile, 332; scriptural view of faith in Christ, *ib.*; *what the gospel is, and not the mode in which we believe it, the point to be ascertained*, 333; character of the author's work, *ib.*; *moral operation of faith*, 334; a defective view of truth the cause of the imperfections of Christians, *ib.*; a dead faith not a faith in the whole truth, *ib.*; *faith of the metaphysician, the poetical believer, and the controversialist, examined*, 335; phraseology unimportant, 337; no definitions given in scripture, *ib.*; technical definition of faith analysed, *ib.*; faith an assent, in what sense, 338; assurance of faith, *what, ib.*; excellent remarks of Dr. T. Goodwin on assurance, 339; Boston's view of faith, *ib.*; defective statements sometimes true in relation to opposite errors, *ib.*; Mr. Carlile's view of faith and repentance, 340; *reluctance of men to submit to the Divine testimony*, 341; warrant of faith not a subject for rational dispute, 342.
- Establishments, church, arguments for examined, 53, 59, *et seq.*; see Bristed, and O'Driscoll.
- *evils inseparable from*, 199.
- Faith, definitions of examined, 330, 1, 337, 340; views of given by Boston, Goodwin, &c. 339; see Erskine.
- Fame, its unsubstantial nature, 347.
- Fifteen Years in India, 433, *et seq.*; order of Bonaparte against suicide, 434; *travels of the writer, ib.*; *sentiments on approaching Calcutta*, 435; importance of regimen to new-comers, 436; *description of Calcutta*, 436; *high living at Calcutta*, 438; *state of the half-caste*, 440; remarks on the policy of Leadenhall street towards the natives, 441; *British government unfriendly to evangelization, ib.*; *idol festivals at Calcutta*, 442; prejudices against native converts, 443; *the practice of suttee promoted by the Mahomedans, ib.*; *spirited conduct of colonel Walker in suppressing infanticide, ib.*; *atrocities of the Brahmins commended by the government*, 444; Mahomedans more Christian in their policy than the British, *ib.*; *present extent of the British dominions, ib.*; population of Bombay, 445; *account of the Parsees, ib.*; *account of the Armenians*, 446; *noble conduct of Sarkis Jounes, ib.*; consequences of the overthrow of the Peishwa, 447.
- Fitch's elements of self-improvement, 371, *et seq.*; *growing dissimilarity for mental application*, 371; merits of the volume, 372; *on scepticism and credulity*, 373; *on the will*, 375.
- France, court of, memoirs relating to the, 415.
- *travels in the south of*, 399; see Thiers.
- Franklin's journey to the polar sea, 581, *et seq.*; polar regions sufficiently explored, 581; object of the enterprise, *ib.*; *cautious character of northern mariners in contrast with that of English seamen*, 582; critical state of the vessel in Hudson's straits, *ib.*; journey to Cumberland house, 583; magnetic island, *ib.*; *Indian legend connected with lake Winnipeg, ib.*; extreme suffering of the Indians from disease and weather, 584; *Indian confuser, discomfiture of an*, 585; religious notions of the natives, 586; *their opinions respecting a future state, ib.*; half-caste, 587; mode of travelling in snow shoes, *ib.*; *description of the Stone Indians*, 588; *traditional origin of the Chipewyans*, 589; *portage of the drowned, origin of the name*, 530; trying and hazardous circumstances of the enterprise, *ib.*; *probability of a north-west passage*, 531; sufferings of the exploring party in returning to Fort Enterprise, 532; *Dr. Richardson's narrative of the death of Mr. Hood*, 536; singular mental effect of debility, 538; arrival at York factory, *ib.*; contents and embellishments of the volume, *ib.*

INDEX.

- Free-will, remarks on, 39, *et seq.*; 373.
- French's *manusculum juventuti*, 173, *et seq.*; character of the work, 173; *remarks of learned ladies*, 174; *fable of the wolf and the lamb*, *ib.*
- Feller's child's scripture examiner, 186, *et seq.*; *specimen*, 187.
- Geology, mineral and mosaical contrasted, 37, *et seq.*; see Penn.
- Gisborne's essays, 217, *et seq.*; character of the writer, 217; contents, *ib.*; *duty of studying the prophecies*, 218; different ends to be answered by prophecies, *ib.*; grand design of the Old Testament predictions in general, 219; specific design of a particular class of literal predictions, 220; on the study of the Apocalypse, *ib.*; practical end of New Testament prophecies, 221; author's view of our Lord's prediction in Matt. xxiv., 222; *interpretation of verse 33*, *ib.*; author's solution unsatisfactory—true explanation suggested, 223; on the phrase, *the kingdom of God*, 225; import of the figurative language of the prediction, 226; analysis of the essay on mutual recollections in the future state, *ib.*; *objections to the doctrine answered*, 227; future happiness cannot depend on ignorance or forgetfulness, 228; *practical application of the subject*, 229; question relating to the perpetuation of friendships examined, 231; *indecency of inveighing against calvinistic tenets*, 232.
- Glen's journal of a tour to Karass, 180, *et seq.*; situation of the colony at Karass, 180; advantageous position for opening an attack on Islamism, 181; *circular letter from Mecca*, *ib.*; *conversation with a Cabardian Mussulman*, *ib.*; *Islamic legend respecting the escape of Christ*, 183; concurrence of Mahomedans and Socinians, *ib.*; importance of the Arian testimony to the authenticity of the New Testament, *ib.*; timid and diffident tone of the author in reference to Mahomedism inadvisable, 184; symptoms of the approaching fall of Islamism, 185; *notice of the mountain tribes of the district*, *ib.*; the Cabardians formerly Christians, 186.
- Goodisson's Ionian Islands, 457, *et seq.*; merits of the work, 457; *degraded character of the Ionian Greeks*, 458.
- Greece, *apostrophe to*, 345; rising commerce of, 403.
- Grinfield's reply to Copleston, 19, *et seq.*
- Guelph, history of the house of, 275; see Halliday.
- Halliday's history of the house of Guelph, 275—7; Geo. IV. descended from Alfred, 275; the Guelphs traceable to the Huns, *ib.*; history of the Brunswick line, 276; derivation of the patronymic, *ib.*
- Happiness, future, nature of, 109, 228.
- Hervey, *true nature of*, 454.
- Hervey, character of as a writer, 456.
- Holstein, letters from, 250; see Downes.
- Horsley's, Bishop, remarks on moral necessity and predestination, 33—6.
- Howe, character of the works of, 108.
- Infidelity, nature and tendency of, 533, *et seq.*; see Thomson.
- India, travels in, 433, *et seq.*
- Indians, North American, remarks on, 90, 1; peculiar claims of the Indians on British benevolence, 90; not incapable of civilization, *ib.*; *their destruction effected by the policy of Europeans*, 91; efforts making in America for their melioration, *ib.*; anecdotes of, 487, *et seq.*; 524, *et seq.*; see Franklin and James.
- Inner's sermon on the doctrines of grace, 567—9; evil tendency of two opposite errors in preaching, 567; *on the proper mode of preaching the doctrines of grace*, 568.
- Intolerance, history and nature of, 450; see Clarke.
- Ionian islands, Goodisson's account of, 457.
- Ireland, church of, remarks on, 59, 198, 246.
- state of, a subject of paramount interest, 193; see Magee and O'Driscoll.
- Irving's, Washington, Bracebridge Hall, 233; see Bracebridge Hall.
- Italian republics, history of, 1, *et seq.*; see Sismondi.
- James's expedition to the rocky mountains, 481, *et seq.*; history and result of the expedition, 481; formation of new towns on the Missouri, 483; *precarious situation of every settlement on its banks*, *ib.*; rapid progress of settlements, 484; *character of the back settlers*, 485; white hunters, *ib.*; nature of the soil, 486; physiological character of the Missouri Indians, *ib.*; *their arts and manufactures*, 487; occupations

INDEX.

- during the year, 489; Indian card-parties, *ib.*; effects of intoxication on the *Indians*, 490; treatment of their sick, *ib.*; religious sentiments, 491; hospitality, 492; mild treatment of captives, *ib.*; social and domestic habits, *ib.*; cannibalism not practised by them, 493; history of the abolition of human sacrifices among the *Pawnees*, *ib.*; degraded state of the *Kaskaias*, 495; description of the red river *Indians*, 496; singular vespers of the *Osages*, 498; probable origin and numbers of the several tribes, *ib.*; singular custom among the *Omatawas*, 499; visit to a *Cherokee* settlement, *ib.*; geography of the basin of the *Mississippi*, 500; sources of the four rivers supposed to be in the same plain, *ib.*; character of the region westward of *Council Bluff*, 501; geological character of the rocky mountains, *ib.*
- Johnson's further reasons for dissent, 91, *et seq.*; the author a plain man, but stout polemic, 91; his refutation of *Mr. Sykes's* charge against *Dissenters* of breaking the laws, 92.
- Joyce on love to God, 97, *et seq.*; merits of the work, 97; recommendations of the subject, 98; author's design, *ib.*; analysis of the principle of love to God, 99; Edwards's definition of virtue objectionable, *ib.*; Dwight's definition of love erroneous, 100; benevolence not the highest virtue, *ib.*; goodness the object of love, 101; gratitude an essential element of love to God, *ib.*; speculative complacency in ideal perfection distinguished from love or virtue, 103; on the *Platonic* doctrine of moral beauty, *ib.*; abstract qualities not the object of affection, 104; Bp. Butler's definition of piety radically defective, 106; necessary connexion of piety and happiness, 107; character of Howe's "Blessedness of the Righteous," 108; 'a sense of dependence on God an element of blessedness,' 109; 'love a source of highest felicity,' 110; argument for the inspiration of the Scriptures drawn from the Christian scheme of morals, 111.
- Judas Iscariot, remarks on the probable motives of, 88, *et seq.*; see Bonar.
- Justification, nature of, 394, *et seq.*
- Karas, missionary station at, 180.
- Krutzner, a tale, 148.
- *et seq.*; pedigree of, 133; character of as a biographer, 313; see Napoleon.
- Lee's, Miss H., tale of Krutzner, merits of, 148; fine passages from, 149, 153.
- Letter from a condemned criminal to a surgeon, 361.
- Lorenzo de' Medici, Roscoe's illustrations of, 1, *et seq.*
- Louis XV. Anecdotes of, 415, *et seq.*
- XVI., character of, 425.
- Love, a poem, see Elliott; apostrophe to, 346; Bonaparte's opinion of, 132; nature of, 100.
- to God, analysis of, 99, *et seq.*; see Joyce.
- Loves of the angels, see Moore.
- Magee's, archbishop, primary charge, 244, *et seq.*; reflections on his lordship's elevation to the primatial dignity, 244; solemn appeal to his clergy, *ib.*; oppressed and persecuted state of the national clergy in Ireland, 246; the national church hemmed in between a church without religion and a body of churchless religionists, 247; author's evasive attempt at explanation examined, 248; the presbyterians not without a church, 249; the charge examined as respects the independents, *ib.*; apparatus for evangelizing Ireland recommended by the archbishop, 250.
- Mahommedanism, remarks on the present state of, 181, *et seq.*; spread of, accounted for, 432.
- Mahommedans, conduct of, compared with Christians, 444, 450.
- Ment, bishop, anecdote of his early life, 55.
- Martyn, Henry, results of the labours of, in *Perria*, 893.
- Mecklenburg, letters from, 250; see Downes.
- Millhouse's poems, 258, *et seq.*; sonnet to gold, 258; to a dairy, *ib.*; on a cavern, 259; to time, *ib.*; biographical notice of the author, *ib.*
- Mississippi, geography of the region watered by the, 500.
- Missouri, progress of colonization on the banks of the, 483.
- Indians, physiological character of, 486.
- Montgomery's songs of Zion, 160, *et seq.*; design and peculiar qualifications of the author, 160; psalm cxxii. 161; psalm xlii., *ib.*
- Moore's loves of the angels, 210, *et seq.*; objections to the subject, 210; absurdities of the machinery, 211;

INDEX.

profaneness of the poem, 212; author's supposed reformation of morals, 213; his excellence as a song-writer, 214; tinsel character of the present poem, *ib.*; *love of Zoroastrian and Nana*, *ib.*; comparison of the poem with lord Byron's 'heaven and earth,' 216; exquisite allusion to the loves of angels in paradise lost, 217.

Napoleon memoirs, 113, *et seq.*; 313, *et seq.*; origin of the memoirs, 113; account of Las Cases, 114; specimens of his conversations with his master, *ib.*; impolitic conduct of Napoleon after the battle of Waterloo, 116; anecdotes of his early life, *ib.*; character of his mathematical master, Patraut, *ib.*; early attachment, 117; gains a prize essay at the academy of Lyons, 118; commencement of his career at the siege of Toulon, *ib.*; absurd conduct of Cartaux, 119; conduct of Napoleon in the affair of the 13th Vendemiaire, 120; his successes in Italy, 122; his ambition first kindled at Lodi, *ib.*; revolution of the 18th Brumaire, *ib.*; policy of the first consul, 123; characters of his chief partisans, *ib.*; character of Sieges, 124; his prospectus of a new government, 125; over-ruled by Napoleon, 126; unworthy jealousy manifested towards Moreau, *ib.*; his narrow escape at Toulon, 127; anecdotes of his generals, 128; of the council of state, 129; his command of temper, *ib.*; the Robespierres, *ib.*; prodigious captures of Napoleon, 130; sentimental emotions awakened by a dog on the field of battle, 131; his opinion of love, 132; vulgar-minded abuse of Mad. de Stael, *ib.*; pedigree of the count, 133; his opinion of St. Pierre and Vertot, *ib.*; anecdote of Garnier, 134; character of the continental armies, *ib.*; of the three sovereigns, 135; estimate of the historical value of the volumes, *ib.*; impression produced by Las Cases's continuation, 313; risks run by Napoleon, 314; plan sketched by Napoleon of his intended proceedings after the battle of Waterloo, 315; character of Talleyrand, 316; Napoleon's hopes of possible liberation, 317; character of M. de Narbonne, *ib.*; minute attention of Napoleon to domestic economy, 318; anecdote of the Persian ambassador, 319; characters of the French marshals, *ib.*; marshal and madame Soult, *ib.*; imperial comments on the book of Joshua, 320; narrow escapes,

ib.; circumstances which led to the treaty of Leoben, 321; character of Chateaubriand, *ib.*; danger of permitting the clergy to inherit, 322; Napoleon's deliberate anger, *ib.*; his sentiments on religion, 323; self-righteous vindication of himself, *ib.*; character of the Directory, 324; imperial power, *ib.*; conduct of the emperor in his cabinet, 325; remarks on the battle of Waterloo, *ib.*; remarks on the use of artillery, 326; Murat a dandy, *ib.*; death of marshal Lannes, 327.

Negro slavery, tracts on, 370.

Norris, H. H. compared with Carlyle, 87; see Schollefield.

Novels, religious, remarks on, 283.

Oases, description of the, 156.

O'Driscoll's views of Ireland, 193, *et seq.*; paramount interest of the state of Ireland, 193; emancipation not a panacea for its disorders, 194; misguided zeal of the no popery alarmists, *ib.*; protestant dissenters not implicated in the Catholic question, *ib.*; the test act not designed originally to exclude them, 195; why the dissenters need not look for relief, 196; character and contents of the work, 197; Ireland made papal by the English, 198; anomalous character of the church of Ireland, *ib.*; evils inseparable from establishments, 199; enormous wealth and inefficiency of the Irish church, *ib.*; fraud and oppression practised in building useless churches, 200; civilizing efficacy of spires, *ib.*; the protestant clergy not desirous of reclaiming the people, *ib.*; evil tendency of the present ecclesiastical policy, 201; papal character of the protestant establishment, 203; horrible nature of the penal laws of Ireland, *ib.*; true light in which to view the catholic question, 204; probable influence of emancipation on the catholic gentry, 205; necessity for plying moral means of countervailing popery, instead of penal measures, *ib.*; democratizing tendency of the Roman superstition as now taught by the priests, 206; popery not to be feared, 207; apostasy of the Irish presbyterian church, 208; patronage enjoyed by covert socialism in Ireland, *ib.*; true character of socialism, 209; regiam donum, 210.

Opium, baleful effects of, 370, 1; see confessions of an opium eater.

Oriental literature, see Burder.

INDEX.

- Perceus, account of the*, 445.
- Penn on the mineral and mossical geologies*, 37, *et seq.*; merits of the work, 37; geological view of the creation in opposition to Newtonian principles, 38; curious apology of De Luc for not using the word *created*, 39; community of system in the three kingdoms, 40; *use and formation of bone*, *ib.*; the bones of the first man not formed by ossification, 41; first formation of wood not by lignification, *ib.*; inference respecting the first formation of rock, 42; *first formations-referrible to Divine power as their efficient cause*, 43; remarks of geologists respecting the changes subsequent to first formation, *ib.*; author's reading of Gen. i. 2., 44; on the logical force of the Hebrew conjunction, *ib.*; Herschel's opinion respecting light as independent of the sun, 45; meaning of the term, *day*, *ib.*; notion of a chaos not scriptural, *ib.*; *the sea formed by a disruption of the earth's surface*, 46; agency of volcanic expansion, *ib.*; sun and moon not created on the fourth day, 47; *sentiments of Bacon respecting creation and providence*, *ib.*; geological opinions respecting the deluge, 48; the earth destroyed at the deluge, *ib.*; formation of the second earth, 49; volcanic origin of basaltic rocks in Scotland, 50; author's conclusions contrasted with those of the mineral geologists, *ib.*; *coincident opinion of the French Encyclopedists*, *ib.*; means by which organic remains have been transferred to different climates, 51; phenomenon of the bore, *ib.*; calculation of sir R. Phillips respecting the future submersion of England, 52; Brydone's false assertion respecting vegetable strata between beds of lava, refuted, *ib.*; query respecting antediluvian rivers, *ib.*; *proposed correction of Gen. ii. 11—14.*, *ib.*
- Persia, Travels in*, 289, *et seq.*; see *Porter*.
- Persian history*, remarks on, 298.
- Phillips, Sir R.*, notion of respecting the future submersion of England, 52.
- Platonic doctrine, remarks on the*, 103.
- Papery, present character of*, 206.
- Porter's travels in Georgia*, &c. Vol. II. 289, *et seq.*; travelling in Persia, 289; *character of the scenery and climate*, 290; author's gorgeous style, 291; holy village of Saïeda, *ib.*; mountain tribes, *ib.*; *success of Capt. Hart in disciplining a native regiment*, 292; *remarkable death of Baharam the Fifth*, *ib.*; *results of Henry Martyn's labours*, 293; *account of Ecbatana*, *ib.*; *tomb of Solomon's son*, 294; *view from mount Elwund*, 295; *sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai*, 296; *Hebrew inscriptions*, 297; *Sassanian coins*, 298; *cause of the chasm in Persian history*, *ib.*; *temple of Diana at Kangavar*, 299; *description of Kermanshah*, 300; *Bagdad*, *ib.*; *Turkish poor-laws*, 301; *ladies of Bagdad*, *ib.*; *remarks on the exploration of Babylon*, 302; *Birs Nimrod*, 303; *subterranean passage in the Kasr hill*, *ib.*; *Erech mentioned by Herodotus*, 304; *striking fulfilment of prophecy in the present state of Babylon*, *ib.*; *Babylonian bricks and remains*, 305; *tomb of the prophet Daniel*, 306; *remains discovered by Major Menzies at Susa*, *ib.*; *tomb of Esaukiel*, 307; *naphtha springs at Kirkook*, *ib.*; *account of the Courts*, 308; *Persian gipsies*, *ib.*; *Armenian antiquities at Baki Julfa*, 309; *ancient cemetery*, *ib.*; *the seven churches*, 310; *ambition and idolatry the parents of architecture*, 312.
- Preaching, directions for acquiring the art of*, 282; *remarks on*, 567.
- Presbyterians, state of in Ireland*, 208; *vindicated from the charges of Abp. Magee*, 249.
- Prophecy, duty of studying*, 218; *grand design of*, 219; see *Gisborne*.
- Purgatory, Socinian doctrine of*, 520.
- Pyrenees, travels in the*, 399; see *Thiers*.
- Recollections in the future state, remarks on*, 226.
- Relics of literature*, 357, *et seq.*
- Revolution, French, anecdotes of the*, 123, *et seq.*; see *Campan and Napoleon*.
- Rochester, Wilmot, earl of, letters from*, 361.
- Rocky Mountains, geological character of*, 301.
- Roscoe's illustrations of the life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, 1, *et seq.*; *charge against M. Simondi*, 5; *character of the volume*, 16; *alleged insufficiency of M. Simondi's authorities*, 17; *translation of a poem by Lorenzo*, 18.
- Russell's, lord John, Don Carlos*, 136, *et seq.*; *shallowness of comparative criticism*, 136; *contrast between the public character of lord J. Russell*

INDEX.

- and lord Byron, *ib.*; merits of the poem, 137; *soliloquy of the old king*, 138; *scene, the king and lady of the household*, 139; *scene, the king and the chief inquisitor*, 140; *description given by Don Carlos of an auto-da-fé*, 142; *scene, two inquisitors*, 146; (the subject worthy of a Russell, 148.
- Scripturism, remarks on*, 373.
- Schim, true nature of*, 454.
- Sebolesfield's reply to Norris, 75, *et seq.*; malignant character of Norris's libels, 75; *correspondence between him and Dr. Steinhoff*, 76; his audacious attack on the Newbury bible society, 77; other instances of misrepresentation, *ib.*; charges against the bible society on the ground of expenditure, 78; charge of disrespect to episcopal authorities rebutted, 79; *on the alleged concurrence of papists and sectaries in the opinion that the bible endangers the church*, 80; opinion of Dissenters stated, *ib.*; the church in more danger from bishop Marsh and such men as Norris, 81; case of the dissenting place of worship at St. Petersburg, *ib.*; *Norris's charge of falsehood against the society as regards titlepages, exposed*, 82; charges relating to the translations examined, 83; attack on Dr. Henderson and Professor Van Eas, 84; Norris's assertion that versions are commentaries, 85; true character of Norris's opposition, *ib.*; improper courtesy of the author, 86.
- Seaton's church in Canaan, 474, *et seq.*; remarks on the true use of Scripture history, 474; extracts, *ib. et seq.*
- Sismondi's history of the Italian republics, 1, *et seq.*; coincidences between the early and later periods of Italian history, 1; monumental proofs of the attainments of the Etruscans, *ib.*; absence of records relating to the early periods, 2; military character of Roman institutions, 3; difficulties of the historian, 4; *laudable exertions of the author to secure historic accuracy, ib.*; *contemptuous estimate of his labours by Mr. Roscoe*, 5; character of the work, *ib.*; state of Italy from the fifth to the tenth century, 6; *antiquity and local advantages of Venice*, 7; *daring enterprise of Istrian pirates*, 8; the ascendancy of Venice over Greece ultimately disadvantageous, 10; character of Rocellino iii, *ib.*; *cruelties of Rocellino*, 11, 12; a crusade declared against him, 13; massacre of the Paduans, 14; *superstition of Rocellino*, 15; his capture and death, 16; remarks on Mr. Roscoe's attack on the author, *ib.*; see Roscoe.
- Sketches of sermons, vol. iv, 278, *et seq.*; sketches but sorry substitutes, 278; *specimens of vicious style*, 279; *sketch of sermon on Heb. xii. 3*, 280.
- Slander, essay on the evils of, 93.
- Smith, Dr. I. P., on the means of ascertaining the truth of religious sentiments, 175—7; danger of believing such satisfaction unattainable, 175; *religious truth another name for thinking justly concerning God*, 176.
- Smuggling, remarks on*, 414.
- Socinianism, its prevalence in Ireland, 208; *remarks on the character of*, 209.
- Socinians, activity of modern, 385.
- Somatopsychonocologie, 447, *et seq.*; *author's ignorant attack on Paley's theology*, 447; insidious character of the work, 448; inconsequential reasonings of the materialist, 449.
- Spain, remarks on the state of things in, 408.
- Stoical piety, nature of, 106.
- Syriac, easy method of acquiring the reading of, 285.
- Talleyrand, character of, 316.
- Thiers's Pyrenees, &c. 399, *et seq.*; south of France little known to the French, 400; greatness of the house of Savoy, *ib.*; *physiognomical characteristics*, 401; *southern races, ib.*; democratical character of Marseilles, 402; *singular change in its affairs, ib.*; rising commerce of the Greeks, 403; description of the Catalonians, 404; *Spanish monks, ib.*; Mata Florida, 406; *anecdote of the Trappist, ib.*; Baron d'Eroles, 407; *encampment of the army of the faith, ib.*; state of the Spanish nation, 408; *description of a guerilla chief*, 411; *Spanish smugglers*, 413; *remarks on the prohibitory system*, 414.
- Thomson's sermons on infidelity, 551, *et seq.*; design and useful character of the work, 552; plan of the sermons, 553; *doctrines chargeable with contempt for religion in general, ib.*; *the rejection of revelation leads to the rejection of all religion*, 554; *the objections to Christianity applicable to natural religion*, 555; *a miracle nothing but a fact, ib.*; *moral causes of disbelief fatal to all religion*, 556; *immoral doctrines of Hume*, 557; infidelity destructive of happiness,

INDEX.

- 558; latent infidelity of professed believers, 559; *unbelief charged on the formalist and the inactive, ib.*; merit of the work, 561.
- Toleration, an American epilogue*, 358.
- Tow*, force of the Hebrew, 44.
- Verice*, antiquity and situation of, 7.
- Village Lecturer, the, 163, *et seq.*; qualifications of a village teacher, 163; evil of abandoning village instruction to the illiterate, 164; character and contents of the volume, 165; *reflections on the gospel's being preached to the poor, ib.*; *the harvest the end of the world*, 168.
- Virtue, Edwards's definition of, erroneous, 100.
- Walker's, John, representation of faith exposed, 331; his letter to the Editor of the Eclectic Review, 574.
- Wellwood's, sir H. M., sermons, vol. ii. 261, *et seq.*; morality of Calvinists unimpeachable, 261; merits of the volume, 262; *on the true test of religious principle*, 263; *fidelity in little illustrated*, 264; *humiliating retrospect of life as inadequately employed*, 265; *the penitent malefactor*, 266; *his case no encouragement to the impenitent*, 267; opinions respecting the graves opened at our Lord's resurrection, 268; argument for the separate state, 269.
- Wilberforce's appeal on behalf of negro slaves, 570.
- Wilks's correlative claims and duties, remarks on, 54, *et seq.*
- Wilson's travels in Egypt, 68, *et seq.*; catchpenny character of the volume, 68; *author's pious transports at approaching Jerusalem*, 69; *his feelings on Mount Olivet*, 71; *author's absurd notes*, 72; *interview with lady Hester Stanhope*, 73.
- Word of God, the, concerning all who are in trouble, 569.
- Wren, sir C., memoirs of, 539, *et seq.*; see Elmes.

MAY 6 1918

